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CONTENTS OF VOL. XXXV.

No. 137.

I.—Cicero, An Appreciation. By E. G. Sihler, ... 1

II.—Notes on Plautus and Terence. By Charles Knapp, . 12

III.—The *Sāṁkhya* Teachings in the *Maitrī Upaniṣad*. By Ellwood Austin Welden, ... 32

IV.—Some Greek, Roman and English Tityretus. By Walton B. McDaniel, ... 52

V.—A Rejected Poem and a Substitute (Catullus LXVIII A and B). By Tenney Frank, ... 67

VI.—More about the *Dialogus* of Tacitus. By W. Peterson, . 74

VII.—The Creation of the Tribe Ptolemais at Athens. By Allan Chester Johnson, ... 79

Reviews and Book Notices: 81

Norden's Agnostos Theos.—Dodd's Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower.—Vogels' Collectanea Biblica Latina.

Reports: 93

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.—Glotta.

Brief Mention, ... 105

Recent Publications, ... 118

Books Received, ... 122

No. 138.

I.—The Archetype of Our Iliad and the Papyri. By George Melville Bolling, ... 125

II.—Varroniana. De Lingua Latina. Part I. By Edwin W. Fay, ... 149

III.—The Participle in Livy. By R. B. Steele, ... 163

Digitized by Google

IV.—Der Apokalypse Text in dem Kommentar-Codex Messina 99. By HERMANN VON SODEN†, ... 179

V.—Lodowick Brysket and Bernardo Tasso. By W. P. MUSTARD, ... 192

VI.—Euripides, Heraclidae 223. By J. E. HARRY. . . . 200

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES: 202

Weller's Athens and its Monuments—Magnus' P. Ovidi Nasonis Metamorphoseon Libri XV.—Dodgson's The Guipuscoan Verb of the Year 1713.

REPORTS: 214

Philologus.—Hermes.

BRIEF MENTION, ... 227

RECENT PUBLICATIONS, ... 236

BOOKS RECEIVED, ... 241

No. 139.

I.—Varroniana. De Lingua Latina. Part II. By EDWIN W. FAY, ... 245

II.—Studies in the Syntax of Early Latin. By CHARLES KNAPP, ... 268

III.—The Duration of the Trojan War. By B. O. FOSTER, . 294

IV.—Two Homeric Personages. By JOHN A. SCOTT, . . . 309

V.—The Date of Menander's Andria. By ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON, ... 326

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES: 330

Schevill's Ovid and the Renascence in Spain.—Earle's Classical Papers.—Loew's Beneventan Script.—Jaeger's Quellenforschungen zum Neuplatonismus und seinen Anfängen bei Poseidonios.

REPORTS: 346

Revue de Philologie.—Romania.

BRIEF MENTION, ... 361

RECENT PUBLICATIONS, ... 370

BOOKS RECEIVED, ... 376

No. 140.

I.—Caesar, Cicero and Ferrero. By E. G. SIHLER . . . 379

Digitized by Google

II.—Spanish Inscriptions—Additional Comment. By H. MARTIN, 400

III.—Latin Inscriptions at the Johns Hopkins University. VIII. By HARRY LANGFORD WILSON, *Deceased*, and by RALPH VAN DEMAN MAGOFFIN, ... 421

IV.—Studies in the Veda. By FRANKLIN EDGERTON, . . . 435

V.—Aristarchus of Samos. By W. A. HEIDEL, ... 446

VI.—Ne Extra Oleas. By C. W. E. MILLER, ... 456

VII.—Mummy-Labels in the Royal Ontario Museum. Second Paper. By W. SHERWOOD FOX, ... 463

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES: 467

Bannister's Monumenti Vaticani di Paleografia Musicale Latina Raccolti.—The Oxford English Dictionary.

REPORTS: 482

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.—Hermes.

BRIEF MENTION, ... 491

RECENT PUBLICATIONS, ... 502

BOOKS RECEIVED, ... 504

INDEX, ... 507

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AMERICAN
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VOL. XXXV, 1. WHOLE NO. 137.

I.—CICERO, AN APPRECIATION.

Αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.—The Editor of the American Journal of Philology is too much of an editor not to avail himself of the generous, perhaps too generous, offer of Professor Sihler to anticipate the slower progress of the Yale University Press, an offer which makes it possible to enliven the opening pages of the new volume of the Journal, in its new dress, by the concluding chapter of the author's forthcoming work on Cicero, a companion to the Annals of Caesar, the two, together with the Testimonium Animae, forming the crown of the conscientious labor of many years—monuments of personal investigation, personal conviction, personal expression.

Cicero from early boyhood established the habit to outdo and outshine his competitors and his contemporaries. Ambition was the atmosphere in which he lived, the task-mistress of his entire life. He was by no means primarily and chiefly a man of letters. He must not be conceived as a *littérateur* who somehow dabbled in politics or stumbled into public life. He was trained for it as fully and as thoroughly as any member of the officeholding aristocracy. As a mere stripling he chose for his models and ideals the most eminent orators then in public life: the secret of their power and the several forms of excellence of each of them he sought to ascertain with keen persistence, and from Accius the venerable poet of his boyhood he sought comprehension and valuation of the oratory of the past. His personality is unique in that he sought vocational training with unremitting devotion, but that

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at the same time no Roman ever confronted the Greek humanities with a more liberal eagerness of appropriation than he did, nor with more catholic taste. An admirer of erudition wherever he met it, his character was too large, his eagerness to play a great rôle in his own generation was too lively to permit him to become a mere sciolist or antiquarian. The *grammatici* who arranged the verse of Lucilius in his childhood were humble folk, and his own keen and incessant matching of the slender resources of his native speech against the wealth and perfection of Greek letters made him what he became, and he found during his apprenticeship of life no more efficient an instrument for power than to translate Greek into Latin. He dearly loved Ennius, whose Annals furnished him ideals of civic excellence, and no one could be less a Greekling than Cicero in surveying the great figures of both nationalities. Still his culture was essentially Greek. His great aim was to make of his native speech an instrument of power and an organ of varied expression not less pliable nor versatile than his Greek models.

He remains one of the great figures in the history of human culture. Living among a folk where utilitarianism was bred in the bone, he still counted it a felicity whenever he could connect his own taste, his political aspirations, his spiritual admiration with recorded excellence. Such elements to absorb, such ideals to establish was, in a manner his unvarying aim. He was such a master of Greek that he could debate with the most eminent rhetoricians of Greece and Asia Minor in their own tongue and match them on their own stage; so ready was he in Greek oratory that he could address the council of Syracuse in their native speech. Whereas many Romans of his own generation had in Greek citation a fashionable command comparable to their possession of Greek paintings and sculpture, to Cicero these things meant a doubling (or more) of his intellectual personality. He was bilingual in a way, but in his political consciousness he felt himself superior to the Greeks, and not merely to the adroit and servile folk who as slaves or favored freedmen formed the entourage of Roman aristocracy in his own generation, but he claimed that the greatest worthies of pre-Alexandrian times, those soldiers and statesmen of classic Greece could be

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matched in overwhelming numbers from the Annals of Ennius. And thus be held, though Plato, Aristotle's dialogues, Dicaearchus, furnished him clews, incentives, theories. When, in 49–48 B. C. Pompey seemed about to base his strategy on seapower, the parallel of Themistocles at once presented itself to his practical reflection. When for one brief year he held proconsular sway in Cilicia, his Xenophon's Cyropaedia was his veritable breviary, scrolls which as he wrote to the echo of his conscience, Atticus, he had fairly read to pieces. Mankind will never more extol Cicero to that point of veneration in which Petrarch, the pathfinder of Humanism held him: the time will never return when imitation of Cicero could place men close to popes and emperors, the crabbed imitation of Ciceronianism will never again be admired as the consummation of human power, but the great place of Cicero in the history of Latin letters and of the Latin tongue cannot be moved or shaken.

It is futile to place Caesar's Latinity on a level with that of the man who in a way, created Latin prose style, and whose literary consciousness was delicately and throbbingly aware of the greatest as well of the smallest things. Theory, contemplation, taste, valuation and analysis, no less than many graces of Isocratean art he brought for the first time into the Latin tongue which then, in its cultural aspects, had been but a circumscribed isle within a veritable ocean of Greek civilization, and which had been far from being that instrument of a world-power and of imperialism which Cicero himself was destined to make it through his published works.

Ennius and Lucilius, in the Augustan age, were set aside and became antiquated through the more perfect and finished verse of Horace and Vergil. But no one ever performed that feat in the specific domains of Cicero's authorship in Latin prose. Unless some *grammaticus* or antiquarian preserved some slender fragments—what do we know of the oratory of Caesar, Caelius, Curio, Calvus, Brutus, Asinius or Messalla? Cicero, an encyclopedic nature, was at the same time a versatile genius. In his alert mind there was a certain universality. And he knew it. No Roman of his own time was like him in this respect. In a way he was the first of the Humanists. His interest in applied

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psychology, in political science, in that form of practical dialectic which we call argumentation, and above all his interest in the most casual and apparently inconsequential details of his particular *techné*, the Rhetorical Art, from Gorgias to Hermagoras and further—was sweeping, keen, restless and progressive. He came to sway and dominate his time with his pen even more than with his voice and educated the rapidly widening Latin world by furnishing it with models and standards even before he arrived at life's meridian line. The neo-Atticism of Calvus and Brutus he met by admirable and temperate valuations and surveys. His unhorsing of Hortensius he accomplished at thirty-six—a consummation which his deep ambitiom had pursued for eleven years: the tone of his published Verrines is one of victorious gratification. He knew much more definitely than we can now know or feel with him, that he had to make his own way in an aristocratic society buttressed by tradition[1] and privilege, that no consulate was laid in his cradle as was the case with those who bore names such as Marcellus, Metellus, Claudius, Aemilius or Domitius. And so he rose as swiftly as the traditions of the Roman republic permitted, avoiding however, with the deliberateness of deep conviction, the Tribunate of the Plebs. The assertiveness of his aspirations and achievements he shared with the majority of classic writers and men of parts. Humility has no place at the Olympian board of the Greek Epic, nor shall we be able to discover it among the ethical categories of the Stoic school. It was then, as we have intimated, his tremendous and consistent industry and the fruit thereof, his forensic excellence, which opened to the Arpinate the doors of the Great Council and made his social beginnings a negligible factor. The restless and darting wit of his tongue proved an evil influence for the serenity and felicity of his life. Those who are accustomed to the perpetual applause of their sudden and incalculable scintillations will on the whole be more feared and admired than loved. The ductile character of an advocate's professional intellect, his habit of emphasizing his strong points, the frequent necessity of palliating some points weak

[1] Note: And so Horace still wrote: Est ut . . hic generosior Descendat in Campum petitor C. 3, 1, 10.

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in dialectic or in ethics, by adroit appeals to emotion or prejudice, these are not in themselves favorable to the formation of a dominating vein of exclusive or absolute truth-seeking. The constant craving for applause is one of the unwholesome concomitants of supreme oratory: this craving the great orator, who is also a great artist, has in common with great artists in other spheres.

In the domain of philosophy Cicero excels more as a lucid and effective expositor of tenets, schools and sects than as the firm or consistent adherent of any one school. The swift production of his latter years was largely due to the necessity of finding some congenial occupation when the independence of political oratory was at an end, or to soothe his own soul in deep sorrow. But in this larger view a few salient matters must not remain unrecorded. Cicero did not design in some slipshod and superficial way to imitate or reproduce Plato. The two schools which still were very much alive, which were a positive intellectual force in that world, were Stoicism and the Ethics of Epicurus. *Their* presentation of great problems he essayed, for Latin; to them he bore conscious and positive attitudes of assent or dissent. The essentially negative and analytic drift of the Academy, especially as championed by Carneades he was fond of bringing forward. For this his advocate's consciousness had from the first a very real affinity and appreciation. He could not but be an eclectic: to furnish his mind far beyond the dry routine of courts and civil law, he needed axiom, principle, sentiment, parallels, ideals from all quarters; schools apart, he was supremely susceptible to grace, to truth in any form, to loftiness of character and precept. But he was not strong enough, to illustrate by his own conduct, amid uncommon trials and tribulations the firmness and consistency which he admired in the Stoic system, which he witnessed in Cato. To his professional consciousness the older history of Rome was a series of *exempla*, ideals these and incentives, whereas the antiquarian delving of Varro failed to rouse his deeper interest. That Roman Republic which furnished him patterns and ideals ended with the sudden and mysterious death of Scipio Aemilianns (129 B. C.). He eagerly hoped that Pompey might be a second Aemilianus, while he himself was to furnish the Laelius in this combina-

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tion. From his early youth he lived in a period of political disintegration and still, the older he grew, the more fervidly was he attached to, nay consecrated to the ideal of a conservative settlement of the government. It is quite wonderful to see with what lofty tenacity he adhered to these convictions and refused to sell his rare talents to any project of autocratic rule. His life was contained in an epoch where swift and enormous expansion of empire went hand in hand with, nay quickened and accelerated the dissolution of the old city-republic. Likewise it aided the rise through the loot of East and West of powerful political individuals, wielders of a peculiar but distinctly extra-constitutional power, which may be reduced without any violence of historical analysis, to the elemental factors of armies and money. Mommsen, Caesar's acolyte, has vigorously swung the censer over that "monarchy", simply by dubbing it so, but sober historiography cannot any longer rest content with his Hegelian worldspirit and with his contemptuous scolding of Caesar's opponents. It was notably the towering Julius who with deep design and consistent perseverance hastened that disintegration and largely through his legions and Gallic gold, became too powerful to permit any longer the old routine of electoral purchases and provincial exploitation by members of the old families. Moral and social decadence, enormously fed and fostered by that same exploitation, marks the epoch of Cicero's manhood and aging years. No woman ever moved him away from the right, and his personal tastes seem to have been simple always, but he was impotent in that generation to communicate to son and nephew those loftier principles, through which he kept clear and pure his own skirts amid the putrescence of the times. His own writings impressively mirror that decadence, though not in the pathological way of Catullus,—a decadence, which for its mad luxury and profusion required the income of great provinces, and sold senatorial recognition to foreign states and potentates. Cicero witnessed such practices, but kept clear of them, often with a sarcastic sneer directed at members of the aristocracy who eagerly pursued that current form of income. His magnificent defense of Sicily placed and kept his public conduct on a high level and his administration at Tarsus and Laodicea illustrated his purer principles and made proof of his

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resolute will to follow justice and humanity in dealing with those subjects of Rome. And still he fell before the temptations of a petty vanity which he had so often censured in others, and sought to gain the public glory of a triumph for curbing the looting tribes of the Amanus mountains.

Cicero's intellect was swift and eminently successful in discerning and seizing points and principles: He was, and he felt himself to be, a disciple of Philo, of Antiochus, of Posidonius. Unfortunately this splendid faculty was coupled with excessive sensitiveness in the domain of feeling and emotion. He was also, like many others not born into socially or politically secured positions, quick to take offence. But, as Pollio correctly said in his history of the Civil War, he was not equally consistent in carrying to conclusion the greater feuds of his public career. An author who is also prominent in public life, has, in a way, a double personality and is more vulnerable than others. He lacked phlegm too much, and wore, as we say, his heart upon his sleeve. And still he could compose political and social epistles, suppressing or glossing over, with consummate worldly wisdom, his real sentiments and his deeper convictions. Noble sentiments which he found in his Greek authors were quickly appropriated and found lifelong lodgement in his consciousness. They often became, to his inner and nobler life, vital and vitalizing forces, mottoes, principles, herald calls, pillars of fire by night, to guide him in the ever increasing desolation and gloom of the political world. His struggle for law and order, his defense of property and vested rights in the Catilinarian crisis, confirmed and definitely fixed his position as what we may call that of a philosophical conservative, who saw but few optimates in his actual world who were worthy of the searching and truer appellation of The Best. Of the 'wretched plebs, ever on the point of starvation, the chronic leech of the treasury' he had but a mean opinion and deeply regretted that this proletariat wielded the electoral franchise. In his profession as counsel to the capitalists he was intimately brought into contact with every problem of business and investment as these things extended from the forum to the vast periphery of provinces. In striving for the consulate he had sought and won the support of Pompey. This was a practical necessity for

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his ambition, but it involved no acceptance of a dynast nor a profession of popular politics. His morbid sensitiveness as well as pride in his own advancement had tempted him to assume in his earlier forensic career, a somewhat defiant attitude towards the pretensions of the aristocracy of birth. With all this it is shallow malice, to call him a trimmer. Least of all does he deserve any disesteem in that entire domain, where we look for fidelity to convictions and for political consistency. His distrust of the Tribunate as a Roman institution was unvarying and deepseated from the beginning. To his political judgement and to his historical survey it made impossible any genuine unity and untrammeled autonomy of the Roman commonwealth. The records made in that office by the leading popular politicians he reprobated, from Tiberius Gracchus to P. Clodius Pulcher. He identified himself unreservedly with those members of the privileged class who caused or brought about the destruction of Cornelia's great sons. Neither these nor Livius Drusus received at his hands any fair or just appreciation. He was deeply convinced that a paternal or supervising attitude toward the plebeian electorate on the part of the senate was an ideal of government and political wisdom. His deepest ambition was set upon attaining, through the activities of his consular office, and through a policy of prevention, a distinction, in no wise inferior to that gained in the field and confirmed by a triumph. There was great personal pride in Cicero's political conduct, which pride elevates him immeasurably above the mere politician who sails with wind and tide and privately measures all by his competence. A genuine perception as to his personal resourcelessness after his restoration from exile, made him consent to lean upon the dynasts and occasionally to support their measures. At the same time this was the period when he more and more withdrew from public life and began to conceive nobler tasks, summing up his own powers and his political creed and whatever he held dear in culture and civic conviction. His pen in fact was mainly that which furnished him an alternative of living whenever the *patronus* and senator, from political and civic self-respect determined to withdraw from these spheres. Caesar touched not a hair of his head nor took an *as* from his estate after Pharsalos

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and the anxious year of semi-exile at Brundisium. Of all the great autocrats of history Julius Caesar was the most generous as long as he could be. Still, when Caesar's regency was an accomplished fact, Cicero condemned it with a certain indirection, not only by avoiding the Senate-house now so largely filled with 'Caesar's centurions', but even abstained from appearing in the courts now so largely presided over by praetors designated by the Regent, whose very name and more than mortal honors ever reminded the Republican scholar of the Tusculanum of the sad battlefields of the Civil War. Cicero's abomination of the politician Caesar was so deep and strong that he was unable to judge with fairness the nobler qualities of Aurelia's son, except in one passage of contrast with Antony, a delineation which is indeed among the finest things done in Latin (2 Phil. 116).

The three great conflicts of Cicero's career were those with Catiline, with Clodius, and with Antony. His own generation was largely inclined to view them as personal feuds, especially the second and the third one. But he insisted on rating them differently. He saw himself in these contentions as the champion of great and noble principles, sound morals, the purer traditions of the past, the stronger and truer republic of Cato the Censor and of Scipio Aemilianus. He felt as one surrounded by a cloud of witnesses, the shades of the past, the choir invisible of Roman worthies, who, as in the Dream of Scipio, were translated from this narrow and treacherous earth to live by themselves in bliss, in a heaven of civic immortality. In Cicero there was a continuous conflict of two voices which never chimed in harmony, that of the scholar and idealist on the one hand, and that of the practical man of the world, husband of Terentia, father-in-law of Piso, Crassipes and Dolabella. The latter needed and sought material success. The fond and voracious reader, working in his 'Lyceum', the garden-library of his estate in the Alban hills, the student of noble thoughts and lofty principles—this is the one of these two Ciceros, the one whom we justly cherish and honor and consider it not unimportant to transmit him to further generations. But we must not overlook the other one.

This is the young aspirant for fame and distinction, son of

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the quiet and retired gentlemen of moderate wealth, born in the highlands of the upper Liris, amid a simple and unspoiled folk of yeomen. The aristocracy had splendid mansions particularly on the Palatine, where their luxury held high revel, and where a silly anecdote would have the Arpinate susceptible to the beaming beauty of Clodia, the Lesbia of Catullus; and Cicero's purchase of a mansion on this very Palatine, a mansion which had belonged to the richest man among this rich aristocracy and his relations—however temporary—to Antony in Macedon, and to P. Sulla, are not pleasant reading for those who like to believe him flawless.

In the Alban hills again he made himself a residence among this proud and exclusive folk, and in the Newport of the same society where from Cumae and Puteoli one looks out upon that gulf of Paradise, or where, by Pompeii still another villa nestled at the foot of Vesuvius, where Rome in miniature (pusilla Roma) took the waters or vigorously amused itself—there too his villas were contiguous to theirs. This social satisfaction, however, did not lessen—it increased enormously his insistence on his personal merit, on his unaided industry, on his attainment of being the social peer of those who bore the historical names of the imperial commonwealth.

Few personages of all time, no one personality of classic antiquity is so well known to us as he. Few men have left so large a body of extremely private correspondence to the tender mercies of a curious and dissecting world. Every chambered cell of his growing life lies revealed. Every foible, every passing mood, lie before us as though we observed his heartbeat through a casement of glass. His infinite sensitiveness no less than his swift and sure intelligence, his fears and prejudices, his rancour, his faculty of fathomless hatred are turned toward our gaze, no less than his nobler aspiration for justice, equity and righteousness. His was a warmly beating heart; few men in all history have been so resolutely grateful as Marcus Tullius Cicero. On the other hand his cast of temperament and will compels us to rate him somewhat lower than Caesar in the domain of forgetting and forgiving. The volcanic passion of his vindictiveness even now may cause our souls to shudder and tremble with a very positive horror. The deep intellectuality of the man himself is

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revealed in his last years, especially after the death of the only one of his children who seemed to deserve his strongest affection. He had buried his Tullia—he was himself desolate and bared of joy and hope, like a tree in December. He had heard the knell of almost all of his ideals, the world in which he went on living was dreary to him, for it was vicious, frivolous, shallow, decadent. 'It was within the power of Themistocles to live a life of leisure, it was within the choice of Epaminondas, it was—that I may not go into ancient or foreign spheres—it was permitted *to me:* But somehow there is deeply rooted in the mind a certain presentiment of future ages, and this is both quickened to life most in the greatest intellects and in the loftiest souls, and also it is most readily revealed in them. If this were cancelled, who would be so imbecile as always to live in toil and danger?' (Tuscul. *Disp. 1, 33*).

E. G. SIHLER.

UNIVERSITY HEIGHTS, NEW YORK.

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II.—NOTES ON PLAUTUS AND TERENCE.

Last year Dr. Edmund Hauler, Professor at Vienna, published, for the second time, a revision of Dziatzko's well known edition of the Phormio of Terence (Teubner, Leipzig).[1] In this revision he aimed to carry out, even more thoroughly than had been done in previous versions of the work, the plan of Dziatzko himself, to cite fully the pertinent literature, to indicate its contents, and to estimate its value. The resultant book is a rich store-house of materials, better far even than its excellent predecessors, set forth in clear and effective fashion for the benefit of the philological neophyte on whom, according to the Preface, Dr. Hauler always kept his eyes fixed; the title-page proclaims, in Dziatzko's words, that the book has been made "Zur Einführung in die Lektüre der altlateinischen Lustspiele". The introduction abounds in sound statements of facts and in valuable suggestions; the Commentary is packed with useful notes of every sort; the Kritischer Anhang is at once elaborate, of high value, and readable. New matter has been introduced into every part of the book; much old matter has been withdrawn; the old matter which has been allowed to remain has been bettered in many ways; great improvement has been made in the Commentary through the grouping together, in elaborate notes, of short remarks on various phenomena which before had been scattered up and down the book as the phenomena recurred. The new Menander fragments and the literature to which they have given rise have been to some extent pressed into service. Many articles and books which were cited in earlier editions are not named in this, at least in the same connections; in their place appear the titles of newer, and, presumably, more authoritative discussions of the subjects involved.

[1] Dziatzko's two editions appeared in 1874 (or 1875) and 1885; the third edition, by Hauler, came in 1898.

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The book opens (pages VII–XVI) with a Verzeichnis der häufiger gebrauchten Abkürzungen. In pages 1–82 we have first an Allgemeine Einleitung (1–76), which deals with (1) a brief history of Greek and Roman comedy to Terence's time (pages 1–11), (2) Terence's life and writings (12–25), (3) the history of Terence's text (25–33), (4) Szenisches (33–41), (5) metre, music, and Bau der Stücke (41–55), (6) prosody (55–65), (7) Orthographie und Sprache (65–76). Then come special observations on the Phormio (77–82). Text and Commentary occupy pages 85–205, the Kritischer Anhang 206–272, Wort- und Sachverzeichnis 273–288. Then come two plates, of which the first gives photographic reproductions of small sections of the text in three manuscripts of Terence (Bembinus A; Victorianus D; Lipsiensis L); the second gives, in somewhat reduced size, facsimiles of the miniatures in Parisinus P and Ambrosianus F illustrating the delicious scene in Phormio 441 ff. in which Demipho's precious *advocati* darken counsel and make confusion worse confounded.

The imposing list of books and articles given in the Verzeichnis as frequently used and the constant citation, in fact, of those books and articles show that the philological neophyte to whom the book is ostensibly addressed is, from an American point of view, of proseminar or seminar rather than of undergraduate calibre. In reality the book belongs in a class with Lindsay's edition of the Captivi of Plautus (editio maior: London, Methuen, 1900), rather than with the average edition in English of a play of Plautus or Terence. Its purpose is much like that of Hayley's admirable edition of the Alcestis of Euripides (see the Preface to that book); hence the work may be judged in the same way. To seek to review in brief compass a book so rich would do justice neither to the author nor to the reviewer. Merely to praise the work, though agreeable alike to reviewed and reviewer, would in no wise advance the one business of all philologists, as of all other students, the pursuit of truth. Having given above some indication of my appreciation of the great value of the book and of my gratitude to the two distinguished scholars who have had a part in its making, I shall confine my attention, deliberately, to a part of the Introduction, taking up, in the

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main, only those matters wherein it seems possible to supplement or to correct what we find in the book before us.[1]

In the Preface (page V) Dr. Hauler states that he sought to take account especially of contributions by American scholars. I should say that the greatest weakness of the book, in the Einleitung, at least, is the editor's failure to take proper account of American scholarly work within his field. Evidence of this weakness will be found throughout this paper. Some more may be grouped here. Professor Morgan's excellent translation of the Phormio, made in connection with the admirable performance of this play at Harvard University in 1894, is not mentioned in the bibliography on pages 219–220. Yet this book deserved special mention, because in it for the first time miniatures in the Vatican MSS of Terence were adequately reproduced, in 26 plates, "from photographs taken in the Vatican Library expressly for the Classical Department of Harvard University". See the title-page and the obverse of page 101 of the book, which was published in Cambridge, in 1894. No mention is made in the Verzeichnis or in the note on 448 ff. of Harvard Studies 14 (1903), which contains 94 plates giving pen and ink reproductions of miniatures from four MSS of Terence. In the same volume of Harvard Studies is an account of the miniatures, by K. E. Weston; this, too, is apparently unnoticed.[2] Twice, then, in America parts of the miniatures had been made easily accessible before the publication of the facsimile of the Codex Ambrosianus of Terence, in 1903, by Sitjhoff, under the supervision of E. Bethe. For the sake of completeness mention may be made here also of J. Van Wageningen's Album Terentianum (Noordhoff, Groningen, 1907), and of the article by Dr. J. W. Basore, The Scenic Value of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of Terence, in Studies in Honour of Basil L. Gildersleeve (1902), 273–285. One might have expected also to find in the Verzeichnis Professor Capps's edition of Menander (1910) and Professor Catharine Saunders's Costume in Roman Comedy

[1] The book may rightly be treated in this way, since, as the latest general discussion of the themes of which it treats, it is sure to attract much attention.

[2] On page XVI, however, there is a reference to an article, by J. C. Watson, in Harvard Studies 14.

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(1909). But matters of costume receive practically no attention in this book (see p. 40).

On page 5 Hauler well remarks that, though the New Attic Comedy, in many ways, as compared with the Old, shows retrogression, it had one marked advantage over the Old, in "die Befreiung von jeder örtlichen Eigenart, während selbst die Dramen eines Aristophanes nur für die mit den damaligen Verhältnissen Athens Vertrauten völlig verständlich sind". It was this cosmopolitan character, he continues, not merely the fact that the New Comedy stood closest in time to the beginnings of Latin literature that led the Roman comic poets to take their material (almost) exclusively from the New Comedy. It might have been added that, just because the Roman playwrights developed still further this cosmopolitan character, their plays rather than the Greek originals have survived. I have never seen the cosmopolitan character of Roman comedy so well put as it will be in an article which is to appear shortly in The Classical Weekly 7, by Professor W. A. Oldfather, on Roman Comedy.

On page 5, again, Dr. Hauler credits the early Romans, as well as the other early Italians and the Italians of today, with "natürliche Anlage und Neigung für den Kunstzweig der Komödie". He holds, nevertheless, that they had not gone beyond "dialogische Stegreifsticheleien (*versus Fescennini*) und derbe Anfänge des dramatischen Spiels". There is no reference to the dramatic *satura*; Hauler concedes less than was granted by Schanz (see A. J. P. XXXIII 146–148). Hauler's silence is the more noteworthy since in his previous version of Dziatzko's book (1898) he had, on pages 5–6, mentioned the dramatic *satura*, in a discussion of Livy 7. 2 (of this passage nothing is said in the present edition).[1]

[1] This silence supplies further justification, if such be needed, of the space given recently in various American journals to this important subject: see A. J. P. XXIX 469; XXXIII 125-127, and P. A. P. A. 43. 125. Two new articles of importance on this general subject may be noted: Satura and Satire, by Professor B. L. Ullman, Classical Philology 8. 172-194, which gives an excellent account of the use of the word *satura*, and presents the keen suggestion, approved by Leo, Geschichte der Römischen Literatur (1913), 1. 423, Anm. 1, that *satura* was originally a neuter plural adjective which was later transformed

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On page 6 it is stated that Livius Andronicus "war um 284 v. Chr. zu Tarent geboren". For Tarentum as Livius's birthplace not a shred of evidence, however, is cited (none is forthcoming). An editor of Terence might surely be expected to remember how tantalizing, spite of its apparent definiteness, is the *Afer* part of his own author's name. Schanz[2] (§ 23, p. 56) had noted that it is by no means fair to infer Livius's Tarentine birth from the fact that he came to Rome as a prisoner from Tarentum. He referred to Leo, Plautinische Forschungen 71, n. 1 (81, n. 1, in edition 2), a three-line note doubting Livius's Tarentine origin, on the ground that the Romans did not trouble themselves about the birthplace of slaves.[1] Why make any statement about Livius's birthplace? He *might* have been born in any of the towns of Magna Graecia; indeed, since Pyrrhus and his troops participated in this war, he *might* even have been born outside of Italy. His birthplace is of small importance; but it is important that scholars should refrain from ex cathedra statements about matters concerning which we have not a jot of evidence.

Nor does Hauler support in any way his date for the birth

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into a feminine singular noun; and Dramatic "Satura", also by Professor Ullman, in Classical Philology 9. 1-23.

It may be allowable here to notice one remark in the latter article (18, n. 1): "If Knapp merely insists that the elements of a drama existed at Rome before Andronicus introduced the Greek *fabulae*, then we are all agreed, for even Hendrickson, I am sure, is willing to grant this". With the private opinions of scholars one can hardly be expected to reckon; it is difficult enough to keep abreast of published opinions. In the interests of accuracy in general and of fair play to myself I ask those interested to read my remarks in P. A. P. A. 43. 140.

[1] They did not trouble themselves about the birthplace of a Naevius. In his Geschichte der Römischen Literatur, 1. 53, Leo says, without argument, "Aus Tarent stammte auch Andronicus". He then speculates on the education Andronicus *may* have received at Tarentum. On p. 55 he writes: "Es steht nicht fest, dass Andronicus Tarentiner war, aber es ist wahrscheinlich". In a footnote, he supports this assertion by the strange argument that "der falsche Ansatz des Accius auf die Eroberung von Tarent im Jahre 209 scheint zur Voraussetzung zu haben, dass ihm die tarentinische Herkunft des Andronicus bezeugt war". How can an error about the date of the capture of Tarentum at which Livius himself became a captive throw any light on his birthplace?

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of Livius. On his view Livius was 12 years old when he came to Rome; Ribbeck, Römische Tragödie, 22, had supposed that he was six years old in 272. Neither scholar noticed that on his hypothesis Livius would hardly have figured as *semi-graecus* (Suetonius, De Grammaticis 1) or as a teacher of the Greek language, or even as interpreter of that language. In a new environment, where only a different language was normally spoken, the boy of six or twelve, in 272 B. C. following, would have lost his native Greek speech long before he would have been old enough to figure as teacher at all. Either we must deny or ignore the ancient statements that Livius was a teacher [1] or we must put the date of his birth as far back, at the least, as 290 B. C. This will make him long-lived, since he was alive in 207. If we must cite parallels for the longevity of men of letters in ancient times, compare e. g. Cicero, Cato Maior 13, 23, and the Nomenclator Senum in Professor F. G. Moore's edition of the Cato Maior, pages 50–52.[2]

To Andronicus's translation of the Odyssey only four lines of text and a footnote of one line are given (6). This comment is, however, commendable, since it is non-committal in character; such restraint is far wiser than was Mommsen's severe arraignment of Andronicus's renderings and paraphrases.[3]

[1] See Jerome, under 187 B. C.; Suetonius, De Grammaticis 1.

[2] Leo, Geschichte, etc., 1, 55, holds it "sicher, dass er in jungen Jahren nach Rom kam"; on page 58 he thinks of Livius as 15 years old when he came to Rome.

[3] See his History, English translation by Dickson (1883), 2. 497–500. For other harsh judgments of Livius Andronicus, largely influenced, I think, by Mommsen's positive statements, see Schanz², § 23; Ribbeck, Römische Dichtung², 1. 16; Cruttwell, 37-38. Even Sellar, Roman Poets of the Republic, 52, hardly has a good word for Livius's Odyssey. Duff, A Literary History of Rome, 122-124, mixes up good comment with bad in a very curious way. He is so dead to the two points I note above in connection with the first line of Livius's Odyssey that he actually writes (124): "The extant specimens prove that he can positively mistranslate, and that he does not maintain the fidelity of the familiar opening words:—*Virum mihi, Camena, insece uersutum.* The number of fragments whose place is uncertain is the best proof of inexact translation". But who knows yet whether Livius sought to translate or to paraphrase? Clear knowledge on that point is needed before we can pass sure judgments on our few fragments. Whoever seeks to compare a Latin version by any Roman author of a Greek

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In the footnote Dr. Hauler writes merely: "Der Anfangsvers lautete: *Virum mihi, Camena, insece vorsutum*". As I compare this verse with the Greek original, Ἄνδρα μο ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, I see two noteworthy things, on which no one, so far as I know, has commented in print. (1) *vorsutum* is plainly a good rendering of πολύτροπον, both etymologically and spiritually. If proof must be given, we may remark that passages like Cicero De Natura Deorum 3. 25 homo versutus et callidus (versutos eos appello quorum celeriter mens versatur), Plautus Epid. 371 vorsutior es quam rota figularis, and Capt. 368–370 utroque vorsum rectumst ingenium meum, ad ted atque illum; pro rota me uti licet; vel ego huc vel illuc vortar, quo imperabitis, show just that mixture of good and bad connotation which πολύτροπος in the Odyssey and its congeners in the Iliad (πολύμητις, πολύφρων, πολυμήχανος, ποικιλόμητις) convey. *Vorsutus*, in any event, is a better rendering of πολύτροπος than Horace made much later (assuming that Horace was trying to translate) in Epp. 1. 2. 19: see e. g. Wilkins ad loc. The excellence of this part of Livius's line is self-evident. But (2) it is not so transparent that in *insece*, too, we have an exact—an even more exact—etymological equivalent of the Greek original. To be sure, Aulus Gellius 18. 9 connected *insece* and the rare noun *insectio* with *insequor*, taking the verb as = 'pursue'. But it has long been held that *insece* shows the same root as ἔννεπε, the root seen in *sagen* and in *say*. See e. g. Merry-Riddell on Od. 1. 1 (1886); Walde, Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch² (1910), s. v. *inquam*; L. Müller, Quintus Ennius: Eine Einleitung in das Studium der Römischen Poesie (1884), 206. Now, it seems

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original with that original would do well to read and ponder Gellius 2. 23. Caecilius is described commonly as having been faithful to his Greek originals; yet, if we did not have Gellius's word for it in 2. 23, we should not dream of connecting the verses of Caecilius cited there by Gellius with the Greek passages with which Gellius connects them. See further my remarks in A. J. P. XXXII 22, n. 1.

For juster views of Livius's Odyssey see Wordsworth, Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin, 569; Conington, Miscellaneous Writings 1. 298-301; Leo, Plautinische Forschungen² 88 ff.; Leo, Die Originalität der Römischen Litteratur (Göttingen, 1904), 8, by implication, and Geschichte der Römischen Literatur 1. 59 ff.

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to be accounted a virtue in Vergil that at times he attaches to a name an epithet etymologically akin to the name: see the editors on *novae . . . Carthaginis*, Aen. 1. 298; *pluvias . . . Hyadas*, 1. 744; *Plemyrium undosum*, 3. 693. Livius Andronicus should receive credit, therefore, at least for his *vorsutus*. Though we hold that the etymological kinship of *insece* to ἐννεπε was a mere coincidence, and not the result of real knowledge, merit should none the less be imputed to Livius for *insece*, since he reproduced a rare word of the Greek by a rare Latin word.

On page 10 occurs an extraordinary statement: "Unter der ganzen Masse der schliesslich als Plautinisch umlaufenden Stücke (etwa 130 an der Zahl) schied M. Terentius Varro, der Zeitgenosse Ciceros, nebst 19 wahrscheinlich echten folgende 21 entschieden echte aus[2]: *Amphitruo . . . Truculentus* und *Vidularia*. Diese sind uns mit Ausnahme des letzten Stückes erhalten . . . ." Anmerkung 2 runs as follows: "Ritschl, Parerga S. 71 ff." But Ritschl makes no such statement as Dr. Hauler makes, for he wrote (1845): "Ein und zwanzig Stücke, erzählen uns alle Litterarhistoriker nach Gellius III, 3, schied Varro aus der grossen Masse sogenannter Plautinischer Komödien als ächt aus;—ein und zwanzig hatten sich in die Jahrhunderte des Mittelalters und mit einem zufälligen Verlust bis auf unsere Zeit erhalten;—was war natürlicher, als dass man eben diese erhaltenen 21 für die 21 Varronischen nahm?" Dr. Hauler thus misrepresents both Ritschl and Gellius 3. 3. 3–4 (our main ancient authority in this matter): Nam praeter illas unam et viginti, quae Varronianae vocantur, quas idcirco a ceteris segregavit quoniam dubiosae non erant, set consensu omnium Plauti esse censebantur, quasdam item alias probavit adductus filo atque facetia sermonis Plauto congruentis easque iam nominibus aliorum occupatas Plauto vindicavit, sicuti istam, quam nuperrime legebamus, cui est nomen Boeotia. Nam cum in illis una et viginti non sit et esse Aquili dicatur, nihil tamen Varro dubitavit quin Plauti foret . . . How can any one overlook the fact that Gellius does not name the Varronian plays? It is of course a natural assumption that Varro's approval of any collection of 21 plays would give to the plays so selected special importance and a better chance for life. It is, also, as

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Ritschl noted, a natural assumption that the 21 plays which have come down to us are the plays approved by Varro. But these are inferences only, and their correctness must remain beyond scientific demonstration until Varro's list of 21, vouched for by good ancient authority, is recovered for us. Philological neophytes surely should have better guidance into right methods of searching for the truth than a misinterpretation of an ancient passage fortified by a misinterpretation of a modern scholar's statements.

No scholar, then, has the right to assert, without qualification, as so many have done,[1] that the plays of Plautus that have come down to us are the plays selected by Varro as undoubtedly genuine. But Dr. Hauler's statement contains another misrepresentation, equally widespread, to the effect that Varro selected a second group of 19 as probably genuine. This statement is the result of a German 'Combination' of Gellius's simple words *quasdam item alias probavit* (see above) and the words used by Servius in his prefatory note on Aeneid 1: Plautum alii dicunt unam et viginti fabulas scripsisse, alii quadraginta, alii centum. There is no mention of 19 in Gellius, no mention of Varro in Servius.

On pages 10–11 Ennius's life and work are discussed. In the bibliography on p. 11, n. 1, reference might have been made, profitably, I hope, to my article, Vahlen's Ennius, A J. P. XXXII 1–35.

On page 12, especially in Anm. 2, Dr. Hauler departs from the views held in the preceding edition concerning the date of Terence's birth. There he gave the date as 190 B. C. Now, he puts it as 195 B. C., holding that the best MSS of the Vita Terenti read *Post editas comoedias . . . nondum quintum atque tricesimum* . . . egressus annum—egressus <urbe> est neque amplius rediit. But Wessner, in his Donatus 1, p. 7 (1902), gives in his text *nondum quintum atque vicesimum*. Hauler is thus at variance with our best authority on Donatus's text. Dr. Hauler notes that in the preceding version of Dziatzko's

[1] It is not necessary to enumerate these scholars here. I note rather that Leo's statement, Geschichte, etc., 1. 94, "Diese 21 sind in späterer Zeit, um 100 n. Chr., in einer Ausgabe vereinigt worden, und so sind sie uns erhalten", is less exact than it ought to be, for it implies that we know what plays Varro's list contained.

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book he had himself sought to support the 'old' reading *vicesimum* by pointing out that between original composition and adaptation of Greek originals there is a difference, a difference which would make Terence's literary output possible to a young man of twenty-five. Probably Dr. Hauler does not mean that he alone had made this suggestion; at any rate Sellar made it long ago in his Roman Poets of the Republic, 208.[1]

On page 14 Dr. Hauler writes excellently of the jealousy which Luscius Lanuvinus and others felt towards Terence: "Dem engeren Kreise der Dichter Roms, die zunftmässig zusammenhielten, scheint er fern geblieben zu sein. Deshalb lautet der Vorwurf eines Gegners (Haut. Prol. 23 f.).... Auch der besonders von dem *vetus poeta*, Luscius Lanuvinus, und wohl auch von anderen Berufsgenossen gehegte und geschürte Neid und Hass, unter dem Terenz bei seinem Auftreten zu leiden hatte, kann zu einem guten Teil auf seine Abschliessung gegen jene zurückgehen. Zufrieden mit dem Beifall, den er in dem Kreise hochgestellter Männer fand, kümmerte er sich wenig um das Wohlwollen einer engherzigen Dichterclique". In this envy of contemporary poets Dr. Hauler (ibid.) finds the source of the ancient stories that parts at least of the plays current under Terence's name had been written rather by his noble patrons. In this connection reference might have been made with profit to Professor Sihler's excellent article, The *Collegium Poetarum* at Rome, A. J. P. XXVI 1–21, especially 8–17. Professor Sihler there anticipated Dr. Hauler completely. It may be noted that in Vergil's failure to join the

[1] Leo, Geschichte der Römischen Literatur, I. 233, writes in his text: "Auch sein Geburtsjahr kannte man nicht". In Anm. 3 he adds: "Die in der Vita (7, 8) angesetzten 25 Jahre Lebenszeit, also Geburt a. 185, erkennt Nepos an (3, 14 *aequales omnes fuisse*), aber Fenestella, der einzige der diese Dinge mit kritischem Blick untersucht hat, nicht (ib. *utroque maiorem natu fuisse*)". It will be seen that Dr. Hauler does not refer to Fenestella's view. Leo names no date. Nor does he enter into a discussion of Donatus's text. He holds that the Prologues of Terence "stellen einen jungen Mann vor Augen". In this he is in sharp opposition to Dziatzko, whose view is cited by Hauler (p. 12, n. 3) with approval, as making for a date earlier than 185 B. C. Leo cites, from classical times, examples of literary performances of excellence by young men.

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Collegium Poetarum, Professor Sihler (17 ff.) finds the explanation of the criticism to which Vergil was subjected.

In the course of a good discussion of Terence's life and work, Hauler rightly notes (p. 22) that, thanks to Terence's art, we should not be able to prove that there was 'contamination' in his plays did we not have his own authority and that of Donatus for such 'contamination'. In discussions of Terence's art, sufficient emphasis has seldom, if ever, been laid on this point; here he stands in sharpest contrast to Plautus.[1] In 1907, in a paper on Travel in Ancient Times as Seen in Plautus and Terence, Classical Philology, 2, I found, as one by-product of the main investigation, another proof of the care with which Terence worked out his plays, even in minute details. Plautus's geography is often Italian. Terence's is always Greek: see especially 5, n. 1.

On page 22, again, Dr. Hauler says: "Weiter durchbrach er die Illusion nicht wie Plautus und (nach den Bruchstücken) gelegentlich auch die attischen Dichter dadurch, dass er mit den Zuschauern innerhalb eines Lustspieles in unmittelbaren Verkehr trat". The phrase "nach den Bruchstücken" seems to show that Dr. Hauler was confining his attention to the New Attic Comedy. Plautus, of course, had so good a predecessor as Aristophanes in this matter[2]: cf. e. g., for addresses quite apart from parabasis-passages, Aves 30 ff. (with Van Leeuwen's note), Nubes 44 ff. (with Humphreys's note), 1437.

On page 24 Hauler discusses the absence of *vis comica* in Terence. One sentence is interesting: "Diesen Mittelton tadelten die Gegner, wenn sie übertreibend den Vorwurf erhoben (Phor. Prol. 5), seine Stücke seien *tenui oratione et scriptura levi*. Auch Caesar beklagt es, dass mit den *lenia scripta* des Dichters nicht *vis* verbunden sei". When one turns to the commentary on Prol. 5, he finds no note at all on *tenui... oratione*, and only the following on *scriptura levi*: "vgl. Nepos

[1] For recent American discussions of 'contamination' in Plautus see H. W. Prescott, The *Amphitruo* of Plautus, Classical Philology 8. 14–22 (against Leo's theory that there was contamination in the play), and Dr. Cornelia C. Coulter, Composition of the "Rudens" of Plautus, ibid. 57–64 (an argument that there was contamination in this play).

[2] For Plautus's practice see my paper in P. A. P. A. 41, l–li.

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Praef. § 1 qui hoc genus scripturae leve et non satis dignum summorum virorum personis iudicent, 'seichte, gehaltlose Darstellung' mit Betonung der Dürftigkeit des Inhalts". This is marked as a new note; in edition 3 both *tenui oratione* and *scriptura levi* were left without comment. I can see no connection between Prol. 5 and the *vis comica* matter. Nor can I feel that *tenui... oratione* and *scriptura levi* in this context, on any natural interpretation, connote the same thing as Caesar's expression, *lenia scripta,* so clearly defined by its context. *Tenuis* and *levis* are not, in any case, *lenis.* Professor Elmer and Messrs. Bond and Sloman (following Colman's translation) took *oratione* as 'portrayal of character', an impossible interpretation, I think. Why not interpret simply of 'feeble language' and 'trivial style'?[1] See the next three verses, with Professor Elmer's notes. I agree, then, with Dr. Hauler's remarks in his note on Prol. 5, especially his citation of Nepos, rather than with his statements in the Introduction, 24. In a discussion of the *vis comica* matter reference should surely be made to Professor Sihler's paper on The *Collegium Poetarum* at Rome, A. J. P. XXVI 16–17.

I turn now to section 4 of the Introduction, "Szenisches". On page 34 we find the oft-repeated statement that originally at Rome plays were performed "in der Nähe des Tempels derjenigen Gottheit... der das Fest galt; seit der Errichtung des ersten Schaugebäudes in Rom, des *circus Flaminius,* im J. 221 v. Chr. wurde wohl auch dieser hierfür verwendet". In support of these statements practically no proof is afforded by the citations in foot-notes 1 and 2. Lucilius 146 (Marx), *Romanis ludis forus olim ornatus lucernis,* cited in note 1, does not in itself prove absolutely even that the *ludi Romani* were celebrated in the Forum or that they were confined to the Forum. In ancient, as in modern times, one may suppose (since guessing in these matters is fashionable), decorations, if attempted at all, extended beyond the actual scene of the celebration proper. However that may be, one who is writing primarily about theatrical matters needs to ask himself what connection there can be between *ornatus lucernis* and plays.

[1] This view I have held for many years. Professor G. J. Laing, in his edition (1908), renders by "are (marked) by feeble phrasing and a flimsy style".

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Such testimony as we have for the time of Roman dramatic performances points to the daylight hours, at least in the time of Plautus and Terence (see Hauler, 37; below, p. 30). Marx, in his note on Lucilius, l. c., says: "Aguntur ludi noctu more maiorum: conf. acta ludorum saecularium u. 100 (Ephem. epigr. VIII p. 231. 268) 'ludique noctu sacrificio confecto sunt commissi in scaena quoi theatrum adiectum non fuit nullis positis sedilibus': ornatur forum ab aedilibus (Liu. IX 40, 16) 'signis et luminibus' (Cic. de nat. deor. I 9, 22: in Verr. act. II lib. I 141 'ludis ipsis Romanis, foro ornato') cuius rei testimonium Lucilii est uersus uetustissimum".[1] The date referred to in the words cited from the Acta Ludorum Saecularium is too late to throw light on the point Hauler is seeking to make.

Nor is our author more successful in Anm. 2. He admits that in Plaut. Mil. Glor. 991 Iamst ante aedis circus, ubi sunt ludi faciundi mihi, the word *circus* is used figuratively, yet he seeks to infer from its use that dramatic performances were held in the Circus Flaminius. The passage cited from Varro L. L. 5. 153 is even less valuable, since it is wholly without context.[2]

On page 34, again, Dr. Hauler, in his discussion of the theater-structure, departs widely from the position taken in the third edition, in holding that as early as 200 B. C. a *cavea* of wood, "Zuschauerraum mit Sitzreihen", was added to "hölzerne Bühne". This view is supported by reference to Fabia, Les théâtres de Rome au temps de Plaute et de Térence, in Revue de Philologie 21. 11 ff., and F. Bauer, Quaestiones Scaenicae Plautinae, a Strassburg dissertation of 1902.

[1] So Becker-Göll, Gallus 1. 136.

[2] This whole question of the place(s) of dramatic performances was well discussed by Professor Catharine Saunders, of Vassar College, in a paper entitled The Site of Dramatic Performances at Rome in the Times of Plautus and Terence, read at the meeting of The American Philological Association, at Cambridge, December, 1913. Professor Saunders summarized carefully what is known on this subject, and then sought by lines of inquiry not before properly employed to throw fresh light upon it. Her conclusions were not essentially different from those current since the publication of Hahn's Scaenicae Quaestiones Plautinae (1867), but they were better supported. It is probable that the paper will appear in full in T. A. P. A. 44.

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If finally substantiated, it will have important bearing on the question of the genuineness of the Prologues to the plays of Plautus; it will then no longer be possible to hold, as Ritschl did, that a prologue is non-Plautine, in whole or in part, because it contains reference to definite seats. The theory adopted now by Hauler gives a better explanation of the innovation introduced in 194 B. C., by which, according to Livy 34. 54, ludos Romanos primum senatus a populo secretus spectavit praebuitque sermones: cf. Livy 34. 44 (of the same year) censores . . . gratiam quoque ingentem apud eum ordinem pepererunt quod ludis Romanis aedilibus curulibus imperarunt ut loca senatoria secernerent a populo, nam antea in promiscuo spectabant. We get now substance for the innovation itself and a better explanation of the popular dissatisfaction.[1]

Hauler agrees (34, Anm. 4: a new note) with F. Bauer, Quaestiones Scaenicae Plautinae 36 f., that as early as 179 B. C. near the temple of Apollo were built a *theatrum et proscaenium* of stone, "wohl aber nur für die *ludi Apollinares* und von beschränkter Grösse". He rejects Ritschl's view, Parerga 217, Anm., "dass jene nur aus steinernen Umfassungsschranken ohne Stufen bestanden habe". This view, too, is important, for the theory that as early as 179 B. C. the passion for the theatre had made such progress as to force, against

[1] I have long had, among my notes on the Roman theatre, a query concerning the statement, repeatedly made without hesitation, that L. Mummius in 146 B. C. had built a complete (wooden) theatre, with concentric rings of seats for spectators. Our knowledge of what Mummius really did, and of the contrast between this and what had preceded, depends on Tacitus, Annales 14. 20–21. In chapter 21 Tacitus tells us that it was urged, in certain connections, that possessa Achaia Asiaque ludos curatius editos, nec quemquam Romae honesto loco ortum ad theatrales artes degeneravisse, ducentis iam annis a L. Mummii triumpho, qui primus id genus spectaculi in urbe praebuerit. It is to be noted that nothing whatever is said of the structure in which Mummius gave his spectacle. The clause *qui . . . praebuerit* is troublesome, in that it is difficult, on any natural interpretation of the words (Tacitus is plainly talking of the theatre), to reconcile the clause with what we know from other sources about the theatre. Tacitus is giving public gossip, and, as often, is writing too vaguely to be of real service in a scientific inquiry. How vague his words are may be seen by an examination of the editors ad loc. (e. g. Dräger, Nipperdey, Furneaux) and a glance at Ritschl, Parerga 228.

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the deep-seated governmental objection, the building of a complete stone theatre, of whatever size, gives more point to the reactionary legislation of P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica.[1]

On page 35 Dr. Hauler asserts that the reactionary legislation of Nasica was soon disregarded, since in 145 Mummius "errichtete . . . wieder ein vollständiges Theater mit Sitzreihen, aber nur von Holz und bloss für seine Spiele". How little real warranty there is for such definite statements has been shown above, p. 25, n. 1. Dr. Hauler cites Tac. Ann. 14. 20 and Vitruv. 5. 5. 7, which help not at all.[2] He does not meet the comment of Livy, Epitome 48, on the results of Nasica's legislation: *populusque aliquamdiu stans ludos spectavit.* Ritschl, however, Parerga 228, who made Mummius builder of a fully developed theatre, thought an interval of 8 years long enough to justify Livy's *aliquamdiu.*

An interesting new remark is that on page 35, to the effect that the extent to which the ancients lived out of doors made it seem less unnatural to them than it would to us that the stage represented a public street. On page 36, there are interesting observations, in Anm. 2, on the pains taken by the Roman playwrights (as well as by their Greek forbears) to observe the unities of time and place. Over against these observations, however, must be set Professor Prescott's view,

[1] For Nasica's legislation see Livy, Epitome 48; Valerius Maximus 2. 4. 2 senatus consulto cautum est ne quis in urbe propiusve passus mille subsellia posuisse sedensve ludos spectare vellet, ut scilicet remissioni animorum iuncta <so Ritschl, etc.> standi virilitas propria Romanae gentis nota esset. Bauer's theories, certainly, make possible a rational explanation of *sedens* and *standi* in this passage; cf. above, page 25.

I venture to digress here, by inviting attention to a passage in Cato Censor apud Gellium. In 6. 3 Gellius discusses Tullius Tiro's criticisms of a speech made by Cato Censor on behalf of the Rhodians. In 36–37, too long to quote here, Cato indignantly asks whether there is any law that proposes a penalty because one *wants* to do a certain thing. Nasica's legislation, as described in Valerius Maximus, becomes proper illustrative material for a commentary on Gellius, l. c.

[2] In this connection he makes the statement that "bei den Griechen . . . erst um 330 v. Chr. durch Lykurg in Athen ein steinernes Theater erbaut wurde". Professor Weller, Athens and its Monuments (1913), 190–192 puts the building of a stone theatre at Athens at a much earlier date.

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urged in Classical Philology 8. 20–22, that part of the action of the Amphitruo took place before the house of Amphitruo, part at a distance from the house, at the harbor, and that a night intervened between the two parts. Dr. Coulter's article, already referred to (p. 22, n. 1), is in point here also; she notes the care with which Plautus seeks to knit together the materials which, she believes, he took from two plays to make the Rudens.[1]

On page 37 Dr. Hauler says that as a rule only one altar stood on the stage. In Anm. 1 reference should have been made to the article by Professor Catharine Saunders, Altars on the Roman Comic Stage, P. A. P. A. 42. 91–104.

On page 37, again, we have the familiar view that "rechts (vom Zuschauerraum aus betrachtet) pflegte die Strasse <i. e. the stage> nach dem Marktplatze und ins Innere der Stadt, links nach dem Hafen und in die Fremde zu führen". In Anm. 2 support for this statement is given in a reference to Vitruvius 5. 6 (7). 8, and Reisch, Theater 256. Why was not

[1] It is so much the fashion to emphasize Plautus's indifference to considerations of art (for a very recent utterance of that sort see Professor Prescott, Classical Philology 8. 18, 20), that I cannot resist the temptation to insert here a note on the Menaechmi. I use Lindsay's text.

In Men. 317–318 Culindrus, supposing that he is talking of the Epidamnian Menaechmus, says Solet iocari saepe mecum illoc modo: quamvis ridiculus est—ubi uxor non adest. These clear-cut words give more importance than they might otherwise possess to the following passages, all said with reference to the Epidamnian Menaechmus: 396 (Erotium speaks) Qui lubet ludibrio habere me atque ire infitias mihi facta quae sunt?; 405 (Erotium speaks) desine† ludos facere atque i hac mecum semul; 746 (the wife speaks) Si me derides, at pol illum non potes, patrem meum qui huc advenit; 824–825 MATRONA. Profecto ludit te hic. Non tu tenes? SENEX. Iam vero, Menaechme, satis iocatus. Nunc hanc rem gere. In these passages Plautus, it seems to me, is seeking to picture the Epidamnian Menaechmus as a chronic practical joker, and thereby to give an air of plausibility to the continued mystification of his friends, who must have known the story of the two brothers, and so, when they saw signs of the *peregrinitas* of the one Menaechmus, ought to have guessed the truth. If it be urged that these allusions to Menaechmus's joking propensities belong rather to the Greek original, Plautus none the less deserves credit for retaining them. They make less troublesome the difficulties felt about the costume of the Syracusan brother: see e. g. my remarks in Classical Philology 2. 298.

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reference made directly to passages in the plays which throw light on the matter? Why was not reference made to Lorenz, Introductions to editions of the Mostellaria (1883), 4 and the Miles Gloriosus (1886), 8–9? In a paper presented in December, 1909, at the meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, I discussed the matter in some detail. The paper will be finished soon, I hope, and published in full: for an abstract of it see American Journal of Archaeology, Second Series, 14. 88–89.

At present I wish to make only one or two remarks on Hauler's treatment of the subject. The passage of Vitruvius referred to by him gives no authority for the view he supports. Here is the passage, in Krohn's text (1912): Secundum ea loca <= the περίακτοι> versurae sunt procurrentes, quae efficiunt una a foro altera a peregre aditus in scaenam. Vitruvius does indeed attach special significance to the side-entrances, but he does not state which wing led to the forum, which led *peregre*. Yet scholar after scholar has cited this Vitruvius passage in support of the view set forth by Hauler. We need light from other sources to supplement Vitruvius. That light has been supplied for thirty years by Lorenz (see above): yet editor after editor of Plautus has ignored Lorenz's statement of evidence, or has misused Vitruvius.

The treatment in Dörpfeld-Reisch, Das Griechische Theater 256, the only other authority referred to by Hauler, is in some ways strange. There is a fundamental error, in the assumption that the arrangements of the Greek and the Roman theatre were precisely the same.[1] As a result of this erroneous assumption an attempt is made to determine the significance of the side-entrances to the *Greek* stage by means of passages in *Latin* plays! Three passages from Latin plays are referred to, Am. 333, Men. 551, Mer. 879: they are not, however, discussed, though it is extremely difficult to derive from one of them, at least, Mer. 879, any sure evidence. The conclusions reached are correct for the Roman theatre, but at variance with those stated for the Greek theatre, e. g. by Haigh, The Attic Theatre[3], 194.[2]

[1] Cf. Rees, A. J. P. XXXII 401, n. 1.

[2] Dörpfeld-Reisch also hold that the same arrangements obtained in the Greek theatre of the fifth century B. C. as in the days of the New

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It is strange that Dr. Hauler, a student of Terence, failed to cite as evidence the excellent testimony afforded by the Andria. At 721 Davus enters carrying the new born child of Pamphilus and Glycerium (722). He begs Mysis, who has been on the stage since 684, to aid him in a scheme to further the interests of Pamphilus. But seeing Chremes, whose daughter Simo would fain make Pamphilus marry, enter, he rejects his original plan, and cries to Mysis (733–734), Ego quoque hinc *ab dextera* venire me adsimulabo. Chremes, then, is entering from the right. In 740–742 he addresses a question to Mysis,[1] but before she can answer, Davus enters (744), *a dextera*, of course, crying loudly, Di vostram fidem! quid turbaest apud forum! quid illi hominum litigant! Tum annona carast. Quid dicam aliud nescio. Both Chremes and Davus, then, had entered from the right, from the forum side. From whose right? At 722 ff. both Davus and Mysis, as they prepared to lay the child *ante ianuam*, would naturally have faced somewhat away from the spectators (i. e., much as the spectators themselves faced). Since, after Davus's departure, the eyes of Mysis would naturally be more or less steadily on the child lying before Simo's door, since the child is seen at once by Chremes (741 ff.), since Davus's eyes, as he entered again, would naturally be on the group (Mysis, Chremes and the child), we conclude that all three actors are facing somewhat away from the audience, toward the house: hence motion *a dextera*, which brought Davus *from the forum*, is motion from the right of the spectators.[2]

Comedy. But Niejahr, in an article entitled Commentatio Scenica, printed in a Halle Programme of 1888, held that the tradition about the meaning of the side-entrances did not apply at all to fifth century Greek drama, which had no local setting; for the early drama the conventional arrangement would only have been confusing. On the other hand the conventional rule fitted perfectly, Niejahr held, the New Comedy, with its conventional stereotyped scene. See Kelley Rees, in The Classical Weekly 1. 189. Professor Rees worked out the whole matter anew in a paper entitled The Significance of the Parodoi in the Greek Theatre, A. J. P. XXXII (1911). 377–402. Pages 400–402 deal with the parodoi of the Roman theatre.

[1] From his words, even without the clear evidence of 745, we should infer that he had come from the city. Indeed, all his movement in the play is between the stage and the city.

[2] Interesting light on the question of the value of the miniatures in

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On page 37, Anm. 3, in support of the statement that plays began early in the morning and stopped before the *cena*, reference is made to Am. Prol. 149 and 272 ff. Neither passage is cited. 149–150 run as follows: sed Amphitruonis illi est servos Sosia: a portu illic nunc <huc> cum lanterna advenit. In 272 ff. we have: credo ego hac noctu Nocturnum obdormivisse ebrium. Nam neque se Septentriones quoquam in caelo commovent, neque se Luna quoquam mutat atque uti exorta est semel, neque Iugulae neque Vesperugo neque Vergiliae occidunt. Ita statim stant signa neque nox quoquam concedit die. How do these passages throw light on the time of dramatic performances? If they do, then from Heaut. 410 ff., *Luciscit hoc iam,* compared with 449–463, we must infer that the performance of that play began on one day, was interrupted by a night, and resumed on the following morning. And, by parity of reasoning, we should be obliged to suppose from Am. 272 ff. that the moon and various constellations were somehow in the stage setting. Would the references to the νὺξ μακρά in the Greek original of the Amphitruo prove that at Athens plays were given at night? Would references to night in an Elizabethan play prove that plays were performed then at night? Would a reference to the morning in a contemporary American play show that plays are now performed in the morning? So, too, Rud. 1418 and Mo. 651 will not prove that the dramatic performances stopped before the *cena*.[1]

On page 40 is a discussion of the number of actors used in Roman plays. Only external considerations, such as cost, it is held, limited their number. The new suggestion is made that the practice of contamination would enlarge the number of personages in a play, and so of itself force a departure from the Greek custom. There should be a reference here to the dissertation by Professor Kelley Rees, The Rule of Three Actors in the Classical Greek Drama (Chicago, 1908), in which the 'rule of the three actors' is vigorously challenged;

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the Terentian MSS may be got by examining the miniatures which accompany this scene of the Andria. Jacob Van Wageningen, in his Album Terentianum (Noordhoff, Groningen, 1907), gives two pictures (Numbers 20, 21) from Codex Parisinus 7899: these illustrate Andria 721 and 747. In both the characters all face the spectators.

[1] For a better view of such passages see Leo, Geschichte, etc., 106–107.

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"the three-actor law, if it ever existed, had no application to the classical drama"(17). Diomedes I. 490. 27 ff., which figures first in Hauler's footnote, is discussed by Professor Rees (23).

On page 41 there is a brief discussion of the use of masks. Reference should have been made to Professor Saunders's paper, The Introduction of Masks on the Roman Stage, A. J. P. XXXII (1911). 58–73, in particular to the careful discussion of Phormio 209 ff., which Hauler cites as proof that masks were introduced upon the Roman stage after *Terence's* time.

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III.—THE SĀṀKHYA TEACHINGS IN THE MĀITRĪ UPANIṢAD.

A study of the text of the *Māitrī Upaniṣad*, belonging to a school of the *Yajur-Veda*, shows a large number of passages, in which may be seen distinct traces of *Sāṁkhya* influence.[1] The work seems to be a reflex of this system of philosophy. Garbe in his *Sâṃkhya* Philosophie, p. 22, gives the following partial list of passages in the *Māitrī*, where *Sāṁkhya* teachings occur: II. 5; III. 2–5; IV. 3; V. 2; VI. 5, 10, 19, 28, 30, 34; VII. 1. Deussen's Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie,[2] contains six quotations, the phraseology of which corresponds or is identical with that of the *Sāṁkhya Kārikās* of *Īçvara-Kṛṣṇa*. The *prapāṭhakas* where these are to be found, follow: II. 7; III. 2; III. 3; V. 1; VI. 10; VI. 19.

The philosophical conceptions, as set forth in the *Upaniṣad* however differ in many respects radically from the doctrines of the systematic *Sāṁkhya* treatises. Not only are they at variance with the views of the later *Sāṁkhya-Sūtras* and the commentaries but in several cases they are at least divergent from, if not opposed to, the teachings of the earlier masters, *Īçvara-Kṛṣṇa* and *Gāuḍapāda*. This fact however does not by any means warrant the assertion that the author of the *Māitrī Upaniṣad* was an opponent of the *Sāṁkhya* doctrines, although tendencies toward the strict monism of the *Vedānta* and the theism of the *Yoga* are scattered throughout the work. The *Sāṁkhya* teachers themselves within the school held widely divergent theories, though the general scheme of their systems was the same. It would be difficult to reconcile the viewpoints of *Vijñāna-Bhikṣu* in the *Sāṁkhya-Pravacana-Bhāṣya*, and *Vacaspati Mīçra* in the *Tattva-Kāumudī*. Even the *Sūtras* and *Kārikās* differ in quite a few essentials, and

[1] Weber, History of Sanskrit Literature, English Translations, p. 97, already noted these traces.

[2] Ier Band, 3te Abtheilung, p. 410; also to be found in Deussen, Sechzig *Upaniṣads* des Veda, pp. 322, 323, 324, 329, 337 and 344.

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that this diversity of opinion dates even further back to the fathers and founders of the school is evidenced by the last four *Sāṁkhya Sūtras* (VI. 67–70). In the first of these, the author states his own opinion as to the cause of bondage, then follow the differing views of *Pañcaçikha* and *Sanandana*.

Deussen[1] considers that the philosophical portions of the epic literature and the later *Upaniṣads*, amongst which he would class the *Māitrī Upaniṣad*, form a sort of transition period. The philosophical conceptions of the Hindus had their origin in the late hymns of the Vedas, gradually developed, in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads*, into a reverence and worship of the *brahman* or All-soul and finally culminated in the monistic views of the *Vedānta* and the theory of *māyā* or illusion. Then came a sharp change. No longer was *māyā* looked upon as an unreality, created by an omnipotent *brahman* but on the contrary, it came to be regarded as a separate and distinct element. Opposed to the Vedāntist the new schools set forth the doctrine of two coexistent principles, real and eternal, each having its role in the creation of the universe, *prakṛti* and *puruṣa*. That diverse opinions and varying conjectures should arise in regard to the nature of these two was inevitable, and it was from the mass of hypotheses that the *Sāṁkhya* masters evolved their systematic scheme. To this constructive period then Deussen would assign the *Māitrī Upaniṣad*. The relation of the *Māitrī Upaniṣad* to the apparently still undeveloped notions in the *Mahābhārata* has been treated in detail by Prof. Hopkins in his Great Epic of India.[2] Both in content and in phraseology there is a remarkable resemblance and it is barely possible that one has unconsciously or consciously borrowed from and imitated the other. It would be extremely difficult to prove which of these two works may be the older, owing to the haze of uncertainty in which Sanskrit dates are shrouded. Weber[3] has already pointed out that the *Māitrī* is of undoubtedly late origin, inasmuch as it contains references to and citations from works, whose age in general is known. In addition, it

[1] Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie, I. 3, pp. 15–18.
[2] Hopkins, Great Epic of India, pp. 33–46.
[3] Weber, History of Indian Literature, English translation, pp. 96 ff.

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is full of many terms not found in earlier writings and the significations of which belong to the late classical period.

It is an undisputed fact that the *Sāṁkhya* philosophy in its systematic form flourished in India long before the time when *Īçvara Kṛṣṇa* drafted his seventy-two memorial verses—the *Kārikās*,—and there is every reason to suppose that this was not the first comprehensive outline of the system. With the exception of the *Sāṁkhya* the basic tenets of every school are laid down in a series of aphorisms or *sūtras*. The *Sāṁkhya Sūtras*, on the other hand, are of comparatively recent date, and this fact alone might indicate that an earlier *sūtra* once existed. Besides we have a mention in the *Kārikās*[1] of another work, the *Ṣaṣṭitantra*, a quotation from which occurs in *Gāuḍapāda's* Commentary to *Kārikā* 17 and of the fragments of a treatise by *Pañcaçikha*, collected by Prof. Garbe.[2] In my recent article "I Metri delle *Sāṁkhya-Kārikās*"[3] I have already stated my opinion that the work of *Īçvara Kṛṣṇa* had as its basis an earlier prose original, which latter was forced into the straight-jacket of the Āryā metre, in conformity with the prevailing fashion of the time and I am still further inclined to this view by certain similarities between the texts of the *Sāṁkhya Kārikās* and the *Sūtras*.[4] If then *Sāṁkhya* treatises existed at a date prior to that of *Īçvara Kṛṣṇa*, it would not be a far cry to assume that the authors of the *Māitrī Upaniṣad* were familiar with and made use of such material and thus were acquainted not only with the *Sāṁkhya* doctrines in a crude initial stage but also in the fullness of their development. That it was not the *Sāṁkhya* as it has come down to us at present counts for little. It was the *Sāṁkhya* of one of perhaps several branches of doctrinaires.

The *Māitrī Upaniṣad* is made up of seven *prapāṭhakas*. The first is simply an introductory preface to the work and contains no allusion to the teachings of any particular school.

[1] *Kārikā 72.*

[2] *Pañcaçika* und seine Fragmente. Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth, 1893, pp. 75–80.

[3] Published in Studi Italiani di Filologia Indo-Iranica, viii. 3, ed. F. L. Pullé, Tip. Carnasecchi, Firenze, 1912.

[4] Cf. The *Sāṁkhya* Term, *Liñga*. Amer. Journal of Philology, XXXI, 4, p. 456.

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The seventh is a final retrospect of the whole, and with the exception of an unimportant reference in the opening *sūtra*, there is nothing to engage our attention.

The first occurrence of *Sāṁkhya* teaching is at II. 3. The *sūtra* reads as follows:

"bhagavañ, çakaṭam ivā 'cetanam idaṁ çarīram; kasyāi 'ṣa khalv īdṛço mahimā 'tīndriya-bhūtasya, yenāi 'tad-vidham etac cetanavat pratiṣṭhāpitam pracodayitā vā asya".

"O Illustrious One! This body is unintelligent like a cart. Of what supersensuous being is there forsooth such power that one [i. e. the body] such as this is made as if intelligent, or (that there is) an inciter of it"?

The next *sūtra* (II. 4) is the answer to the question.

"yo ha khālu vāvo paristhaḥ çrūyate, guneṣv ivo 'rdhva-retasaḥ, sa vā eṣa çuddhaḥ, pūtaḥ, çūnyaḥ, çānto, 'prāṇo, nirātmā, 'nanto, 'kṣayaḥ, sthiraḥ, çāçvato, 'jaḥ, svatantraḥ, sve mahimni tiṣṭhaty; ajene 'daṁ çarīraṁ cetanavat pratiṣṭhāpitam pracodayitā vāi 'ṣo py asye 'ti".

"'That one, verily, which stands above the *guṇas*, just as the ascetics [the chaste] are (above) the qualities", [this is evidently a play on the purely *Sāṁkhya* term, *guṇa*], "that one indeed, clean, purified, indifferent, tranquil, breathless" [*aprāṇa*], "soulless", [*nirātman*], "endless", [*ananta*], "indestructible, firm, eternal, unborn, self-dependent" [*svatantra*] "stands in its own power; by the un-born (one), this body is made as if intelligent or there is an inciter of it' thus (it is declared)".

The explanation is clearly a reference to the twenty-fifth *tattva* or principle of the *Sāṁkhya* philosophy, the *puruṣa* or soul. The attributes of this *tattva* are summed up in *Kārikās* 10, 11, 17, and 19 and *Sūtras* I. 66, 140–144, 161–163; III. 5. A comparison of these with the characteristics set forth above, will show that while the terminology in every case except one, is different, the underlying ideas are identical.

The soul [*puruṣa*] is ever clean [*çuddha*], purified [*pūta*] and indifferent [*çūnya*]. It could not be aught else, for even during the period of its connection with bodily forms, it is constantly in a state of isolation [*kāivalya*] (*Kārikā* 19; cf. *Sūtra* I. 162] and neutrality [*mādhyasthya*] (*Kārikā* 19; cf. *Sūtra* I. 163. *"āudāsīnyaṁ ce 'ti"*]. Besides it is a witness

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[*sākṣin*] (*Kārikā* 19; *Sūtra* I. 161) and an observer [*draṣṭṛ*] (*Kārikā* 19; *Sūtra* II. 29) but a non-agent [*akartṛ*] (*Kārikā* 19; *Sūtra* VI. 54). Agency belongs to that principle, which contains the three *guṇas* (*Kārikā* 20; *Sūtra* I. 164), of which the soul is devoid (*Kārikā* 11). Soul is breathless (*aprāṇa*). Neither the *Kārikās*, the *Sūtras* nor the commentaries contain any term corresponding to this, but, as will be shown later on, the five breaths [*prāṇas*] (*Kārikā* 29) play a minor role in the later *Sāṁkhya* philosophy, while they are as of great importance in the earlier school, as in the *Vedānta* system. The next attribute of the soul, soullessness [*nirātman*], seems at first glance a paradoxical statement. There may be two explanations of the term. It may be a reference to the atheistical tenet of the school—the denial of an All-Soul or Supreme *ātman*. What is more probably meant, is the subjectivity of the soul. The evolvents of *prakṛti* are objective (*Kārikā* 11.), as well as *prakṛti* itself. In the *Māitrī Upaniṣad* (III. 2), the *liṅga*,[1] or mergent, forming with the *tanmātras* the transmigrating body, is called *bhūtātman*, which the St. Petersburg Lexicon renders "die individuelle Seele". This so-called soul, being a product of *prakṛti* (*Kārikā* 22) is objective [*viṣaya*] (*Kārikā* 11), as regards *puruṣa*, but the latter is purely subjective [*aviṣaya*] (*Gauḍapāda's* Commentary to *Kārikā* 11), having no *ātman* of which it could be the object. The terms *ananta*, *akṣaya* and *çāçvata* are covered by the word *nitya*, eternal (*Kārikā* 10, 11), although it is possible that *ananta* refers rather to *vyāpin*, all-pervading *Kārikā* 10, 11),[2] *aja* and *ahetumat*, having no cause (*Kārikā* 10, 11) are interchangeable words and *sva-tantra*, self-dependent is the precise term used by *Gāudapāda* (*Kārikā* 11).

Kārikā 20 reads:

"*tasmāt, tat-saṁyogād | acetanaṁ cetanāvad iva liṅgam | guṇa-kartṛtve ca tathā | karte 'va bhavaty udāsīnaḥ ||*"

"Therefore, from implication with this one" (*puruṣa*) "the unintelligent mergent one" [*liṅga*] "is as if possessing intelligence" (intelligent), "and likewise since the *guṇas* are the agents, the inert one becomes as (it were) an agent".

[1] See *Sāṁkhya* Term, *liṅga*, Amer. Journal of Philology XXXI. 4, p. 456.

[2] This view however would conflict with *Māitrī Up.* II. 5, and the earlier doctrine of *Pañcaçikha*, see page 38.

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This is identical in conception with the phrase, "by the unborn (one) this body is made as if intelligent or there is an inciter to it". It may be but a chance similarity, but it is worthy of note that both texts use a similar term (*Kār. cetanāvat*; *MU. cetanavat*). Moreover the illustration of the cart occurs in *Sūtras* III. 58 and VI. 40.

The thought contained in II. 4, is continued in the succeeding *sūtra*:

"sa vā eṣa sūkṣmo,'grāhyo,'drçyaḥ, puruṣa-saṁjño,'buddhipūrvam ihāi 'vā 'vartate 'ṅcene 'ti. atha yo ha khalu vāvāi 'tasya, so 'ṅço 'yaṁ, yaç cetā-mātraḥ prati-puruṣaḥ kṣetrajñaḥ, saṁkalpā-'dhyavasāyā-'bhimāna-liṅgaḥ, prajāpatir viçvā-'khyaç; cetanene 'daṁ çarīraṁ cetanavat pratiṣṭhāpitam pracodayitā vāi 'ṣo py asye 'ti".

"Just that one indeed, subtile, incomprehensible, invisible, known as the soul" [*puruṣa*] "comes hither with its portion, not preceded by enlightenment" [*buddhi*]. Now verily that portion of it is that, which is mere mind-stuff in regard to each soul" [*puruṣa*], "the field-knower, (consisting of) arranging" (or *manas*, the mind), "certain ascertainment" (or *buddhi*, the intellect), "self-reference" (or *ahaṁkāra*, the self-consciousness) "(and) the mergent one" (*liṅga*), "*Prajāpati*, called *Viçva*. 'By the intelligent (one) this body is made as if intelligent or there is an inciter of it' thus (it is declared)".

The *puruṣa* accompanied by the subtle body, [*sūkṣma-carīra*] made up of the three inner and the ten outer organs, and covered by the five rudimentary elements [*tanmātras*], enters into successive rounds of re-birth (*Kārikās* 40, 55).[1] This subtile body therefore is the *aṅça*, or portion accompanying *puruṣa* from one gross body to the other (cf. *Sūtras* III. 11). It is the mind-stuff [*cetā*] rather a *Yoga* than a pure *Sāṁkhya* term; it is *Prajāpati*, lord of all creatures, for all products are derived from *ahaṁkāra* or self-consciousness, (*Kārikā* 24; *Sūtra* I. 73; II. 20); it is *Viçva*, the All.

There seems to be in this paragraph an allusion to the earlier *Sāṁkhya* doctrine that *puruṣa* is of atomic size. *Īçvara-Kṛṣṇa* and later masters of the schools in general regard it as *vyāpin*, all-pervading, (*Kārikā* 10, 11), but the passage from

[1] *Sāṁkhya* Term, *liṅga*, p. 451–2.

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Pañcaçikha found in the *Yoga-bhāṣya* II. 36 shows that their predecessors held a different view. It runs:

"*tam aṇu-mātram ātmānam anuvidyā 'smī 'ty evaṁ tāvat saṁprajānīta iti*".

"(Having considered) thus: 'I have found the *ātman*", (the soul) "(to be) a mere atom', at least one recognizes (the truth)".

In the *sūtra* from the *Upaniṣad*, we have *puruṣa* described as *sūkṣma*, subtle, fine. I am aware that the *Kārikās* make *prakṛti* both *vyāpin*, all-pervading, (*Kārikā* 10) and yet imperceptible because of her subtlety [*sāukṣmya*], (*Kārikā* 8), but *Gāuḍapāda's* gloss to the term *sāukṣmya*, in *Kārikā* 7 reads as follows:

"'*sāukṣmyād*', *yathā dhumo-'ṣmajala-nīhāra-paramāṇavo gagana-gatā no 'palabhyante*".

"Because of (its) subtlety; just as *small atoms* of smoke, vapor or hoar-frost, existing in the atmosphere, are not perceived".

Whatever the later signification of the word *sūkṣma*, it is clear that to the mind of *Gāuḍapāda* it conveyed the idea of something infinitesimally small. Is it not possible that even the later doctors of the *Sāṁkhya* school held the opinion that, just as an innumerable number of very fine or atomic particles of smoke, vapor and the like could everywhere permeate the atmosphere, unseen, so also, an infinite number of *puruṣas*—for such there were (*Kārikā* 18)—could pervade all space and thus *puruṣa* would be both atomic and *vyāpin*? On the other hand, *prakṛti*, one and all-pervading, though not composed of parts (*Kārikā* 10), would be conceived as capable of theoretical division into an infinity of atoms. This is but a suggestion in passing.

One more paragraph in the second *prapāṭhaka* merits our attention, (II. 7). It begins:

"*buddhī-'ndriyāṇi yānī 'māny etāny asya raçmayaḥ; karme-'ndriyāṇy asya hayā; rathaḥ çarīram; mano niyantā; prakṛtimayo 'sya pratodo; 'nena khalv īritaḥ paribhramatī 'daṁ çarīram, cakram iva mṛt-pacene; 'daṁ çarīraṁ cetanavat pratiṣṭhāpitam procodayitā vāi 'ṣo py asye 'ti*".

"What are the sense-organs", [*buddhī-'ndriya*] "these are its" [*puruṣa's*] "reins; the organs of actions" [*karme-'ndriya*]

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"are its steeds; the chariot is the body; the mind" [*manas*] "is the charioteer; formed of *prakṛti* is its goad; verily urged by it, this body whirls about, as a wheel (set in motion) by the potter; 'this body (thus) is made as if intelligent or there is an inciter of it' thus (it is declared)".

The illustration of the chariot is found in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Kaṭha-Upaniṣad* and the *Dhammapada*.[1] The last-named is significant, considering the relation of Buddhism to the *Sāṁkhya* school and it may be that the example is one other to be added to the many already found in *Sāṁkhya* treatises. The wheel of the potter occurs in *Kārikā* 67 and *Sūtra* III. 82 and it is possible that all three are derived from a common source.

The *sūtra* continues: "*sa vā eṣa ātme 'ho, 'canti kavayaḥ, sitā-'sitāiḥ karma-phalāir anabhibhūta iva pratiçarīreṣu carati; avyaktatvāt, sāukṣmyād, adṛçyatvād, agrāhyatvān, nirmamatvāc cā, 'navastho 'sati kartā 'kartāi 'vā 'vasthaḥ; sa vā eṣa çuddhaḥ, sthiro, 'calaç cā, 'lepyo, 'vyagro, nispṛhaḥ, prekṣakavad avasthitaḥ svasthaç ca, ṛtabhug, guṇamayenā pateṇā 'tmānam antardhāyā 'vasthitā ity avasthitā iti*".

"'Verily just this soul" [*ātman*], "the wise men declare, as (one) not dominated by the white and black" (i. e. good and bad) "fruits of action" [*karma*], "wanders into various bodies; because of its non-manifestation" [*avyaktatva*!], "subtlety" [*sāukṣmya*], "invisibility and disinterestedness" (cf. *Kārikā* 19), "having no place, an agent in the unreal; as an non-agent is its place; verily just this (one) is clean, firm, and unmoving, stainless, undisturbed, free from desire, placed like a spectator and self-contained, enjoying according to a fixed law" [*ṛtabhuk*], "having set the soul" [*ātman*], in a veil, composed of the *guṇas*, it is placed, it is placed' thus (it is declared)".

In the words "*pratiçarīreṣu carati*", there is allusion to the multiplicity of *puruṣas* (*Kārikā* 18; *Sūtras* I. 149, VI. 45) and to the transmigration into various creations (*Kārikās* 53, 54; *Sūtras* III. 46–50). Interesting is the use of *avyaktatva* as a condition of *puruṣa*. In the later *Sāṁkhya* books, this term is applied only to *prakṛti, avyakta* having become

[1] Hopkins, Great Epic of India, p. 35.

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specialized as a synonym of the originant. This quotation seems to show that the word had not yet been crystallized into its more technical use, but implied non-manifestation of any sort. The phrase "*anavastho 'sati, kartā 'kartāi 'vā 'vasthaḥ*" and the adjectives belonging to *puruṣa* may be referred to *Kārikās* 19 and 20 and dismissed without further notice. Most important is "*prekṣakavad avasthitaḥ svasthaç ca*". The last two *pādas* of *Kārikā* 65 read:

"*prakṛtim paçyati puruṣaḥ | prekṣakavad avasthitaḥ susthaḥ||*".

"The soul sees *prakṛti*, placed like a spectator, content".

Noteworthy is *Gauḍapāda's* gloss:

"*puruṣaḥ prakṛtim paçyati, prekṣakavat—prekṣakeṇa tulyam —avasthitaḥ, svastho, yathā raṅga-prekṣako 'vasthito nartakīm paçyati, svasthaḥ-sva-sthāna-sthitaḥ. svasmiṅs tiṣṭhati svasthaḥ sva-sthāna-sthitaḥ*".

"The soul sees *prakṛti*, placed like a spectator—similar to a spectator—*self-contained*, just as a spectator placed in the theatre sees a dancer, self-contained—standing in his own place. Self-contained means contained in one's own self—standing in one's own place".

Gauḍapāda's comment evidently refers to a reading "*svasthaḥ*" instead of "*susthaḥ*", and this corresponds exactly to that of the *Māitrī*, if we omit the final "*ca*". Does this not point to a common origin in a prose original of the *Kārikās*?[1]

The final sentence of the *sūtra* may be referred to *Kārikā* 20 and to the simile in *Sūtra* 4. 26, '*guṇa-yogād baddhaḥ çukavat*",—"(*puruṣa* is) bound, like the parrot, by implication with the *guṇas*".

The entire third *prapāṭhaka* of the *Māitrī Upaniṣad* is filled with *Sāṁkhya* doctrine. The first *sūtra* is a question to which the second is a reply, and framed in practically the same words. The latter opens:

"*asti khalo anyo 'paro, bhūtātmākhyo, yo 'yam sitā-'sitāiḥ karma-phalāir abhibhūyamānaḥ sad-asad-yonim āpadyatā ity avāñcyo 'rdhvā vā gatir, dvandvāir abhibhūyamānaḥ paribhramatī 'ti*".

"'Verily there is another different (soul)', called the individual soul" [*bhūtātman*] "that one which dominated by

[1] I Metri delle *Sāṁkhya Kārikās*.

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the white and black" (i. e. good and bad) "fruits of action" [*karma*], "enters into good and evil" (lit. real and unreal) "wombs; thus (it is declared), an upward or downward course is brought about" (lit. whirls about, *pari*√*bhram*) "dominated by the (various) pairs" (good and evil, etc.).

This is the first actual mention of the *liṅga*, the special *Sāṁkhya* term for that mergent one, which wanders with the *puruṣa*. It is affected by the dispositions (*bhāvāir adhivāsitaṁ liṅgam*, *Kārikā* 40), which form pairs, mutually contradictory (*Kārikās* 43, 44, 45; *Sūtras* III. 23–24) and cause the assumption of higher and lower bodily forms, (*Kārikās* 44, 45, 53, 54, 55, 60). The word *bhūtātman* itself does not occur in any extant *Sāṁkhya* book, but that it was at one time used by the teachers of the school seems evident from those passages of the epic and legal literature, where it occurs, everyone of which voices *Sāṁkhya* tenets. It is found in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmayaṇa*, the laws of Manu and those of *Yājñavalkya*.[1]

Next follows an explanation of the *liṅga* or *bhūtātman*. "*pañca tanmatrā*" (masculine, or neuter with omission of '*ni*', Vedic use?) "*bhūta-çabdeno 'cyante; 'tha pañca mahābhūtāni bhūta-çabdeno 'cyante; 'tha teṣāṁ yat samudayaṁ, tac charīram ity uktam; atha yo ha khalu vāva çarīra ity uktam, sa bhūtātme 'ty uktam; athā 'mṛto 'syā 'tmā bindur iva puṣkarā iti*".

"The five *tan-mātras* are known by the word '*bhūta*'; and the five *mahā-bhūtas*" (or elementary substances) "are known by the word '*bhūta*'; that which is the aggregate of these is called the body; and what indeed is said (to be) in the body is called the *bhūtātman*" (the individual soul); "and its soul" [*ātman*] "is (declared to be) immortal like a drop on a lotus".

The body is made up of an aggregate of the rudimentary elements [*tanmātras*], the elementary substances [*mahābhūtas*] and that which is produced by the parents (*Kārikā* 39; *Sūtras* III. 2, 7, 15, 17). Within is the *liṅga*, the mergent thirteenfold instrument[2] and its soul, the *puruṣa* is the only immortal portion of the make-up. Interesting here is *Sūtra* III. 11.

[1] Cf. Hopkins, Great Epic of India, pp. 33–46; Deussen, Geschichte, I Band, 3 Abth., pp. 63–65.

[2] See *Sāṁkhya* Term. *liṅga*, p. 453 and cf. *Sūtra* III. 9.

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"*tad-adhiṣṭhānā-'çraye dehe tad-vādāt tad-vādaḥ*".

"To the (gross) body, which depends upon the receptacle of this" [*liṅga*], "is applied this" [term, body] "since it is applied to that" [subtle body].

The *sūtra* goes on: "*sa vā eṣo 'bhibhūtaḥ prākṛtāir guṇāir iti; atho 'bhibhūtatvāt sammūḍhatvam prayātaḥ; sammūḍhatvād ātma-stham prabhum bhagavantaṁ kārayitāraṁ nā'paçyad; guṇāughāir uhyamānaḥ, kaluṣī-kṛtaç cā 'sthiraç, cañcalo, lupyamānaḥ, saspṛho, vyagraç cā 'bhimānitvam prayātā ity, ahaṁ so, mame 'dam ity evam manyamāno nibadhnāty ātmanā ātmānaṁ, jālenāi 'va khacaraḥ; kṛtasyā 'nu phalāir abhibhūyamānaḥ sad-asad-yonim āpadyatā ity avāñco 'rdhvā vā gatir, dvandvāir abhibhūyamānaḥ paribhramati*".

"Verily just this (one)" [*liṅga*] "is dominated by the *guṇas*, of *prakṛti*", (or possibly, 'natural qualities'). "And because of (this) predominance, it gets into a state of confusion; because of this confusion, it does not see" (obs. however imperfect tense), "that the illustrious lord, residing in the *ātman*, is the one, who causes action; drawn by abundant qualities" (or perhaps an abundance of the *guṇas*), "and become turbid, not firm, vacillating, stained, possessing desires, and distracted, it gets into a condition of self-reference" [*abhimānitva*], "thinking, 'I am that'", (or so-and-so). "'that is mine'; thus it binds the soul" [*ātman*] "to itself, as a bird in a net; being dominated by fruits resulting from that which is done, it enters good and evil wombs; thus the upward or downward course is brought about" (lit. whirls about) "dominated by the (various) pairs" (good and evil, etc.).

The '*prākṛtā guṇāḥ*' here mentioned are doubtless the '*prākṛtikā bhāvā*' of *Kārikā* 43, glossed as '*prākṛtāḥ*' by *Gāuḍapāda*. They are natural dispositions, arising from *prakṛti*. Dominated by these the *liṅga* becomes confused and fails to recognize the fact that another than itself causes its action (*Kārikā* 56, 63; *Sūtras* II. 11; III. 58, 73). Characterized by the attributes above-given, it refers all to itself, it enters into a state of *abhimānitva*, which must be thrown off in order to obtain final emancipation (*Kārikā* 64; *Sūtra* III. 75). Just as a bird in a net (cf. *Sūtra* IV. 26), it binds the soul with itself [*nibadhnāty ātmanā ātmānam*]. Here the phraseology is similar to that of *Kārikā* 63, which reads:

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"rūpāiḥ saptabhir eva, | badhnāty ātmānam ātmanā prakṛtiḥ; |
sāi 'va ca puruṣā-'rtham prati | vimocayaty ekarūpeṇa||"

"Just in seven ways, *prakṛti* binds the soul to herself; and she liberates herself in one way for the purpose of *puruṣa*".

Sūtra III. 75 is similar. In passing, it may be noted that the rule of the *āryā* metre is here broken in the first *pāda*. The addition of a single short syllable such as '*ni*' of '*nibadhnāti*', would give the required number of morae, but the caesura would in that case be misplaced. This I have however already discussed elsewhere.[1]

The following *sūtra* discusses the multiplicity of creations. *"athā 'nyatrā 'py uktaṁ, yaḥ kartā, so 'yaṁ vāi bhūtātmā, karaṇāiḥ; kārayitā antaḥpuruṣaḥ; atha, yathā 'gninā 'yaspiṇḍo 'nyo vā 'bhibhūtaḥ, kartṛbhir hanyamāno, nānātvam upāity, evaṁ vāva khalv asāu bhūtātmā 'ntarpuruṣeṇā 'bhibhūto, guṇāir hanyamāno, nānātvam upāiti. caturjālaṁ caturdaçavidhaṁ, catur-açītidhā pariṇatam bhūta-gaṇam, etad vāi nānātvasya rūpam; tāni ha vā etāni guṇāni puruṣeṇe 'ritāni cakram iva mṛt-pacene 'ti. atha, yathā 'yaspiṇḍe hanyamāne nā 'gnir abhibhūyaty, evaṁ nā 'bhibhūyaty asāu puruṣo, 'bhibhūyaty ayam bhūtātmo 'pasaṁçliṣṭatvād iti* .

"Now it is said elsewhere, the individual soul" [*bhūtātman*] "is indeed the one, who together with the instruments, is the agent; the inner soul" [*antaḥ-puruṣa*] "is (the one, who) causes to act; and, just as a piece of iron or something else, dominated by fire, being struck by agents, attains to multiplicity, so verily indeed (does) this individual soul, dominated by the inner soul, being struck by the *guṇas*, attain to multiplicity. The aggregate of beings, (consists of) the fourfold net, is fourteenfold, (and is) transformed into eighty-four (varieties); that indeed is the (manifest) form of multiplicity; 'these *guṇas* forsooth are urged on by the soul" [*puruṣa*], "just as a wheel by a potter' thus (it is declared). And just as fire (no longer) dominates a piece of iron (while) being beaten, so this soul" [*puruṣa*] "(no longer) dominates, (but, it is declared) that this individual soul" [*bhūtātman*] "after contact dominates".

[1] I Metri delle *Sāṁkhya Kārikās*.

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Since there is a several distribution of birth, death and instruments and since the three *guṇas* produce different effects (*Kārikās* 13, 18; *Sūtras* I. 128; 149), there is a multiplicity of both the inner souls [*puruṣa*] and the individual souls [*bhūtātman*]. The result is the large variety of beings, or '*bhūta-gaṇa*', the word corresponding to the '*bhūta-grāma*' of *Gāuḍapāda* (Commentary to *Kārikā* 1). This same gloss of *Gāuḍapāda* enumerates four kinds of beings, according to their manner of birth, from womb, egg, heat or seed. The list corresponds to the fourfold net [*catur-jāla*] of the *Upaniṣad* (see also *Sūtra* V. 111). The fourteen [*caturdaça-vidham*] are the fourteenfold creation mentioned in *Kārikā* 53. Whether eighty-four has any specialized signification or simply represents a large quantity is questionable. It may refer to sub-divisions, such as those hinted at by *Gāuḍapāda* (to *Kārikā* 1).

During the time, when the individual soul [*bhūtātman*] is affected by the *guṇas*, that is, while bodily form exists, *puruṣa* being indifferent and neutral does not dominate, but the *bhūtātman* dominates itself.

The fourth *sūtra* of the *prapāṭhaka* describes the formation of the human body similarly to its treatment by *Gāuḍapāda* to *Kārikā* 39 (cf. *Sūtra* III. 7). It is of little importance, so far as *Sāṁkhya* teaching goes, for the description is that found in the general run of Hindu works. The fifth and last *sūtra* contains a list of the effects produced by the two *guṇas*, *tamas* and *rajas*. Its tenor is similar to that of *Kārikās* 12 and 13 (*Sūtras* I. 127, 128). It concludes with the words:

"*etāiḥ paripūrṇa, etāir abhibhūtā ity ayam bhūtātmā tasmān nānārūpāṇy āpnotī 'ty apnotī 'ti*".

"Filled with these, dominated by these, thus this *bhūtātman* therefore assumes many forms, assumes (many forms)".

The same idea is to be found in *Kārikās* 40, 53 and 54 (*Sūtras* III. 47–50).

Māitrī Upaniṣad IV. 2 contains two illustrations which are interesting.

"*sad-asad-phala-mayāiḥ pāçāiḥ paṅgur iva baddham*".

"Bound with nets formed from good and evil fruits" (lit. real and unreal) "like the lame man".

"*naṭa iva kṣaṇa-veṣam*".

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"A momentary appearance as in the case of a dancer".

The former may be compared with the union of the blind man and the lame man in *Kārikā* 21; the latter is certainly the example given in *Kārikā* 59 (*Sūtra* III. 69).

The remainder of the fourth *prapāṭhaka* seems to contain no special *Sāṁkhya* teaching and indeed its general trend is towards the doctrine of Veda-study and asceticism. The third *sūtra* however reminds one of the *çloka* verse, cited by *Gāuḍapāda* to *Kārikās* 1, 2 and 22. The passage reads:

"ayaṁ vāva khalv asya prativídhir bhūtātmano, yad veda-vidyā-'dhigamaḥ, sva-dharmasyā 'nucaraṇam, svā-'çrameṣu evā 'nukramaṇam".

"Verily this is the remedy of the *bhūtātman*" (i. e. a cause of liberation), "study of Veda-knowledge, performance of one's own (prescribed) right conduct (and) dwelling in one's own stages of life".

It may be mentioned in passing that *adhyayana* or study is one of the *siddhis* or perfections (*Kārikā* 51) and that *dharma* is given as a means of uplift in future rounds of re-birth (*Kārikā* 44).

In *Māitrī Upaniṣad* V. 2, we are treated to a discourse on the creation of the universe from *prakṛti*.

"tamo vā idam agra āsīd ekam; tat pare syāt; tat parene 'ritaṁ viṣamatvam prayāty; etad-rūpam vāi rajas; tad rajaḥ khalv īritaṁ viṣamatvam prayāty; etad vāi sattvasya rūpam; tat sattvam eve 'ritaṁ rasaḥ samprāsravat; so 'ṅço 'yaṁ yaç cetā-mātraḥ prati-puruṣaḥ, kṣetra-jñaḥ saṁkalpā-'dhyavasāyā-'bhimāna-liṅgaḥ".

"Darkness alone" [*tamas*] "verily all this" (universe) "was in the beginning; that would be (so) in the highest; urged by the highest, it attained to instability; the (manifest) form of this (was) indeed *rajas*" (foulness); "this *rajas*, urged forsooth attained to instability; this indeed is the (manifest) form of *sattva*" (brightness); "this *sattva*, urged, flowed forth as a sap; that part, which is mere mind-stuff for each *puruṣa*, that is the field-knower, (consisting of) arranging, certain ascertainment, self-reference (and) the mergent".

This is plainly not the later *Sāṁkhya* conception, but it is similar in a manner to the cosmology of Manu (Book I). The originant or *prakṛti* is the equilibrium of the three *guṇas*

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(*Gāuḍapāda* to *Kārikā* 16; *Sūtra* I. 61); thus *tamas* alone does not predominate, in the systematic scheme, and it is extremely unlikely that the earlier doctors held other views. Still the use of "*viṣamatva*", instability or a disturbance of the equilibrium of any one of the *guṇas*, points to a recognition of the idea of *prakṛti's* "*sāmyāvasthā*" (equilibrium).

In *prapāṭhaka* VI. 5, the three inner organs, *buddhi*, the intellect, *manas*, the mind and *ahaṁkāra*, the self-consciousness, named in this order, are said to be the intelligent aspect of the mystic syllable *om*. In this *prapāṭhaka* is the first direct mention of the *Sāṁkhya* school as opposed to the *Vedānta* (VI. 7).

"*atha yatra dvāitī-bhūtaṁ vijñānaṁ, tatra hi çṛṇoti, paçyati, jighrāti, rasayati cāi 'va sparçayati, sarvam ātmā jānīte 'ti, yatrā 'dvāitī-bhūtaṁ vijñānam kārya-kāraṇa-karma-nirmuktaṁ nirvacanam anāupanyaṁ nirupākhyaṁ kiṁ tad avācyam!*"

"Now where (there is) discriminative knowledge" (*vijñāna*) "of the two (principles)" [*prakṛti* and *puruṣa*], "there indeed one hears, sees, smells, and tastes, also touches; the soul" [*ātman*] "knows all (things); where discriminative knowledge is non-dualistic" [*advāitī-bhūta*] "devoid of effects, causes, and actions, non-predicable, non-comparable, non-speakable, what unspeakable (nonsense) is this!"

The *Vedānta* with its strict monistic tenets, made all creation an unreality, an illusion [*māyā*]. In consequence, since the material universe was unreal, or non-existent, it would no longer be an object of sense, could not be spoken of, nor predicated, nor could comparison be made of it. This the *Upaniṣad* characterizes as arrant nonsense, approving the *Sāṁkhya* doctrine of two principles.

Māitrī Upaniṣad VI. 10 is filled with *Sāṁkhya* teachings.

"*athā 'paraṁ veditavyam, uttaro vikāro 'syā 'tmayajñasya, yathā 'nnam annādaç ce 'ty asyo 'pakhyānam. puruṣaç cetā, pradhānāntaḥ-sthaḥ; sa eva bhoktā prākṛtam annam bhuñkta iti. tasyā 'yam, bhūtātmā hy annam; asya kartā pradhānam. tasmāt triguṇam bhojyam; bhoktā puruṣo 'ntaḥ-sthaḥ. atra dṛṣṭaṁ nāma pratyayam, yasmād bīja-sambhavā hi paçavas, tasmād bījam bhojyam; anenāi 'va pradhānasya bhojyatvaṁ vyākhyātam. tasmād bhoktā puruṣo; bhojyā prakṛtis; tatstho bhuñkta iti*".

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"Now another is shown, another evolution of this sacrifice to the soul" [*ātman*]. "Its explanation is as (that of) food and eater. *puruṣa*, standing with *pradhāna*" [*prakṛti*] "is the intelligence" (mind-stuff); "just it enjoys (as an) enjoyer the food composed of *prakṛti*. It" [*puruṣa*] "(is the enjoyer) of that" [*prākṛtam annam*], "for the *bhūtātman* is food, *pradhāna* is the creator of this (food). Therefore that which consists of the three *guṇas* is to be enjoyed; the enjoyer is *puruṣa* standing within. As to this there is (to be) seen experience, for, since cattle are produced from seed, therefore seed is to be enjoyed; by this is declared *pradhāna's* state of being enjoyed. Therefore *puruṣa* is the enjoyer, *prakṛti* is to be enjoyed; (the one) standing in that enjoys".

This is simply a wearying explanation of the dualistic theory, that *puruṣa* is the enjoyer and *prakṛti* together with its evolvents is the food to be enjoyed (*Kārikā* 16, *Gauḍapāda*; *Sūtras* I. 143; III. 5). The paragraph continues:

"*prākṛtim annam, triguṇa-bheda-pariṇamatvān, mahad-ādyaṁ viçeṣā-'ntaṁ liṅgam*"[1] (cf. *Kārikā* 40). *anenāi 'va caturdaça-vidhasya mārgasya vyākhyā kṛtā iti*".

"The mergent (*liṅga*) beginning with *mahad*, having the specific (particles)" [*viçeṣa*, cf. *Kārikās* 38, 41] "as (its) boundary (?) is food formed of *prakṛti*, owing to a transformation of parts containing the three *guṇas*. By this is made an explanation of the fourteenfold path".

The first section of this *sūtra* refers apparently to the thought contained in *Kārikā* 25 (*Sutra* II. 18). When *sattva* predominates in the *ahaṁkāra*, merely the eleven organs result as its products, when *tamas* prevails, the *tanmātras* are created, when *rajas* holds sway, both groups are formed. It should also be noted that the variety of organs and the division of external objects of sense is due to a difference in the transformation of the *guṇas* [*guṇapariṇāma-viçeṣa*] (*Kārikā* 27; *Sūtra* II. 27). The latter half of the *sūtra* treats of the fourteen kinds of creation (*Kārikā* 53; *Sūtra* III. 46).

Then follows: "*sukha-duḥkha-moha-saṁjñaṁ hy anna-*

[1] Deussen suggests emendation to "*mahad-ādy-aviçeṣā-'ntaṁ liṅgam*". Sechzig *Upaniṣads* des Vedas, p. 337, note 2. This would be a better reading.

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bhūtaṁ idaṁ jagat.[1] *na hi bījasya svādu-parigraho 'stī 'ti yāvan na prasūtiḥ tasyā 'py; evaṁ tisṛṣv avasthāsv annatvam bhavati. kāumāraṁ, yāuvanaṁ, jarā, pariṇāmatvāt, tadannatvam. evaṁ pradhānasya vyaktatāṁ gatasyo 'palabdhir bhavati; tatra buddhy-ādīni svāduni bhavanti, adhyavasāya-saṁkalpā-'bhimānā ity; athe 'ndriyā-'rthān pañca svāduni bhavanti".*

"This world is food, known as pleasure, pain and illusion" [cf. *Gauḍapāda* to *Kārikā* 12] "for there is no contact of taste in the seed until there is creation of this" (world); "thus there arises a condition of being food, in the three divisions (of life, gods, men and beasts). Youth, adolescence and old age, due to transformation (of the individual), constitute the condition of food in these. Thus there is perception of *pradhāna* become manifest" [*Kārikā* 8. "*kāryatas tad-upalabdhiḥ*".] "(When) it (is manifest) the intellect" [*buddhi*] "and the rest enter upon tasting (it)" [*svādu*], "(as) certain ascertainment, arranging, (and) self-reference; and the five (*buddhī-'ndriyas*) enter upon tasting the objects of sense". [*Kārikās* 28 and 29].

Then follows an important clause: "*evaṁ sarvāṇī 'ndriya-karmāṇi prāṇa-karmāṇi*".

"Thus all the actions of the *indriyas*" [senses] "are the actions of the *prāṇas*" [vital breaths].

The five vital breaths or *prāṇas* played a very important part in the *Vedānta* philosophy and also in the earlier *Sāṁkhya.*[2] A trace of this is found in *Kārikā* 29, which reads:

"*sāmānya-karaṇa-vṛttiḥ | prāṇā-'dyā vāyavaḥ pañca||*"

"The five (vital) breaths, *prāṇa* and the rest (form the) common function of the organs" [*karaṇa*]. *Sūtra* II. 31 is identical. This teaching was lost sight of by the later masters of the school and only crops up now and again as in the above passage.

"*evaṁ vyaktam annam, avyaktam annam*" [*Kārikā* 11, '*viṣaya*']; "*asya nirguṇo bhoktā; bhoktṛtvāc cāitanyam prasiddham tasya; yathā 'gnir vāi devānām annā-'daḥ, somo 'nnan agnināi 'va 'nnam ity, evaṁvat soma-saṁjño 'yam bhūtātmā*

[1] Translated by Deussen, Sechzig *Upaniṣads*, as a half-*çloka*, but the position of the enclitic '*hi*' forbids it.

[2] Deussen, Geschichte, pp. 69–72.

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gni-saṁjño 'py avyakta-mukhā iti vacanāt, puruṣo hy avyakta-mukhena triguṇam bhuṅktā iti".

"Thus the manifest is food, the non-manifest is food; he who is without the *guṇas* is its enjoyer; his spirituality is proven, since he is an enjoyer; (now) just as *agni*" (fire) "consumes the food of the gods, (and) *Soma* is the food eaten by *Agni*, similarly this (universe) is called *Soma*, and the individual soul" [*bhūtātman*] "*Agni*, is said to be the mouth of the non-manifest; (hence *puruṣa* enjoys that composed of the three *guṇas* by the mouth of the *avyakta*". (*Kārikās* 36 and 37). The remainder of the *sūtra* is unimportant.

In VI. 14, we find the expression "*na vinā pramāṇena prameyasyo 'palabdhir*"—"there is no perception of (a thing) to be proven without means of proof". This reminds one of *Kārikā* 4. "*prameya-siddhiḥ pramāṇād dhi*"—"the establishment of (a thing) to be proven is from means of proofs", but the idea belongs rather to the logical *Nyāya* system than to pure *Sāṁkhya*, and was in both instances most probably borrowed from one of *Gāutama's* writings.

The *çloka* verse in VI. 19 is of interest because of the last *pāda*, "*tac ca liṅgaṁ nirāçrayam*"—"and that is the *liṅga* devoid of dependence". The wording is similar to that of *Kārikā* 41, when describing the '*liṅga*'—"*nir āçrayaṁ liṅgam*".[1]

Māitrī VI. 30 reads:

"*sa hi sarva-kāma-mayaḥ puruṣo 'dhyavasāya-saṁkalpā-'bhimāna-liṅgo baddhaḥ; atas tad-viparīto-muktaḥ atrāi 'ka āhur, guṇaḥ prakṛti-bheda-vaçād adhyavasāya-bandham upāgato; adhyavasāyasya kṣayād vimokṣaḥ, manasā hy eva paçyati, manasā çṛṇoti, kāmaḥ, saṁkalpo, vicikitsā, çuddhā, 'çuddhā, dhṛtir, adhṛtir, hrīr, dhīr, bhīr ity etat sarvam mana eva*".

"For this *puruṣa*, (when) consisting of all desires is bound, (being composed of) certain ascertainment, arranging, self-reference, and the mergent" [*liṅga*];[2] from the contrary of this, (it is) liberated. (Now) on this (subject) some say, (that) the *guṇas* attain to a bondage arising from certain

[1] See *Sāṁkhya* Term, *liṅga*, p. 451.

[2] '*liṅga*' here as elsewhere in the text could mean 'characterized by', which would perhaps be a better rendering.

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ascertainment, due to the power of the divisions of *prakṛti*; liberation is from the destruction of certain ascertainment, for just through the *manas*" [mind] "one sees, through the *manas* one hears; desire, arrangement, doubt, belief, unbelief, stability, instability, shame, wisdom and fear all these are declared to be just *manas*".

This is certainly not the doctrine of the later *Sāṁkhya*, which would refer bondage to the *ahaṁkāra* and not *manas* (cf. *Kārikā* 64; *Sūtra* III. 75) and which would classify all the above functions under *ahaṁkāra*, save *saṁkalpa*, which belongs rightfully to *manas*, (*Kārikā* 27). There was however a diversity of opinion as to the origin of bondage amongst the early masters (see *Sūtras* VI. 67–69). The teaching which approaches most closely to that of the *Māitrī* is the theory of *Sanandana*, given in *Sūtra* VI. 69:—

"*liṅga-çarīra-nimittaka ity sanandanā-'cāryaḥ*".

"'(Bondage is) caused by the mergent body' says the master *Sanandana*", and *Māitrī* VI. 30 continues:

"*ataḥ, puruṣo 'dhyavasāya-saṁkalpā-'bhimāna-liṅga-baddhaḥ; atas, tad-viparīto muktaḥ*".

"Hence *puruṣa* is bound by certain ascertainment, arranging, self-reference and the mergent" [*liṅga*]; "hence, from the contrary of this (it is) liberated".

The *sūtra* contains the following *çloka*-verse:

"*yadā pañcā 'vatiṣṭhante | jñānāni manasā saha |*
buddhiç ca na viceṣṭate | tām ahuḥ paramāṁ gatiṁ ||".

"When the five *jñānas*" (knowledges, the *buddhīndriyas* or could the *prāṇas* be intended?) "together with the *manas*, stand still and the intellect" [*buddhi*] "ceases to act, that they call the highest path" (cf. *Kārikā* 68).

This completes the list of passages in the *Māitrī Upaniṣads*. The teachings here expounded certainly represent more developed and crystallized views than those of the crude *Sāṁkhya*—if such it really is and not a perversion—in the epic and legal literature. The doctrines are those of an earlier period of the school than that of the *Kārikās*, they use terms, such as *bhūtātman* and *kṣetra-jña*, foreign to later treatises and they exploit the theories of the *prāṇas*, of the atomicity of *puruṣa* and of the *manas* as a cause of bondage, afterward either combatted or rejected by the *Sāṁkhya* doctors. That

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the *Upaniṣad* did not borrow from the *Kārikās* is evident from its more ancient style and vocabulary, and the close similarity of several phrases in the two works argues that the *Kārikās* are not indebted to the *Upaniṣad* for their material, rather than the contrary, for it would have been next to impossible for the author to have culled out certain sentences, fitted them to others taken from elsewhere and adapted the combination to a difficult metre such as the *āryā*. On the other hand, these striking resemblances point to a common source of the two books, and form one more argument for the assumption that the *Kārikās* of *Īçvarakṛṣṇa* were based on an earlier prose original.

ELLWOOD AUSTIN WELDEN.

ADDITIONAL NOTE. Since the completion of the present paper, an article has appeared in the Wiener Zeitschrift zur Kunde des Morgenlandes, XXVII, No. 3–4 by Dr. Otto Strauss, entitled "Zur Geschichte des *Sāṃkhya*". I beg to refer to his conclusions as a possible solution of the passage found in *Māitrī Upaniṣad*, VI. 10: "*mahad-ādyaṁ viçeṣā-'ntaṁ liṅgam*". E. A. W.

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IV.—SOME GREEK, ROMAN AND ENGLISH TITYRETUS.

The prevalence of class privilege in any age is a profitable and entertaining subject for investigation. We are struck by the frequency with which its manifestations assume the same form at widely separated periods and in countries far removed from each other. Thus the world has long cherished a belief that scions of prominent families should be accorded some special indulgence, if they are brought to the bar of justice for anarchic amusements. A familiar contemporary example is, of course, the college boy with his proclivities for hazing, for celebrating athletic victories turbulently and destructively, and for transferring signs from purposes of usefulness to those of supposed adornment. They are not cowardly bullies, rioters and thieves, but as mere amateurs in misdemeanor, "engaged in a little fun", deserve a condoning smile of sympathy and a euphemistic characterization. On the other hand, the socially obscure may stop far short of the deviltry of a New York "gunman" or of a Paris Apache[1], and yet win the execration of respectable society.

So far as college students are concerned, their more or less privileged lawlessness was anticipated in the universities of Athens and Antioch.[2] Greek freshmen, νεήλυδες, were humbled by hazing,[3] street battles were fought between "town" and "gown"[4] as well as between "gown" and "gown",[5] and even

[1] The frequent recurrence of this type of terminology from Greek antiquity to the present time is worthy of remark. Compare p. 56, note 3, and p. 60, note 4, and in our own vernacular Tammany.

[2] Their night raids on the houses of poor people (Walden, The Universities of Ancient Greece, p. 319–320) anticipates the conduct of young bloods of a later age. Cf. below, p. 61, note 1. Some of the names applied to students show that they were lovers of neither peace nor decorum, e. g. στασιῶται "partisans", and πῶλοι "colts".

[3] Walden, pp. 300–307.

[4] Walden, p. 312; Capes, University Life in Ancient Athens, p. 138.

[5] Walden, pp. 312–314, 319–320, Capes, p. 137.

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the pedagogue[1] might suffer the sprawling discomfort of being tossed in a blanket, but when the culprits were dealt the punishment of an ordinary lawbreaker, indignation was intense.[2]

In order, however, to find our longest persistent tradition of such social phenomena, we must go outside academic life, and consider rather the case of the semi-respectable street roisterer. Whether he worked his mischief individually, or as a member of a gang, he deserves study as an instructive index of the character of his age. Both in real life and as a figure in literature, he attained a special prominence in London during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and it is the purpose of this paper to show that he then modelled his behavior more closely and probably more consciously after classical prototypes than has been recognized, and that a collection and study of the pertinent passages in Greek and Latin literature will alone elucidate certain puzzles in English nomenclature, particularly the derivation of the term Tityretu.

In ancient Athens we have familiar illustrations of aristocratic lawlessness in the profanation of the Mysteries by the club of Alcibiades,[3] and in the mutilation of the Hermae by the club of Andocides and Euphiletus,[4] but more significant for our present problem are the riotous deeds of Conon and his sons, of which we hear in Demosthenes. The reader will remember that the young brothers when on service in the army, by way of preparation for their daily amusement of hazing and bullying, drank themselves into a state of intoxication, like the Mohocks[5] of a later time, and then sallied forth to perpetrate outrageous practical jokes,[6] punishing by assault all

[1] At this time he was a private tutor. Walden, pp. 326–327; Capes, pp. 102 and 128. The professors also suffered physical violence, Walden, pp. 312–313; Capes, p. 94.

[2] Walden, pp. 316, 318.

[3] Calhoun, Athenian Clubs in Politics and Litigation, Bull. of the Univ. of Texas, No. 262, pp. 25 and 37 f.

[4] Calhoun, op. cit., p. 24 and 37 f.

[5] See especially Steele in the Spectator, No. 324: "They take care to drink themselves to a pitch that is beyond the possibility of attending to any motions of reason or humanity".

[6] Dem. Contra Con. 3–4. The oration is to be dated c. 343 B. C. See Ed. of Dindorf, Vol. VII, Orat. LIV, p. 1311.

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that dared inform against them,[1] as Ariston and his messmates were compelled to do.[2] In revenge for this, after the former had returned to Athens, Conon and one son together with other gangsters assailed him on the street, and left him for almost dead.[3] The father was, therefore, brought to trial.

In our oration the belief is expressed that Conon will plead that there are many young bloods in Athens, sons of respectable citizens, who in their youthful frolics, have assumed nicknames, calling themselves Ithyphalloi[4] and Autolecythoi; that they are always quarrelling over their mistresses, and it was simply in a fight of this character that the blows were struck.[5] The significance of the sobriquets has aroused much discussion. Following some of the guesses of ancient interpreters,[6] commentators have decided that Autolecythoi may be rendered "gentlemen beggars" or "amateur tramps".[7] The word ordinarily seems to mean "one who carries his own lecythos to the bath, being too poor to have a slave to do it for him",[8] and no doubt there were well-to-do debauchees in antiquity who liked to pose as paupers and defy public opinion, as the dregs of the populace could afford to do. But one might query whether this explanation gives the term sufficient point, and there is the very solid objection against it that the word is in so much worse company.

The meaning of Ithyphallos[9] ought not to escape even the virginal imagination of a classical commentator. I believe we do not adequately appreciate how demoralizing the public revels of Dionysiac worshippers must have been. Whether in

[1] Op. cit., 5. [2] Op. cit., 4.

[3] Op. cit., 8–9; cf. 12.

[4] Harpocr. s. v.; Hesych. s. v.

[5] Op. cit., 13–14. Conon's gangsters elsewhere (§ 37) figure as housebreakers and men ready to assault anybody they meet.

[6] Harpocrat. Αὐτολήκυθοι; Bekker, Anecdota Graeca 204. 27; 465. 17; Hesych. s. v.; Poll. X. 62.

[7] Sandys-Paley, Select Private Orations of Demosthenes II², p. 240.

[8] On these Pandours and Polacken of antiquity we have learned and illuminating comment in Lobeck's Aglaophamus II, pp. 1035–1037.

[9] In Latin Priapus might figure as a nickname. Cf. Cat. 47. 3–4: vos Veraniolo meo et Fabullo Verpus praeposuit Priapus ille?

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the guise of horse-satyrs[1] or of goat-satyrs,[2] whether in organized drama or in the more impromptu caperings of a rustic festival, as φαλλοφόροι, ἰθύφαλλοι,[3] etc., they must have encouraged licentious tendencies in thought and deed particularly among spectators at the impressionable age of youth. But in the case of that inebrious outrage at Athens I should not argue[4] that the young rakes were in any wise formally united into a collegium that worshipped a Dionysiac demon Ithyphallos[5] in some such way as the sixty γελωτοποιοί used to assemble in the Diomeion at Athens in honor of Heracles.[6] When Demosthenes says in the Oration against Conon 17; οὗτοι γάρ εἰσιν οἱ τελοῦντες ἀλλήλους τῷ ἰθυφάλλῳ, it is not a question of any initiation into a club,[7] but, as the use of the reciprocal instead of the reflexive pronoun indicates, of mutual practices that even a Greek would characterize by the following words καὶ τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντες ἃ πολλὴν αἰσχύνην ἔχει καὶ λέγειν μή τί γε δὴ ποιεῖν ἀνθρώπους μετρίους. Similarly the pronominal prefix of αὐτολήκυθος has a reciprocal force, such as is sometimes found in αὐτοκτόνος,[8] and the λήκυθος element of this

[1] A discussion of Miss Harrison's ingenious theory of the real etymology of τραγῳδία, Proleg. to the Study of Greek Religion, pp. 420–421, is not necessary here. Unfortunately she fails to dispose of the evidence from Aeschylus that the Satyr-chorus in his day was of goat-men, and she ignores archaeological evidence, also. See Wernicke, Hermes XXXII, especially pp. 297–299 for the fifth century.

[2] For the early representation of the choreutic ithyphallic satyr cf. Körte, Satyrn u. Böcke in Bethe, Proleg. zur Geschich. d. Theaters im Alterth., pp. 339 ff. Hesych. s. v. Τράγους.

[3] For the comic performances of such Priapic characters see especially Athen. IV. 129 d; XIV. 621 f–622 d. In X. 445 b he mentions the κῶμος of φαλλοφόροι that a certain man used to lead day and night.

[4] As does Otto Lüders, Die Dionysischen Künstler, pp. 17–18. They were not a club in any proper sense of that term. They were at most what we should call a "gang". See Poland, Geschichte des Griech. Vereinswesens, p. 56.

[5] Cf. Synesius Enc. Calvit., § 21, 85 bc. Of course, such unions of devotees to a god were common enough, but this is not a case of such. Cf. Poland, op. cit., p. 209 and p. 54, note *.

[6] Athen. VI. 260 ab; XIV. 614 d. Cf. Aristoph., Acharn. 605, with the note of Starkie.

[7] I feel that Calhoun in his admirable essay, op. cit., pp. 35–36 has not seen the point here in all its ineffable indecency.

[8] Lid. and Scott s. v. Cf. also s. v. αὐτοδάϊκτος.

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word, when misapplied for a comic purpose, must lose its apparent innocence in view of the ληκώ and ληκάω on which it would seem to pun. There are similar names[1] in Greek comedy which offend our ideas of decency by a real or fanciful etymology, although they delighted the Hellenic "child of nature".

But in this same speech[2] of Demosthenes we hear also of an earlier generation of street-roisterers, to which Conon himself had belonged. They were nicknamed the Triballoi,[3] because in their savagery they resembled that barbaric tribe of Moesia with whom Aristophanes[4] acquaints us. It seems, indeed, to have been proverbial to say of anything particularly at variance with Attic usage *οὐδ' ἐν Τριβαλλοῖς ταῦτά γ' ἐστὶν ἔννομα.*[5] This ethnic name also appears in the Orthanes,[6] a play of the Middle Comedy by Eubulus, as a part of a comic compound,[7] to denote lewd young reprobates, who, though delicately nurtured, behave with the utter lawlessness of a primitive people, as one might expect in a drama that concerned Orthanes, a demon with Priapic attributes.[8] To what extent the word Triballoi was prized because of opportunities that it offered for word-plays is problematical.[9]

[1] Σεβῖνος is particularly in point. Cf. Aristoph., Frogs 425 ff. *κάκδ-πτετ' ἐγκεκυφώς, | κἄκλασε κάκεκράγει | Σεβῖνον ὅστις ἐστὶν ἀναφλύστιος. | καὶ Καλλίαν γέ φασι | τοῦτον τὸν Ἱπποβίνου | κύσθῳ λεοντῆν ναυμαχεῖν ἐνημμένον.* The schol. on vs. 427 (Rutherford I, p. 327) explains sufficiently *ὁ σὲ βινῶν*, etc. Σεβῖνος was apparently a genuine name. Cf. Plat. Com. Poet. 6. For the pun see also Aristoph. Eccl. 980 and Thesm. 1215 (*συβίνη*).

[2] § 39.

[3] See Hesych. s. v.; Etym. Magn. s. v.; Bekker, Anecd. Gr. 307. 3. New recruits also were given this nickname; Lydus de Mag. I. 47.

[4] Birds 1529 ff.; cf. Isocr. Panath. 227.

[5] Alex. Τπν. 2; Aristot. Top. II. 11. 6.

[6] Fragm. 75, line 3, Kock II. 190–191; Mein., p. 541, XXXIX 3.

[7] Τριβαλλοποπανόθρεπτα μειρακύλλια.

[8] Compare Strabo XIII. 587. 8: *οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἡσίοδος οἶδε τὸν Πρίαπον ἀλλ' ἔοικε τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς Ὀρθάνῃ καὶ Κονισάλῳ*, κτλ. Hesych. and Phot. say that he was a *πριαπώδης θεός*.

[9] In Sandys-Paley, Sel. Priv. Or. of Dem., p. 242, we have the keen observation that it was precisely in the days of Conon's youth B. C. 341 that the Triballoi came to special notice through their conflict with the Athenian Chabrias, but the play on words that the name would suggest was hardly so innocent as those the editors give. In view of its appli-

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When we pass now to Italy to observe there the social phenomena of a similar sort, we find the young noblemen of Rome wearing in the wild festival of the Lupercalia[1] the same garb of rustic poverty,[2] the goat skin that used to gird the loins of the Dionysiac reveller, and likewise performing a ceremonial that was ethically, one might think, no more uplifting than the Greek, even though we judge it from the ancient standpoint.[3] Nor is it surprising that one of the two leaders who in the memorable year 44 B. C. ran the course in near-nakedness was Mark Antony,[4] whose escapades in the Orient remind us so much of the deviltries of privileged anarchists in every age. The people of Ephesus recognized his true character, when the women in the décolleté of Bacchanals and the men and boys in the negligé of Satyrs and Pans escorted him in procession, hailing him as "Dionysus, gracious giver of joy".[5] At Alexandria he and Cleopatra in the guise of servants used to rove the streets at night,[6] banging on the doors and windows of its citizens, and making them the butt of unseemly jests. Nor did Mark always come off unscathed; for irate victims did not fail to pummel him, and his reputation was impaired with all but a few of the Alexandrines who admiring his Triballian deportment rejoiced that in Alexandria he played a comic rôle while for Rome he reserved the tragic.

Of course Antony had a well known and worthy successor in the Emperor Nero, whose villainies need rehearsal only so

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cation as a nickname to libertines, such expressions as ἀσέλγεια τριβακή (Luc. Amor. 28) are more informing. Although the passage in Dem. contra Con. 39 is corrupt, it is evident from it that the Triballoi would balk at no blasphemy; they were indeed, an ancient "Hell-Fire Club". (See J. Timbs, Clubs and Club Life in London, p. 38.)

[1] Although the deity of the festival was probably Mars, a guess that we find in Servius on the Aen. VIII. 343 that he was Liber may deserve some pondering in this connection.

[2] Ridgeway, The Origin of Tragedy, 87. Plut. Rom. 21.

[3] See Wissowa, Rel. u. Kult. d. R²., p. 211: cf. Livy I. 5. 2: per lusum atque lasciviam; Nic. Damasc. Caes. 21: κατακερτομοῦντες.

[4] Plut. Ant. 12; Caes. 61.

[5] Plut. Ant. 24.

[6] Plut. Ant. 29. They and their associates in deviltry posed as the "Inimitable Livers", ἀμιμητόβιοι (Plut. Ant. 28). The time was to come, however, when they found it appropriate to change that sobriquet to the "Companions in Death". συναποθανούμενοι (Plut. Ant. 71).

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far as they anticipate the performances that London was later to witness. With a *pilleus* or a wig surmounting his imperial pate, he made his nocturnal rounds of cook-shops, brothels and other disreputable resorts, even going so far outside the walls as the Mulvian Bridge, to secure greater freedom for his rioting.[1] But the streets themselves were the scenes of his most flagrant offences, and as if to establish a precedent for the aristocratic bullies of England[2] to follow, boys and women[3] were his worst sufferers. Lucky, indeed, were they, if they returned home with merely a deficiency of apparel. If anybody offered resistance, Nero gave him a sound thrashing, or plunged him into the nearest open sewer. Of goods exposed for sale he would make a clean sweep, and, if necessary, to secure his plunder, he would smash into private dwellings and shops. The booty he then sold at auction in his own palace, and rapidly squandered the proceeds.[4]

Among Nero's successors[5] in misconduct some had their specialties. A few deserve mention because of modern parallels, to be later noted. Thus, the emperor Otho loved to toss an intoxicated or otherwise enfeebled wayfarer in a military cloak used as a blanket.[6] Lucius Verus would hurl heavy copper coins at the largest drinking glasses in the cook-shops

[1] Tac. Ann. XIII. 47.

[2] Nero's use of soldiers who should have been the guardians of the city's peace (Tac. Ann. XIII. 25) reminds us of the collusion of the London watchmen with the roisterers; cf. Ashton, Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne, 389.

[3] Dio Cass. LXI. 9. In this he had had, of course, a distinguished predecessor in Caelius Rufus, who was charged (Cic. pro Cael. 20) with molesting Roman matrons on their return from late dinner parties, but, so far as we know, did not anticipate one mishap of Nero, who in the case of Montanus (Tac. Ann. XIII. 25, Suet. Ner. 26) attacked the wife of the wrong man, an unsuspected and unsuspecting Hercules. Compare for other pugilistic mishaps of Nero Pliny N. H. XIII. 125–126.

[4] Tac. Ann. XIII. 25; Dio Cass. LXI. 9.

[5] His example was widely followed by contemporary youth, Tac. Ann. XIII. 47; Dio Cass. LXI. 8. For other street-roisterers see Capit. Ver. Imp. 4.

[6] Suet. Oth. 2. Blanket tossing is a time-honored amusement. See Mart. I. 3. 7–8. Compare also above, p. 53, note 1. From Shadwell's play, The Scowrers (ed. of 1720, Knapton-Tonson), IV, p. 327, we learn that it was a practice of the English street bully. Cf. also pp. 335 and 369.

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he used to frequent, shivering them into a thousand melodious fragments.[1] Fiction also chronicles such acts of lawlessness: The same warnings that Jonathan Swift used to receive against coming home late at night on account of the Mohocks in London, a character in Apuleius[2] gives against the mad bands of young noblemen in Hypata, Thessaly, who carried their disturbance of the public peace even to the limit of murder. Among patristic writers, Tertullian contrasts[3] the conduct of returning supper-parties at Rome with the behavior of Christians. Finally, among the confessions that Saint Augustine makes of his student days is his intimacy with certain high-handed youngsters, nicknamed Eversores, who reckoned it a token of *urbanitas*, that is to say "thought it smart" to stand people on their heads.[4]

When we come to seventeenth and eighteenth century England, we find a long series of miscreants who, enjoying more or less impunity from class privilege, revived almost in facsimile these lawless performances of ancient time. Their acquaintance with the classics, derived from the usual education of the well-born in that age, is attested even by some of the nicknames in the alphabetical list of the more important which I here append: Blade, Blood, Buck,[5] Circling Boy, Hawcabite or Hawcubite (Hawkubite), Hector,[6] Mohawk or Mohock, Mun, Nicker, Oatmeal,[7] Roarer or Roaring-boy,[8]

[1] Capit. Ver. Imp. 4.

[2] Met. II. 18. Compare for the terrors of Swift his History of the Four Last Years of Queen Anne, and his letters to Stella of 1710, Sept. 9, Oct. 7; of 1712, Mar. 12 and 26.

[3] Apol. 39. I note a possible reference to these practices in Arnob. II. 42.

[4] Conf. III. 3.

[5] Baker, Biographia Dramatica, Vol. III, p. 55, No. 391.

[6] So called, presumably, because in the words of John Taylor (Spenser Society, 1869, Vol. I, p. 49), he was "a right mad Troian, a most ex'lent blade". See Wilson, The Cheats, Act IV, Scene 5.

[7] See on this Gifford's note, Works of John Ford, Sun's Darling (presented 1623–1624), Vol. III, p. 113 (ed. of A. Dyce, 1869); Cartwright, The Ordinary, Act IV, Scene 1 (Dodsley's Old Plays, Vol. X, p. 234); Brome, The Covent Garden Weeded, Vol. II, p. 37.

[8] Compare page 63, note 2, and from contemporary literature the verses in The Blacksmith: "The roreing-boy who every one quayles | and swaggers, & drinks, and sweares and rayles, | could never yet make the Smith eat his nayls", and in Brome, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 70.

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Scourer,[1] Tityretu, and Twibill. The origin of the sobriquet Hawcabite is obscure.[2] Careful search among Indian names discloses no justification for the theory[3] that, like the term Mohawk[4] (cf. the Greek Triballoi), it was one of them. The Nicker[5] was a reincarnation of Lucius Verus; for he "nicked" or smashed windows, hurling copper money at them. The best marksman was he who could shatter the highest pane. The Mun owed his name perhaps to his osculatory propensities, since the word is equivalent to mouth.[6] The chief puzzle in nomenclature, Tityretu, may be better solved after we have further though briefly noted how closely the series of English street-roisterers duplicated the criminal diversions of their ancient prototypes. Of course, mischief-makers need no models, but the classically educated of England could have had none better than the Triballians and Ithyphallians of Greece and Rome.

The petty tradesman in particular was impotent against their depredations and outrage, as in the days of Nero.[7] "Roasting Porters, smoaking Coblers, knocking down Watchmen, overturning Constables, breaking Windows, blackening

[1] Also scowerer, scowrer. See Halliwell, A Dict. of Archaic and Provincial Words, p. 713.

[2] Murray in preparing his dictionary sought in vain through Notes and Queries, Series VIII, Vol. XII, p. 47 (cf. p. 151) to secure an etymology for the word. It may, of course, have been coined to be a correlative of Jacobite. Murray, A New Engl. Dict. s. v., gives variants in spelling.

[3] Brewer, The Historic Note Book, p. 406: "An Indian tribe of Savages".

[4] This word also seems to have meant the mask worn as a disguise by the roisterer. See Notes and Queries, Ser. VIII, Vol. I, p. 373 and 498; Ser. X, vii, p. 267.

[5] Brewer, op. cit., p. 618. Compare Steele in the Tatler, No. 77; Gay, Trivia III. 323: "His scatter'd pence the flying Nicker flings, And with the copper shower the casement rings". We have allusions to the breaker of glass often enough. Cf. T. Shadwell, The Scowrers, ed. of Knapton-Tonson, 1720. Vol. IV, pp. 316, 326, 327, 339, 357, 387.

[6] Compare the distich: One a penny, two a penny, hot cross buns, | Butter them, and sugar them, and put them in your muns. The Century Dictionary agrees with Brewer, op. cit., p. 604; Farmer and Henley, Dict. of Slang, p. 306, interprets as "dandy".

[7] Compare above, p. 58, note 4.

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Sign Posts" were some of the "immortal enterprizes that dispersed their Reputation throughout the whole Kingdom".[1]

Above all they were a terror to the women.[2] If their prowess in drinking might liken them to Bacchus, their violence and concupiscence certainly recalled the character of the wine-god's retinue of satyrs and sileni.[3] We read of their victims, cut with penknives,[4] put in a tub and rolled down hill,[5] or stood on their heads by the "Tumblers",[6] who seem to have been lineal descendants of Saint Augustine's Eversores.

The niceties of their swordsmanship cannot be detailed here.[7] Suffice it to say that their barbarous jokes and mutilations might even culminate in murder;[8] for it was no safer

[1] Steele in the Tatler, No. 77. We have also the reminiscences of Whackum in Shadwell, The Scowrers, pp. 326–327: "Then how we scower'd the Market People, overthrew the Butterwomen, defeated the Pippin-Merchants, wip'd out the Milk-Scores, pull'd off the Door-Knockers, dawb'd the gilt Signs!" and, p. 357: "O' my Conscience, this Morning I beat twenty Higling-Women, spread their Butter about the Kennel, broke all their Eggs, let their Sucking Pigs loose, flung down all the Peds with Pippins about the streets, scower'd like Lightning, and kick'd Fellows like Thunder, ha, ha, ha".

[2] Compare above, p. 58, note 3. Characteristic is the "Letter from Lady Wentworth to her son Lord Strafford" (referring to the "gang of Devils" that were operating in London in 1712), published in Notes and Queries, Series II, Vol. VIII, p. 288. See, too, the verses in Chamber's Book of Days, Vol. I, p. 743: "They slash our sons with bloody knives, | And on our daughters fall; | And if they murder not our wives | we have good luck withal". It may be apposite to refer also to Budgell's theory in the Spectator, No. 347.

[3] In Shadwell's, The Scowrers, IV, p. 334, Lady Maggot aptly calls the scowerer Tope, a "libidinous goat".

[4] See a contemporary document (March, 1712), published in Ashton, Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne, p. 385.

[5] See Ashton, loc. cit., the letter referred to in note 2, and Gay's Trivia, III, 329 ff.

[6] Compare the document mentioned in note 4. In the "tragi-comical farce", The Mohocks, attributed to Gay (not accessible to me, but noted in Ashton, p. 387), one of the characters says: "Poor John Mopstaff's Wife was like to come to damage by them—for they took her up by the Heels, and turned her quite inside out—the poor Woman, they say, will ne'er be good for anything More". Of such indecencies we hear also in the Spectator, No. 324.

[7] On the "sweaters", see the Spectator No. 332; on the "dancing-masters", No. 324.

[8] So in Shadwell, The Scowrers, IV, p. 313. Tope says: "Puh, this

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to offer resistance to their insults than to the provocative language of the street-bullies in Juvenal's[1] day. But, no matter how far they went, they still claimed to be young gentlemen,[2] and if the authorities, forgetful of their titles, subjected them to the indignity of arrest and trial as ordinary malefactors, their indignation was beyond cooling. It was only with the establishment of an adequate police force that London was finally freed from these disorders.[3]

Now, of course, these accounts are by no means all of one generation, nor even devoid of elements of fiction and exaggeration, as the mere naming of their sources sufficiently indicates, but the general picture is trustworthy, and seems like a replica of that which antiquity has given us.

We come then finally to the term Tityretu, which dictionaries, hand-books and commentators unite in deriving from some fanciful allusion to Vergil Ecl. I. 1: Tityre tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi.[4] The reference is indubitable,[5]

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is nothing; why I knew the Hectors, and before them the Muns and the Tityre Tu's; they were brave fellows indeed; in those Days a man could not go from the Rose Tavern to the Piazza once, but he must venture his Life twice, my dear Sir Willy".

[1] III. 278 ff., with which the Book of Proverbs, IV, 14 ff. is aptly compared. See the document referred to, p. 61, n. 4, and Brewer, The Historic Note-Book, p. 800. Compare with this Stanhope, Reign of Queen Anne, p. 511.

[2] See the letter cited, p. 61, n. 2; Chamber's Book of Days, Vol. I, p. 743: "The watch . . . had actually presumed to arrest a peer of the realm, Lord Hitchinbroke". In The Scowrers, IV, 372, Sir Will says: "but do you think we will suffer such awkward sneaking Coxcombs, to wench, drink and scower, to usurp the Sins of Gentlemen?" Cf. p. 387.

[3] The city suffered sporadically even in the early nineteenth century from these mischief makers. Ashton, op. cit., p. 383 shows how they were "boxing the Charlies" in 1821–1822, and in 1837–1838 the exploits of "Spring-heeled Jack", who may have been the Marquis of Waterford, filled the timorous with apprehension. Brewer, The Historic Note Book, p. 844.

[4] In addition to our ordinary dictionaries (Century, Webster, Standard, The Oxford English Dict., etc.) compare Nares, Glossary (ed. Halliwell and Wright), p. 886, and Brewer, Dictionary of Phrase and Fable, p. 897.

[5] I fear the line was better known in the early 17th century than it is to-day. I find in Mennis and Smith, Musarum Deliciae, Vol. II, p. 413

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but the genesis of the expression has certainly escaped the lexicographer. To say that "it was meant to imply that these blades were men of leisure and fortune, who lay at ease under the patrimonial beech-trees"[1] is far-fetched. Drones they no doubt were, but, for all that, they were much too well versed in the Classics, the unescapable education of a gentleman in those days, as it should be in ours, to choose for themselves a nickname that was so inexpressive of their actual diversions as Tityretu. In view of their character,[2] a preliminary step in the evolution of the sobriquet is discoverable. The really significant word is the Tityre. Tityros is not merely the typical name for a shepherd, long used in English literature in accordance with the precedent set by Vergil and his model Theocritus,[3] but primarily means a satyr.[4] Etymologically tityroi are, it would seem, those that have huge titoi or phal-

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(ed. of 1817) in a Canto to the Praise of Sack: "Each wise one of the Magi | Was wont to carouse | In a frolick blouse | Recubans sub tegmine fagi".

[1] Brewer, The Reader's Handbook, p. 1011; The Historic Note Book, p. 890.

[2] John Chamberlain in a letter of Dec. 6, 1623, to Sir D. Carleton (Court and Times of James I, 1848, Vol. II, p. 438, mentions the oath bound fraternity of the Tityre-tus. Compare for a slightly later date the Works of John Taylor, The Water Poet comprised in the Folio Edition of 1630 (printed for the Spenser Society, 1869), Vol. I, p. 77: "There were many other sorts of Ling sent to the Navy, which (to avoyd prolixitie) I will but name, as Quarrell-Ling, was for the dyet of some of the noble Science, some for Roaring-boyes and Rough-hewd Tittery tues". In Wilson, The Cheats, the dramatis personae include two Hectors, Bilboe and Titere Tu, but even they cannot enliven that dull play. When Mun Clotpoll in Brome's The Convent-Garden Weeded (Vol. II, p. 37) is sworn into the brotherhood of the Philoblathici (cf. p. 10), i. e. of the "Blade and Battoon", he says: "So, now I am a Blade, and of a better Rowe than those of Tytere tu or Oatmeal hoe". Finally, I am indebted to the far ranging reading of Prof. Kirby Flower Smith for the passage in Rowley's A Woman Never Vexed (Dodsley's Old Plays, XII, p. 134), published in 1632, where the Clown says: "You lousy companion, I scorn thee. 'S foot! is't come to this? Have I stood all this while to my mistress an honest, handsome, plain-dealing serving creature, and she to marry a whoreson tityre tu tattere with never a good rag about him?"

[3] III. 2; VII. 72.

[4] Gruppe, Griech. Mythol. u. Religiongesch. II. 1388. Hesych. *τίτυρος. σάτυρος. κάλαμος ἢ ὄρνις.*

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loi.[1] They are the Doric equivalent of satyroi,[2] although some writers differentiate them as separate creatures.[3] Furthermore, the term was perhaps given with a certain appropriateness to a kind of short-tailed monkey that resembled a satyr.[4] Note, too, that tityrinos means a shepherd's pipe, an instrument of revelry,[5] and in connexion with another derivative, tityristai, Appian[6] says that in a Roman triumph, following Etruscan precedent, lyre-players and pipers, tityristai, preceded the general with song and dance, and one of them, clad in a purple cloak and golden bracelets and necklaces, made the people laugh by his gesticulation that conveyed insults to the enemy. Tityros also means a goat,[7] so that the

[1] Gruppe, loc. cit. Compare Archiv. II, pp. 118–120 and 508, and Marx, Lucilius I, pp. 36–37, where he discusses Fest. 154. 3: Mutini Titini sacellum, a reference I owe also to Prof. Smith. This etymology elucidates the double entente in Persius I. 20. See the schol. there. In Cicero Brut. 225 we read Sex. Titius . . . tam solutus et mollis in gestu ut saltatio quaedam nasceretur, cui saltationi Titius nomen esset. Since *titus* = *penis* (Walde, Lateinisch. Etym. Wörterbuch, s. v. titulus, p. 782), we may suspect it to have been a phallic dance.

[2] Schol. on Theocr. VII. 72; Eustath. on Homer Σ. 495 = 1157. 37; cf. schol. on Theocr. III. prooem. and III. 2; Aelian Var. Hist. III. 40.

[3] Strabo X. 3. 7, 10 and 15. The Oxford Eng. Dict. s. v. Tityrus cites for the year 1710 a passage in which Satyrs and Tityri are mentioned separately as among the companions of Bacchus.

[4] Schol. on Theocr. III. 2. For objections consult Keller, Thiere des Class. Alterthums, p. 19; Wernicke, Herm. XXXII, 296 note 2. The claim is made that it is a misinterpretation of Theophr. Char. VII (XXI), but the Scholia are very definite in their statement. See H. Diels, Theophrastea, pp. 15 and 18.

[5] Athen. IV. 176 a; 182 d; Hesych. τιτύρινος μόναυλος ἢ αὐλὸς καλάμινος; Eustath. Hom. Il. Σ. 495 = 1157. 37.

[6] VIII (Punica) 66. Compare the σατυρισταί of Dionys. Hal. VII. 72.

[7] Photius Τιτυρίδες καὶ τίτυροι τράγου εἶδος; Schol. on Theocr. III. 2 Τίτυρος: τοὺς τράγους λέγουσι; Probus (Lion. p. 349; Thilo, p. 329. 1) hircus Laconica (Libyca) lingua tityrus appellatur; Corp. Gloss. Lat. (Goetz) V. 396. 28 Titurus hircus apud Libeos. The biologist need not worry about *tityrus* that was born of a sheep by a goat (Burm. Anth. Vet. Lat. Ep. II, p. 454; Isid. Etym. XII. 1. 61), however familiar such a mongrel may have been to the "nature-fakir" of England, three centuries ago (see the quotation for A. D. 1610, in the Oxford English Dict. s. v. Tityrus), nor should we take the statements of late commentators that make tityrus = aries maior qui gregem anteire consuevit (Serv. on Verg. Ecl. I. prooem., Thilo, p. 4. 7; Corp. Gloss. Lat. V. 581. 41) so seriously as does Kern in an article that has just appeared

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shepherd, who has from time immemorial clothed himself in the hairy skin of that animal, well deserves this name.[1]

Coming finally to the English borrowing,[2] we find in old slang that tittery whoppet is a name for the pudendum,[3] and also that the lecherous inebriates that rioted in the streets of London were sometimes actually called tittyries as well as Tityretus.[4] The term is, therefore, not an abbreviation[5] of any form of Tityretu, but rather its original. In this simple form it was a felicitous nickname for those wild aristocrats[6]

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in Hermes XLVIII, pp. 318–319. The reference may be to a practice, still followed, of adding to a flock of sheep a pugnacious *hircus* to protect it against enemies. A distich of Tibullus II. 1. 57–58, when least tampered with, is referable in my opinion to the same thing; huic datus a pleno, memorabile munus, ovili | dux pecoris hircus.

[1] Marquardt-Mau, Das Privatleben der Römer, II, 479.

[2] Various spellings were current for Tityre and Tityretu, both in the singular and the plural, e. g. titerus, tittery, tittyrie, Titere Tu, Titterytues, Tytere-tues, Tytretues. There is no consistency. Thus we read in Hazlitt, A Manual of Old English Plays, p. 92, that Lyly's play was licensed in 1585 as "A Commediae of Titirus and Galathea", while Baker, Biograph. Dramatica, Vol. III, p. 340, gives Titerus.

[3] Wright, Dict. of Obsolete and Provincial English, s. v.

[4] Herrick, A New Year's Gift Sent to Sir Simon Steward, ed. of Pollard, Vol. I, p. 157, No. 319: No news of navies burnt at seas; | No noise of late-spawn'd tittyries; | . . . . We send to you, but here a jolly | Verse, crown'd with ivy and with holly. Pollard rightly rejects (Vol. I, p. 299) Hazlitt's conjecture that these tittyries were "pastoral poems".

[5] As is maintained, e. g. by the Century Dict. s. v. "Tittery" seems also to have been an old time slang expression for gin, but probably because it made the drinker titter or walk in an unsteady, tottering fashion".

[6] They were, indeed, to use the words of Hesiod (in Strabo X. 471), a *γένος οὐτιδανῶν σατύρων*. We have at least one description of these gentry that comes from the pen of one of their own number, George Chambers, who was brought to trial for his tityric conduct, and wrote a poem that I find preserved in the Musarum Deliciae, Wit Restored (dated 1640), ed. of 1817, Vol. I, p. 131. The Tytre-tues or a Mock Songe, to the tune of Chive Chase. I quote only a portion: "Two mad-caps were committed late | For treason, as some say; | It was the wisdom of the state | Admire it all you may. | Brave Andrew Windsor was the Prince | George Chamber's favorite | . . . . They call themselves the Tytere-tues | And wore a blew rib-bin, | And when a drie, would not refuse, | To drink—O fearefull sinn!"

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of the seventeenth century that assimilated themselves in their acts to the ancient roisterers, who, disguised as satyroi or tityroi, composed the bands of Dionysiac revellers, or, if you will, to the Ithyphalloi of Demosthenes' time. If it was only as an after-thought that some Vergilian wag in a spirit of irony added the pronoun *tu*[1] we need no longer calumniate the simple and relatively virtuous shepherd of bucolic song, by making him the original of such reprobates.

WALTON B. MCDANIEL.

[1] One might theorize on the relation of this compound to another, Tuquoque, which was in vogue contemporaneously, as we learn from a passage in Thomas Southerne's The Maid's Last Prayer, II. 2, where Captain Drydrubb says: "Yes, faith, I'll swinge 'em: I remember your Damme-Boys, your Swashes, your Tuquoques and your Titire-Tues". This play was acted in 1693.

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V.—A REJECTED POEM AND A SUBSTITUTE.

CATULLUS LXVIII A AND B.

Despite the fact that Schanz (I², 2, p. 74) cites some thirty-five discussions of Catullus 68a and 68b (and Schanz has omitted several), I venture to inflict upon the long suffering Catullan enthusiast one more suggestion. The feeling of Schanz seems to be shared by many that Birt,[1] Hoerschelmann and Vahlen have solved the main problem of 68a by emphasizing the connection between *utriusque* (l. 39) and *munera et Musarum et Veneris* (l. 10), and by connecting *lusi* (l. 17), *studium* (l. 19), and *gaudia* (l. 23) with *munera Veneris*[2]—"recht körperlich zu verstehen". Unfortunately this interpretation of 68a is very questionable and has only served to deepen the mystery regarding 68b.

[1] Birt, De Catulli ad Mallium epistula, 1889, and Rhein. Mus. 1904, p. 433; Hoerschelmann, De Catulli carmine 68 (1889); Vahlen, Sitz. Berl. Akad., 1902, p. 1026, refers *munera Musarum* to *scriptorum copia* and *munera Veneris* to Lesbia!

[2] Though this matter does not affect my main argument, I wish to say that I do not believe we can analyze *munera et Musarum et Veneris* into two elements since the word *studium* refers to the whole expression. The words *lusi, studium,* and *gaudia* can, so far as language goes be taken as Birt does, but there is more at stake than language. Catullus says explicitly that it is his brother's love which in the past has sweetened these *gaudia* (l. 23). In his most poignant grief over his dead brother he could not have written that line if *gaudia* meant "pleasures of the boulevard". Hence all these words must have reference to verse-writing. It is of course difficult to find exact parallels for the expression *munera et Musarum et Veneris,* but Catullus naturally did not confine himself to stereotyped expressions. The association of love and song must have been a commonplace in Alexandrian verse if we may judge from Propertius and Ovid. The latter offers an excellent illustration in his *blanda Elegeia cantet Amores* (Rem. 379), and the former insists that love inspires verse even as the Muses (I. 7, 20; II. 1, 38, cited by Friedrich, p. 442). Propertius finds such doctrine in Philetas and Callimachus (II. 34, 31) and it is doubtless from these poets that Mallius expected Catullus to draw the inspiration for his *munera et Musarum et Veneris.* The second *et* simply emphasizes the fact that *molles elegiae* are desired.

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I gather from 68a that Mallius, deserted by his Erotium, had asked Catullus for consolation in the form of *molles elegiae* or a romantic epyllion in the Alexandrian style.[1] He had at the same time urged Catullus to return[2] from Verona to win back Lesbia before she was irretrievably lost. Doubtless Mallius added the second point partly from a personal desire for Catullus' companionship. Catullus wrote 68a in answer, refusing both[3] requests (*utriusque*, l. 39). Regarding the first point, the poet insists, as in poem 65, that his brother's death has brought him such grief that he finds no joy in writing; furthermore, he would need many books if he were to weave together amorous romances in the Alexandrian style, and he had but a few rolls[4] with him. The second request was a bitter reminder, and he dismisses it curtly with a pointed correction of his friend's mode of referring to it. The letter ends with apologies for failing to grant either request.

If now 68a is in the main a refusal to write the entertaining epistle desired, what is 68b? Surely it is a new epistle written in place of 68a granting the very thing Mallius had asked for. The poet on rereading 68a threw it aside as wholly unsatis-

[1] "A combined gift of the Muses and Venus in the most approved style of recondite Alexandrianism" says Ellis in what is still the best commentary on this poem.

[2] This seems to me to be the second point referred to in *utriusque*, l. 39 though I would not insist that mine is the only possible view. Catullus passes over the matter quickly because the subject pains him; hence its importance as one of Mallius' requests is often overlooked by critics. The fact that Catullus treats it again in 68b proves its significance. Some critics insist that ll. 27–31 must, because of *hic*, refer to the poet's position in Verona, but in that case would he in his sorrow refer to *deserto cubili* as *miserum?*

[3] Birt and Vahlen so take the line despite Hoerschelmann's insistence that *non* negates *utriusque* rather than the whole line. See Birt's convincing argument in Rhein. Mus. 1904, p. 433. It is needless to discuss whether Birt's version leaves any ambiguity. Certainly Mallius would have had no doubts about the meaning of the line if he had received 68a and nothing else.

[4] Riese and Baehrens-Schulze have already given this meaning to ll. 33–6. Mallius would not send to Verona for books; nor has Catullus reference to his own poems: a small capsula would have held all that he had as yet composed. To be sure the reference to books comes in abruptly, but it would doubtless be clearer if we had the exact wording of Mallius' request.

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factory. It was for the most part dull prose, loosely put together, and hardly a fitting answer to a benefactor whose friendship he valued (68a, l. 10). Sometime after writing and rejecting 68a (Mallius had in the meantime recovered his light-of-love[1]) Catullus decided to try again and see if after all he might not gratify the request for a poem. Perhaps he still had no access to his library of Alexandrian romances, but it occurred to him that the subject of his *munus* might be the story of that memorable day when after a distressing separation[2] he again met Lesbia through the good offices of Mallius. For that story he would need but few books. His one capsula, his memory, and his wits would suffice to provide a mythological parallel or two, and a few similes for the requisite Alexandrian embroidery. And since he had thrown aside 68a he felt at liberty to rescue from it the only lines of real value in it, the elegy over his brother.

However there was a serious difficulty. He had chosen a theme which was far more personal than the usual *cento* of mythological romances doubtless expected by Mallius. The recipient was himself involved. Catullus accordingly disguised[3] Mallius' name under the form Allius as he disguised the names of Clodia, Clodius, Mamurra and Tanusius (?), but it is to be noticed that the disguise is almost transparent. To those who shared the secrets of Catullus the *me Allius* of the very first line (pronounced Mallius, of course) gave a sufficient clue to the identity of the man intended. However, the uninitiated reader was for the present at least to be denied the secret. Obviously Catullus felt that there were lines of rare beauty in the poem and that these need not be completely buried if he judiciously suppressed the names of those most deeply concerned. Time alone could decide whether the disguise might at last be removed by publishing the poem under the appropriate title.

[1] 68b, 115; a felicitation which refers to the happy ending of the separation that 68a, 1–6 pictures.

[2] 68b seems to imply that the first meetings which led to his affair with Lesbia were followed by grief; so perhaps *clausum* of l. 27. At any rate 68b, 108, *lapide candidiore notat* seems to repeat 107, 6, *candidiore nota*, which marked the end of a separation.

[3] Palmer, Hermathena, 1879, 348, has already suggested that Allius may be a disguise for Mallius.

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That 68b is a *substitute* for 68a seems under these conditions wholly probable. It is a gift of verse inspired—in part at least—by the Muses, certainly by Venus. It is just the Callimachean kind of composition that 68a, ll. 1–10 and 33–6 imply except for the fact that in true Catullan fashion the personal note is very prominent. The poet himself calls it a *munus*[1] (68b, 109) repeating the word which Mallius had apparently used (68a, 10). It is a return for officia (68b, 110) which he acknowledges in 68a, 12. He answers Mallius' reference to the infidelities of Lesbia (95 ff.) as he had attempted in 68a, 27–30; and though the answer is not identical, it clearly alludes to the very same complaint of Mallius. He transfers three lines on his brother's death verbatim from the rejected poem, and, as has been pointed out time and again, the poet nowhere else repeats himself in this fashion. To me it seems difficult to understand any of these things on the supposition that the two poems are one[2] or that the two are addressed to different[3] persons or that both poems though separate were actually *sent* to the same[4] person. Surely 68a was rejected by the poet and 68b sent in its place.

[1] Hoc tibi quod potui confectum carmine munus pro multis, Alli redditur officiis.

[2] If 68a and 68b are one poem as Ellis, Kiessling, Vahlen, Friedrich and others have held, I cannot understand the changed conditions in the household of Mallius, nor the repetition of lines, nor the equanimity with which Catullus refers to Lesbia in 68b, 95 after the apparent resentment of 68a, 30, nor the change of name from Mallius to Allius, nor the grant of a *munus* (109) after the refusal, nor the abruptness of the transition at l. 40.

[3] Munro, Baehrens, Birt, Merrill and others posit two different men. But the two poems assume the same debt of *officium* on the poet's part, the same request for a *munus*, the same report about Lesbia, the same knowledge of Catullus' secrets. Finally this view does not explain why the poet should repeat his lines, nor why the two names should happen to be so similar.

[4] So Palmer. Ellis who does not differ greatly from Palmer holds that there are "two quite separable parts" written at different times, but that "they are parts of the same poem", p. 400. However, these scholars do not satisfactorily explain the repetition of lines. Surely 68b, 54–6 would seem frigid to one who had already received 68a. Eichler avoids this difficulty by boldly rejecting the lines in 68a, but such drastic measures are not necessary. Lucas, Recusatio, in Festschrift für Vahlen, p. 329, considers the epistle a parallel to Hor.

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That the poems are placed together in our manuscripts is doubtless due to the editor of Catullus who finding 68a among the poet's unpublished papers recognized its meaning and gave it its logical position. A discriminating editor would probably have consigned it to the oblivion intended by Catullus, but that the editor of our poet was unfortunately not discriminating is generally recognized. However, 68a when rightly understood proves at least to be a human document of no little interest to students of the poet.

The suggestion that Catullus rejected 68a and wrote a new poem in its place, casting the second into a different style while at the same time preserving in it lines of the original effort will hardly seem strange to readers of this poet. A good parallel for his procedure in this instance is doubtless to be found in Catullus 55 and 58b. No. 55, in the tone of Horace I, 8, twits Camerius on his disappearance (for obvious reasons) from his favorite haunts. The fragmentary 58b treats the same theme in a laboriously bookish manner for a few lines, then breaks off bluntly. There can be little doubt but that Merrill (Introd. XXXIV) is correct in saying that 58b is "but a rejected trial-sketch for the poem afterward elaborated as 55". The editor of Catullus seems to have recognized it as a rejected fragment by placing it as the last representative of the poems in the Phalaecean meter. Similarly c. 60—"Did a lioness bear thee, hard of heart"?—seems to be an unfinished poem, the point of which was later rescued for a striking passage in Ariadne's complaint[1] (64, 154–7). Again the frag-

Epistle II. 1, which in the spirit of a *praeteritio* grants what it modestly disclaims the power to bestow. However, no real similarity exists between the two epistles.

[1] My colleague, Prof. Wheeler, called to mind this passage, and suggested also that the reworking of Sulpicia's poems (Tib. IV. 8, 9, 11) by the author of Tib. IV. 5, 6, 4, provides an apposite illustration. It seems entirely probable that the confessions of Sulpicia were never meant for the public eye, while the finished poems that were based upon them deserved as wide a publication as anything in Tibullus. If Horace IV. 7 was an early spring poem, at first rejected in favor of the far more finished and genial I. 4, and later refurbished to fill space and afford variety in the last book of the odes, it too may be cited as a parallel. The suspicion is at any rate widespread that several odes of Horace, book IV, are rejected juvenal efforts later reworked for the sake of filling a slender roll.

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mentary dedication of three lines which is usually numbered 14b is plausibly accounted for as an unsuccessful beginning presently thrown aside for a new effort which resulted in c. I. It begins in the same deprecatory tone as I, and purports to introduce the reader to the same kind of unassuming trifles.

It may well be that other fragments which occur in our manuscripts of Catullus, e. g., II. 11–14, LI. 13–16, LIV, and LXXVIIIb were left incomplete by the poet. Certain it is that if he had been his own editor, he would have rejected his attacks upon Caesar and many of the trifles which he had written stans pede in uno against time—reddens mutua per iocum atque vinum (L. 6).

In the preceding I have unhesitatingly adopted Palmer's suggestion that the name Allius was a disguise. Ellis objects (p. 401) that one does not "take so much trouble to preserve to eternal memory a disguised name", and the poet claims to write ne vestrum scabra tangat robigine nomen. This objection might apply equally well to the immortality which later poets promised Delia, Cynthia, Corinna and a dozen other personages whose real names were not disclosed by their eulogists. The promise of eternal fame was of course largely a literary convention which belonged especially to the versified epistle, as many a "Donarem pateras" will prove. That the promise is conventional in 68b must be self-evident, for one would hardly contend in all seriousness that immortality based upon the deeds celebrated in this poem is highly desirable. Mallius was doubtless satisfied, so far as these *officia* were concerned, to belong to the "choir invisible" in a very real sense. One need scarcely suggest further that so long as disguise was desirable, verisimilitude was added by the promise of everlasting fame.

Catullus, then, wrote 68a in order to explain to Mallius that he could not comply with the request for an elegiac romance because of his state of mind and because of his lack of books from which to draw the appropriate material. He presently rejected this effort as prosaic and futile, and undertook to write a poem of the kind that Mallius had requested. Since this second poem contained many references to actual experiences of a delicate nature he disguised the name of Mallius, lending plausibility to this disguise by the conventional statement that

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he wished to guard the name of Allius from oblivion. The poet suppressed 68a but was apparently not averse to seeing 68b published[1] if at some future time his relations with Mallius and Clodia should permit. Whether or not conditions favorable to publication arose during the poet's life-time we do not know. After the poet's death the editor of his complete edition, finding 68a, placed it where it chronologically belonged, and the manuscript probably went forth with the two poems combined as one and bearing the title "ad Mallium".

TENNEY FRANK.

BRYN MAWR.

[1] There is only one objection to considering 68b an independent poem which seems at all plausible. Ellis (p. 401) thinks the poem begins very abruptly. However, it was apparently a favorite device of the Alexandrians to begin *in mediis rebus*. For instance the epyllia of Theocritus and Moschus do not contain the invocation or introduction of the Culex and the Ciris; and it is significant that Catullus 64 begins in the middle of the tale. It is very likely also that Catullus accompanied his verse epistle with a friendly letter explaining the reasons for his delay and for his choice of theme.

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VI.—MORE ABOUT THE *DIALOGUS* OF TACITUS.

The paper which I read before the Philological Association at Washington last Christmas was afterwards published in the American Journal of Philology (Vol. XXXIV, pp. 1–14), and led to what he calls a "Rejoinder" on the part of Dr. Gudeman, which appeared in the following number of the same journal (pps. 243–6). Being personally devoid of any appetite for controversy, I have hesitated hitherto as to how I should deal with Dr. Gudeman's re-statement of his case. It contains nothing new; and not long after our Washington meeting Dr. G. Andresen, whose name and authority are revered by every student of Tacitus, had meanwhile taken occasion to traverse Dr. Gudeman's whole position, very much as I had done, in a paper which appeared in the columns of the Wochenschrift f. Klass. Philologie (10th Feb. 1913). So far as I have seen, Dr. Gudeman has made no rejoinder to that, though it is only fair to add that he promises a new edition of the Dialogus in which he says that his arithmetic will be completely vindicated. Meanwhile readers of the Journal may care to know whether, in my judgement, the story of the Dialogus, as I told it last Christmas, stands in need of any correction or modification.

Dr. Gudeman professes not to understand how his use of averages is in any way different from mine. Though I cannot suspect any intelligent reader of such obtuseness, I shall repeat my main argument, especially as it concerns an important point that happens to have been overlooked by G. Andresen. It was not I, but Gudeman, who relied on the estimated average content of a page in the lost archetype of the Dialogus to proclaim to the world what he called a "coincidence too marvellous for credence"! On the assumption that the text of the treatise was resumed (after the great lacuna at the end of ch. 35) at the top of a certain page in the Hersfeldensis, he thought he had proved conclusively that at the foot of the fourth page thereafter would be found, if we

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could recover the lost archetype, the conclusion of the sentence ending *faces admovebant* at ch. 40, 7. In other words Gudeman based on his calculation of the average content of each page in the Hersfeldensis the astounding statement that the text from ch. 36 to 40. 7 must have formed exactly four complete pages in the archetype (Decembrio's *folia duo*): he admitted only a "quite insignificant fractional difference", which "actually amounts to less than a single letter"!

G. Andresen may be said to have joined with me in utterly demolishing this fallacious and misleading computation. But Decembrio's note runs "folia duo *cum dimidio*", and I went further than Andresen in pointing out that if the text of ch. 36 to 40. 7 were to be squeezed into four pages (folia duo), the fifth (dimidium) would have to contain all that is left. Gudeman professes to doubt my estimate. But it is easily demonstrable. Each of the four pages under consideration contained, on Gudeman's hypothesis, the equivalent of about 31¾ lines of Teubner text. In any normal MS the fifth page (Decembrio's *dimidium*) would have shown an approximately equal content. But after ch. 40. 7 no fewer than 54 lines of Teubner text remain, and this fact I made an additional and most cogent reason for rejecting the whole of Gudeman's argument. It is not creditable to my opponent that in order to meet the dilemma he should suggest that the scribe may have written "more closely" on his fifth page, and possibly even have added a "few more lines" (p. 245). The supposition that no fewer than 54 lines of Teubner text, probably with a colophon in addition, may have been contained in the fifth page, instead of only 31¾, as on the preceding four, is too large a draft on human credulity. The man who believes that would believe anything,—or at least would say that he believed it.

My own view is that the scribe of the Dialogus was not the writer of the extant Agricola quaternion, and that he used a finer script with possibly more lines to the page. And the suggestion that the Hersfeldensis may have been a composite codex (10th and 13th cent.) is at least as admissible as the theory that the copyist of the archetype suddenly started to nearly double the content of the last page of the Dialogus in his MS, before proceeding with the Suetonius fragment.

Dr. Gudeman cites my statement that "no certain results

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have yet been reached" in regard to the length of the great lacuna for the purpose of setting it against another quotation from my paper (p. 13) which he represents as running thus: "It is easy to calculate that the lacuna amounts to 4/15 of the whole treatise, or rather more than one-fourth". This is the height, or shall I say the depth, of disingenuousness. Will it be believed that Dr. Gudeman carefully omits from the latter citation the words by which it is introduced: "*If* we are to interpret Decembrio's note as meaning that the codex had 16½ folia and was minus 6, it is easy to calculate, etc.". That there was a virtue in the unreported *if* is shown by the fact that in a recent number of the Rheinisches Museum (LXVIII, p. 282) Dr. Karl Barwick has come forward with the suggestion that by *sex folia* Decembrio must have meant *sex columnae*, which would account for the note "defectus unius folii cum dimidio" in V. His calculation is that if the whole Dialogus was contained in $14+1\frac{1}{2}+2\frac{1}{2}=18$ folia (36 paginae, 72 pagellae), then the lacuna extended to 6 pagellae, and was 6/72 or 1/12 of the whole, and only about $2\frac{3}{4}$ (3?) Teubner pages in length. It may be of interest to report in this connection that a re-examination of the Harleianus in the British Museum convinces me that the writer of the codex intended to leave in his copy a blank that was also carefully calculated to represent one twelfth of the whole.

Fresh evidence in support of Barwick's view is derivable from the very interesting note reported by Emil Jacobs (Woch. f. Klass. phil. 25, p. 701) as found in a MS of Cicero's philosophical writings. It is a reproduction of the Commentarium Niccolai Niccoli in peregrinatione Germaniae, of which we know through Poggio's correspondence (see Introd. to my edition, pp. LXIII–IV, with reff.) and also from Panormita's letter to Guarini (v. Wissowa, Sijthoff Facsimile of the Leidensis, p. ii). The number of folia in the Hersfeldensis as given in this note agrees with that stated by Decembrio for the Germania (12 folia), for the Agricola (14 folia) and for the Suetonius fragment (7 folia): as to the Dialogus it is described as containing 18 folia, instead of (as when Decembrio saw it in Rome) 16½. We are here in a region of conjecture, for which no verification is possible unless some further evidence comes to light. But I venture to suggest that

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it may have been the disappearance and mutilation of ***unum folium cum dimidio*** between the time when the Hersfeld monk made his "inventarium" (1425–7) and the year in which Decembrio examined the archetype at Rome (1455) that caused the lacuna at the end of ch. 35 in all subsequent MSS. The note in the Leidensis "deerant in exemplari sex pagelle vetustate consumptae" supports this view (cp. Ven. "hic deficiunt quattuor parvae pagellae", where VI may have been wrongly read as IV). It is certainly a new factor in the problem that the Inventarium seems to have credited the Dialogus with XVIII folia. In writing ***sex folia*** instead of ***sex columnae*** (***pagellae?***) Decembrio may have been misled by some note at the end of the text, say at the foot of the verso of the 14th folium, where the lacuna begins. If the 15th folium was already in bad shape at Hersfeld it may have disappeared entirely by the time the codex reached Rome. And the mutilation or defacement may well have extended to the recto of the 15th folio. In either event three pages had become unreadable and this would involve a loss, according to my calculation, of about 100 lines of Teubner text between chs. 35 and 36. Thereafter followed Decembrio's ***folia duo cum dimidio,*** except that the ***dimidium*** came first, being in fact the verso of fol. XV in the Hersfeld archetype. Seven folia can still be found for the Suetonius fragment, on the supposition that an addition was made to the sixth quaternion to complete the treatise, just as two folia are known to have been added to the third quaternion to complete the Agricola.

This is, as has been said, conjecture, but to me at least it seems far more probable than the view put forward by Gudeman in reply to E. Jacobs (Woch. f. Klass. phil. 33–4, p. 929 —in this citation I again inadvertently write ***page*** instead of ***column,*** not unlike Decembrio!). With his fixed idea of a second lacuna after 40, 7 Gudeman believes that it was here the missing leaf fell out, leaving 16½ pages for Decembrio to chronicle, instead of 17½ (loosely reported as 18 in the "Inventarium"), the verso of the last folio having either been left blank, or having contained the beginning of the Suetonius fragment. Here again we must answer as before that the "dimidium" could not possibly have contained the balance of the text, with a colophon, from 40, 7 to the end.

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More difficulty is occasioned by the report that this version of the "inventarium" does not give Tacitus as the author of the Dialogus (cp. Panormita's letter, "et inventus est quidam dialogus de oratore et est, ut coniectamus, Cor. Taciti".) If the Dialogus had a title at all resembling those reproduced for the Germania and the Agricola in the *codex Aesinus*, it is difficult to see how any one could miss the name *Cornelii Taciti*. Add to this the awkward fact that Panormita in his letter first specifies the Germania and the Agricola as obviously works of Tacitus, and that it is only after citing certain writings of Frontinus (whom he wrongly calls Fronto) that he goes back to the Tacitus codex and includes in his enumeration the Dialogus without any mention of authorship.

But we must adhere to the evidence of Decembrio, who says quite explicitly *Cornelii Taciti dialogus de oratoribus*. The explanation of the divergence may be that in making his "Inventarium" the Hersfeld monk looked only at the top of the first folio of the Dialogue where the title may have run *Incipit Dialogus de Oratoribus*, (or even *incipit eiusdem dial. de or.*) immediately following *and in construction with* a colophon at the foot of the verso of the preceding folio *Cornelii Taciti de vita Julii Agricolae liber explicit*. It should be noted that the "Inventarium" seems to have given only the title and the opening words of each of the treatises, with the pagination, —not as Decembrio does the closing words as well.

W. PETERSON.

McGILL UNIVERSITY, *December*, 1913.

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VII.—THE CREATION OF THE TRIBE PTOLEMAIS AT ATHENS.[1]

(Additional Notes.)

The archon for the year 229/8 should have a name of not more than ten letters (IG. II. 859). I have suggested the name Ἀνσιθείδης for this year (A. J. P. XXXIV, p. 409). It should be noted that it is also possible to restore Alexandros or Pythokritos. From the forms of the letters in IG. II. 862, I should infer that Pythokritos belonged to the last decade of the century if not later. Alexandros has been dated by Buecheler ca. 230 (Index Herculanensis Academicorum Philosophorum, 1869, p. 17; cf. Ferguson, Athenian Archons, p. 35), and his name is the most logical restoration in IG. II. 859, line 1.

If Alexandros is dated in 229/8, Lysitheides must be placed ca. 250–245 or more probably ca. 210–200 B. C. (cf. Wilhelm, Oesterr. Jahres., 1902, p. 130, n. 1).

The date of IG. II. 431 must be reconsidered in the light of Roussel's restoration of the deme of the secretary (Ξένια 1912, p. 85). Professor Ferguson has kindly written that we should read [Ἀγ]κυλῆθεν or possibly [Ἀ]νκυλῆθεν. In that case Archelaos II. may be dated by the secretary-cycle in 194/3, assuming that the meeting of the assembly in the Eleusinion was after the celebration of the Mysteries in 195/4. This is more satisfactory than my original date for this archon in 191/0. Ankyle was divided between Attalis and Aigeis, and we might also date the decree in 192/1, but the latter date is much less likely.

I wish to thank Professor W. S. Ferguson and Mr. C. W. Blegen, Secretary of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, for furnishing information about inscriptions in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens. Both agree with me in reading *Alpha* as the initial letter of the deme in IG. II.[2] 791

[1] See A. J. P. XXXIV 381–417.

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(II. 334), though the photograph which I published does not show the cross-bar very clearly. Both confirm Roussel's reading of IG. II. 5. 381b, and Mr. Blegen adds that a small additional fragment has been found which puts the matter beyond dispute. IG. II. 5. 381b accordingly remains in *227/6*.

ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON.

PRINCETON.

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REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Agnostos Theos. Untersuchungen zur Formengeschichte Religiöser Rede, von EDUARD NORDEN, Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1913, IX+410 pp.

During the winter semester of 1910–11 a company of scholars at the University of Berlin, comprising both theologians and philologians, read and discussed together the Book of Acts. Coming in the course of their reading to the account of Paul's visit to Athens, they made up their minds that as the scene lay in Athens, they would no longer be in subjection to the theologians (the 'Mitgriechen'), as they had been before. The ἄγνωστος θεός was an ἄγνωστόν τι. The cry was raised ζητητέον. The ζήτησις was undertaken and carried out by Norden, and being conducted in truly Socratic spirit, ἵν' ἅμα τι μανθάνοιμι, it has yielded numerous by-products, which are quite as valuable as the conclusions reached with reference to the main problems.[1]

The book divides itself into two unequal parts. The first (pp. 1–142) contains a discussion of the authorship and sources of the Areopagus Speech, and of the origin and meaning of the term ἄγνωστος θεός. The second part (pp. 143-308) is devoted to investigations into the stylistic history of prayer and the formulae used in ascriptions. Then follow (pp. 311–387) appendices which deal with the composition of the Acts, the λέξεις Ἀττικαί in the Athenian chapter, the story of Apollonius of Tyana from which, according to Norden, so much has found its way into the narrative of Paul's sojourn at Athens. There is a remarkable study of the formula ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα, grotesquely illustrated by a vignette on the title page, in which the mystic serpent swallows its tail—sufficient indication of the Hermetic doctrine involved. There is a comparative study of Semitic and Hellenic sentence

[1] A great Christmas present this, says Reitzenstein, in a sympathetic and illuminating review (NJB, 1913, No. 2), a great Christmas present for philologians and theologians alike. Important as are the various questions treated, the great significance of the book for the theologian is the proof how indispensable classical philology is for the determination of religious problems, while the philologian is made justly proud of the way in which the history of words and the history of style serve to light up the course of the great transformation of thought and feeling in the commerce between Orient and Occident. To this effect Reitzenstein. I do not give his exact words. B. L. G.

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parallelism; a study of the position of the verb in New Testament Greek, in which the author rejects with scorn the statistical method of Kieckers, well spoken of by other scholars. Then comes a chapter on the λέξις εἰρομένη, another on the Myth of Protagoras in Plato, in which he recognizes a mimicry of the great sophist, followed by a discussion of the Euhemerus of Ennius and the argumentum of a fabula palliata. The concluding essay deals with the formulaic participial and relative style in the New Testament—a bewildering array of subjects. No wonder that the average reader will come to the conclusion that the Areopagus Speech, with its reference to the ἄγνωστος θεός, is merely a convenient starting point for a number of studies in the history of religious thought and in their expression in literature. They are all connected directly or indirectly with the general problem of the interrelation of Greek and Semitic thought in the early Christian Church; but they differ from other studies in the same general field in the emphasis that they place on literary form as a means for tracing the development and spread of religious ideas. True, the results of the studies might have been given in a more concise and orderly form, but this could have been done only at the sacrifice of a feature of the book which is of special value: viz., the detailed presentation of the method employed in the investigation.

The comparison of the Areopagus Speech with a number of documents of both Christian and non-Christian origin reveals some striking correspondences, which Norden interprets as demonstrating the existence of a fixed type of missionary address, of 'Propagandarede', which was employed by representatives of varied faiths. The Areopagus Speech, like the other speeches in Acts, he regards as the work of a later editor, who in this case took for his model an address of Apollonius of Tyana delivered at Athens within a few decades of St. Paul's visit. By ingenious combination of references to the life and works of Apollonius, Norden tries to show that in this address Apollonius commended the Athenians for their piety as shown in the worship of ἄγνωστοι θεοί, and declared to them that the supreme god is not to be worshipped by the works of men's hands, but requires a spiritual worship. Norden's position in this matter was at once vigorously attacked by Harnack, a staunch champion of the unity of Acts, in a pamphlet entitled 'Ist die Rede des Paulus in Athen ein ursprünglicher Bestandteil der Apostelgeschichte'?, in which he questions the validity of some of the inferences used in the reconstruction of the speech of Apollonius, and argues that even in its supposed form it does not sufficiently resemble the Areopagus Speech to make necessary the assumption that the latter is dependent upon it. On the other hand, Harnack

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shows that the language of the Areopagus Speech is akin to that of the rest of Acts, and furthermore that practically all of the features emphasized by Norden in his discussion of the speech, such as the different point of view from that shown by Paul in his letters and the references to Stoic philosophy, are not incompatible with Lukan authorship.

A considerable portion of this section of the book is devoted to the study of the origin and meaning of the term ἄγνωστος θεός and the related terms γνῶσις θεοῦ and γιγνώσκειν θεόν. A lexicographical study of the phrase ἄγνωστος θεός shows that it is not Greek in its origin: 'The existence of a predication of God as ἄγνωστος in documents that are beyond controversy purely Hellenic cannot be proved'. So too the allied phrases γνῶσις θεοῦ and γιγνώσκειν θεόν are not found in documents of purely Greek origin, with the possible exception of Epicurus ep. ad Menoeceum, p. 60, 4, Usener: θεοὶ μὲν γάρ εἰσιν· ἐναργὴς γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ γνῶσις, but are common in Jewish and Christian writings and mark a central conception in the Oriental religions in general. In circles where these expressions were current it appears that the true knowledge of God γνῶσις θεοῦ was regarded as the result of revelation and not as an intellectual attainment—a conception which marks a fundamental distinction between Greek and Oriental thought in that the Greek trusted to his powers of reflection while the Oriental sought knowledge of God in inner experiences of a mystical nature.

In the second section (pp. 143–308) Norden examines the formulae used in addressing divinities in prayer, with a view to the discovery of some formal tests for separating Greek and Oriental elements in the writings of the Christian and of other syncretistic religions. He rightly insists that here as elsewhere in ancient literature the surer criterion is to be found in the form in which the thought is expressed rather than in its content. In documents that are known to be of Greek origin unaffected by Oriental influence he finds that the participle is used in titles of divinities without the article: e. g., Pindar O. 2, 13, Κρόνιε παῖ Ῥέας, ἕδος Ὀλύμπου νέμων. On the other hand in documents known to have been written in Greek by Hebrews or translated from Hebrew into Greek the participle is frequently used with the article: e. g., Prayer of Manasses, v. 1: κύριε παντοκράτωρ, ἐπουράνιε . . . ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανόν. The presence of the article in such passages is to be explained as due to a Hebrew idiom which passed over into the Greek.[1] When

[1] In my judgment Norden has pushed the articular participle business too far. Doubtless right in the main as to the Oriental effect of the repeated articular participle, he has brought in as unhellenic some examples that are as good Greek as anything in the language. Compare Reitzenstein, l. c., p. 152. The simple participle gives the ground of the

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there are a number of parallel phrases a further test may be secured by observing the position of the participle in the phrase. So too in a series of relative clauses, Semitic documents show a tendency to place the verb at the beginning of the clauses, while in Greek documents the opposite tendency appears. In independent sentences a type of δοξολογία is found which is peculiar to Oriental religions. This takes the form of 'Thou art so and so', with the corresponding forms 'I am so and so' and 'He is so and so'. The god is described not in terms of his deeds as in Greek religion, 'Thou doest so and so', but rather in terms of his qualities and functions. This illustrates another fundamental difference between Greek and Oriental religious thought; the Greek is concerned with the concrete deeds and appearance of his god, while the Oriental is interested in his being and significance. The former gives a description, the latter a theory. In addition to these strictly formal tests, Norden in several places emphasizes the importance of another which is based upon the relation and sequence of the thought elements, τόποι, within the paragraph or larger unit. He argues that while it is possible for a number of concepts *a, b, c,* etc. to arise independently in the minds of both Paul and Apollonius, or to come to them from different sources, yet when each of them is found to group these concepts together in the same logical relations, then there is presumptive evidence of borrowing or of the use of a common source. It is at once apparent that such an analysis and comparison of thought groups is a much safer test than the mere comparison of Paul's *a* with Apollonius' *a* and Paul's *b* with Apollonius' *b*, etc. without reference to the interrelations of *a, b, c,* etc. in the thought of each. It should be noted, however, that the satisfaction of this test is far from being a mathematical demonstration; for the strength of the evidence is largely affected by the nature of the concepts and the relations that they naturally sustain to one another.

In the Appendices, filling 75 pages of fine print, Norden treats a number of topics which have been suggested by the previous discussion. In the first appendix he discusses the composition of the book of Acts and literary γένος of its 'Grundschrift', which according to his theory was a 'Reisebericht' containing the 'Wir-Bericht' and also certain narrative portions in the third person. Such a combination of the first and third persons he finds in certain passages in the works of Velleius Paterculus, Cassius Dio, and Ammianus Marcellinus, but in all these cases the 'Wir-Bericht' is given first hand by its own author. An instance of a 'Wir-Bericht' that has

appeal, as in the examples cited from Pindar. The articular participle identifies. It may have a causal significance, but not necessarily so. It is parallel with ὅς. In everyday prose the personal pronoun being definite has for its apposition the definite articular participle. B. L. G.

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remained in the first person after being incorporated with other material by a later editor is not to be found in classical literature, but appears in the Old Testament books of Ezra and Nehemiah, and in the apocryphal book of Enoch. In Appendix V he calls attention to a distinguishing mark of Semitic parallelism in sentence structure. Unlike the Greek, it regularly repeats the word or phrase that is common to the different members, as in Rev. XVIII. 22, 23:

> καὶ φωνὴ κιθαρῳδῶν καὶ μουσικῶν καὶ αὐλητῶν καὶ σαλπιστῶν οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῇ ἐν σοὶ ἔτι,
> καὶ πᾶς τεχνίτης πάσης τέχνης οὐ μὴ εὑρεθῇ ἐν σοὶ ἔτι,
> καὶ φωνὴ μύλου οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῇ ἐν σοὶ ἔτι,
> καὶ φῶς λύχνου οὐ μὴ φανῇ ἐν σοὶ ἔτι,
> καὶ φωνὴ νυμφίου καὶ νύμφης οὐ μὴ ἀκουσθῇ ἐν σοὶ ἔτι.

Tried by this test, some of St. Paul's periods that have been regarded as models of Greek elegance prove to be Semitic rather than Greek in their structure. A comparison of parallel passages in Luke and the other synoptic gospels shows in general an avoidance of such repetitions on the part of Luke in his endeavor to secure a better Greek style. In Appendix VII, Norden brings together a number of observations on λέξις εἰρομένη. One of the most important of these is the correction of Deissmann's assertion that the presence of καί as a connective in a series of clauses is a mark of popular narrative style: 'Wenn z. B. Lukas 3, 4 f. eine Stelle des Jesaja zitiert πᾶσα φάραγξ πληρωθήσεται καὶ πᾶν ὄρος . . . ταπεινωθήσεται . . . καὶ ἔσται . . καὶ ὑψωθήσεται . . . so wird sich nicht leugnen lassen, dass die serienweise auftretenden καί in der vorhin aus Lukas angeführten Erzählung ihren Ursprung nicht im λόγος ἰδιώτης der Hellenen, sondern im λόγος κατεσκευασμένος der Semiten hatten, die nun einmal in solcher parataktischen Anreihung durchaus nichts Kunstloses gesehen haben'.

The freedom with which the author has allowed himself to follow the ramifications of his thought makes it difficult for the reviewer to give an adequate idea of the contents of the book. Its chief value may be said to lie in two things: in the numerous but somewhat miscellaneous observations on literary form, and in the introduction of more exact methods of source criticism in a field which has suffered at the hands of overzealous discoverers of similarities.

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EDITORIAL NOTE. To Professor Tukey's summary of Norden's book I am tempted to add a paragraph originally intended for the chartered libertinisms of *Brief Mention*, which my foreign summarists usually dismiss as just so much surplusage, no matter how important the contributions to Greek syntax

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contained therein. The recent publication of two translations of the Apollonius of Tyana by Philostratos has recalled to my mind my slight paper on the subject in my Essays and Studies, and a certain passage in that collection gives so forcible an illustration of the progress of doctrine—or shall we call it a change of attitude?—in the handling of the history of religions that I venture to reproduce my innocent argument against the notion that the work of Philostratos was intended to set up an opposition to Christ in the person of Apollonius:

> Why not compare Apollonius and Paul? The resemblances are striking, nay, the coincidences are absolutely startling. Paul was educated at Tarsus; so was Apollonius. Paul fought with wild beasts at Ephesus; so did Apollonius. Paul preached at Athens; so did Apollonius. Paul noticed the altar to the unknown God; so did Apollonius. Paul's bonds were loosed in prison; so was it with Apollonius. Paul appeared before Caesar's judgment-seat; so did Apollonius. Paul, on his way to Rome, landed at Puteoli; so did Apollonius. Paul was suffered to dwell by himself; Apollonius was at first treated with similar civility. Paul withstood Peter; Apollonius withstood Euphrates. Paul had a thorn in the flesh; Apollonius had Damis. Paul woke Eutychus, who had fallen asleep; Apollonius woke the Roman maiden. There are various traditions of Paul's death, and no one knows the end of Apollonius. Finally, the Corinthian disciples of Paul assumed his name, and the Greek disciples of Apollonius took upon them the name of their master.
>
> But this is sheer trifling. Read the Acts—read the Epistles of Paul, and ask yourself if there is any trace of real likeness between that soul of fire, that mind of light, that least yet chiefest of the Apostles, and this thing of mist and vapor, with its sickly lightning and its impotent thunder, a cloud-man, not a god-man, not a man at all?

It will be observed that in this parallel I fail to notice the important difference between the ἄγνωστοι θεοί of Apollonius and the ἄγνωστος θεός of St. Paul, on which Norden has laid due stress. But details of that sort need not detain us in view of the other changes that have come about in the last forty years. Reitzenstein classes the Acts with the travellers' tales of the Hellenistische Wundererzählungen (A. J. P. XXVIII 238), and now, as we have seen, Norden maintains that the Sermon on Mars' Hill has been smuggled in from the story of Apollonius, of which the ultimate author, Sancho-Panza Damis, whose very existence I once questioned, has become a real character. The parallel between Apollonius and St. Paul has ceased to be absurd, and some one will doubtless be found to identify Damis with Demas, who forsook St. Paul at Rome, 'having loved this world', and who in all likelihood made merchandise of his experiences with the Apostle, as Damis did of his experiences with Apollonius. The commonly reputed author of the Acts has recently been Romanized by Miss Stawell into Lucanus, and assigned to the family of Seneca. This brings the correspondence between St. Paul and Seneca into honour again. To be sure, Miss Stawell, so far as I know, has not yet published her list of Latinisms in Luke, and it is hardly

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likely that Norden will support her contention. But these changes in the passing show are diverting, and reconcile one to a long life.

Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower by WILLIAM GEORGE DODD (Harvard Studies in English, Volume I). Boston and London, Ginn and Company, Publishers, 1913. 8vo. Pp. viii, 257.

The title of this book is an engaging one. Those ideas of courtly love which had their beginnings in the chivalric courts of Southern France, where they found expression in the poetry of the troubadours, were developed systematically, and vitalised by the philosophic poets of Bologna and Tuscany, and culminated in the Beatrice of Dante's Paradiso, the superwoman, at once an angel and a higher intelligence. These Provençal conceptions rose to no such transcendent heights in Northern France. What had been poetical fancies and aspirations, at first adopted and fashioned into the set rules of etiquette of a select and artificial society, became a series of conventions, which were repeatedly formulated by didactic poets, and which established a norm for lyric poets to conform to. In English poetical literature, based on French models, we only find a shadow of a shadow of the original ideas.

To trace in detail the sources of Gower's and Chaucer's conceptions of courtly love affords an opportunity of making, not only a study in comparative literature, but also a contribution to the history of culture and the transmission of ideas. But one cannot study the influence of one literature and its tendencies upon another literature, without being thoroughly informed on the first literature in question. Now Mr. Dodd's knowledge of Provençal literature is confined to the translation of fragments of uncritical texts cited in Mott's System of Courtly Love, and to Ida Farnell's mistranslation of the Lives of the Troubadours. When six of the nine bits of troubadour poetry cited, is the work of Bernart de Ventadorn, it is unfortunate that the two statements made about him have no basis of truth. We are told that Eleanor of Aquitaine 'took a lively interest in the doctrines, as well as the practices, of courtly love. Before leaving her southern home to become queen of France, she received, and it seems, encouraged, advances of a very similar nature from the troubadour Bernart de Ventadorn. At the northern court, also, she lent her authority to the new doctrines. In this she was followed by her daughter, Marie of Champagne' (1). 'Bernart de Vent-

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adorn, who loved and was loved by Eleanor of Aquitaine, was of 'low degree, son, to wit, of a serving man, who gathered brushwood for the heating of the oven wherein was baked the castle bread' (12). "Autant de mots, autant d'erreurs"—to quote the oft-used phrase of a great French scholar. Bernart sought the patronage of Eleanor, at her court in Normandy, where she presided as Duchess, as the wife of Henry II of England. Her pretended intrigue with the poet has as little basis of truth as the account of the humble birth of the poet, two statements of the Provençal biographies, due to a misinterpretation of the Bernart's poetical phrasing. As her daughter Marie was left at the French court by Eleanor at a very tender age, the daughter can not be said to have been influenced by the example of her mother (cf. N. Zingarelli, Studi med., I, 317–332, 349–361, 387). To write; "Obviously it was her (i. e. Marie's) theories which, to a large degree, inspired Andreas to write his treatise" (5), is to attribute to an individual the influence of an epoch and of a social circle. The lines:

Mas juntas, ab cap cle,
Vos m'autrei e m coman;

are an imitation of a phrase of the formula of the declaration of vassal-service to a feudal superior, so it is sheer nonsense to interpret them as follows;

"The service which he professes is often carried to the extreme of worship, and he adores her as a divinity, giving and commending himself to her with hands joined and head bowed" (11).

Mr. Dodd's command of his French sources is equally inadequate. Li fableau du dieu d'amour (19) should have been treated in close connection with the Roman de la Rose, as a possible source of the latter, and should have been cited in Lecompte's edition (Mod. Phil., VIII, 63 ff.). The mere general statement that the system of courtly love was condemned by the church (34) should have been emphasized by such specific instances as the inclusion of André le Chapelain's work in an index of prohibited books issued by the Archbishop of Paris in 1277 (E. Langlois, Rom., XXXII, 588). And if Mr. Dodd doubts whether the courtly system of making love set forth in the Livre des cent Ballades of Jean le Séneschal, a contemporary of Chaucer, is intended to lead to marriage, he can find such conceptions in the Provençal Breviari d'Amor of Matfre Ermengaud, in the Frêne of Marie de France, in the works of Robert de Blois, and of Jean de Condé. In short, Mr. Dodd has not put himself in a position to distinguish between what is personal, and what is merely conventional, in the works of his two English poets.

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Not a single one of the extant manuscripts of André's work seems to have been written in England; no record of a copy in a medieval library has been noted; and it was not translated into English, as it was into French, German and Italian; nor were any of the French works modeled on it, written in England. But that such treatises were known there we could be certain, even without the entry of "j large livre de Tretes amoireux et moralitez", found in the inventory of the library of Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, the friend of Gower (Arch. Journal, LIV, 303; cf. Mod. Phil., IX, 342, n., Rom. XLI, 602). It is evident that the English poet made use of just such works for the material of the doctrines of the Confessio Amantis, if he placed them in the ecclesiastical setting of the confession of a penitent sinner to the priest of love. Mr. Dodd points out to good effect the confusion in the mind of the poet of the two conceptions of love, courtly and theological, and notes the compromises, Gower made to unite in one person the Christian confessor and the casuist of love. But manuals of confession with illustrative anecdotes were never needed by, written for, or used by priests in the confessional, as Mr. Dodd states in unequivocal terms (44–5). The only work in which anecdotes are set in the framework of a treatise on the ten commandments and the seven deadly sins, the Manuel des Péchés, was specially stated by its author to be written "pour la gent laie". If the medieval Englishman, in reading the Confessio, considered its setting, he would be reminded of that of the Floretus, one of the most popular of medieval school-books. It is unfortunate that Mr. Dodd has not stated just how "Gower's conception of Gentilesse, as voiced by the confessor, differs much from that of such poets as confine themselves to the court view" (69, cf. 76, 87). Is it because by introducing the phrase "and as the books" he repudiates on his own account, ideas which were the very conception of the whole system? It was quite unnecessary to refer to Petrarch's conceit of describing the effects of love in terms of contradiction, in commenting on the same practice in the works of Gower, as the later without doubt found his model in the De planctu naturae of Alain de Lille, although other models Latin and French were known to him (cf. P. Meyer, Rom., IV, 382–4; A. Langfors, XLI, 227, 231; F. Novati, Attraverso il Medio Evo, 22, 69–71).

It is a much easier matter to discuss Chaucer's treatment of the doctrine of courtly love. The investigations of many scholars have revealed the sources of much of Chaucer's poetry, and it is not necessary to leave to conjecture what is conventional and what is original in the English poet's versions of foreign models. But Mr. Dodd not only shows himself imperfectly acquainted with the results of these investigations. Owing to his total ignorance of the development of the ideas

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of courtly love in Italian literature, he fails to note where Chaucer in his versions of Boccaccio's poems, misses or misinterprets the philosophic subtleties of his original, borrowed or imitated from the predecessors and betters of the poet. Even where Chaucer has mitigated the harshness of Guido delle Colonne's general remarks on womankind in the Historia Trojana (224), he has been as ignorant as all his commentators of the fact that Guido was only adopting both the thought and language of scholastics, who found a philosophic basis for the inferiority of women, and their love for men. Guido, a member of the early Italian school of poetry, adopted this view, the conclusions of which were avoided by the later poets of the dolce stil novo, by attributing angelic qualities to their mistresses. Mr. Dodd's book ends as it begins by the author showing that he did not take the trouble to inform himself upon the main subject of his book.

GEORGE L. HAMILTON.

Collectanea Biblica Latina, Vol. II. Codex Rehdigeranus (Die vier Evangelien nach der lateinischen Handschrift R 169 der Stadtbibliothek Breslau) herausgegeben von HEINRICH JOSEPH VOGELS, Rom, F. Pustet, 1913.

Although the republishing of famous old books and manuscripts has long been known as the easiest way to get one's name upon the title page of a valuable book or article, no one would have ventured to bring this criticism against Vogels, even if it had not been guarded against by the defence in his preface. The original publication by H. F. Haase appeared in six programs of the University of Breslau, 1865–6; it contained no study of the manuscript, although one was promised; it never had a wide circulation and has long been unprocurable. A reprint and study of the manuscript was thus imperatively needed, but Vogels has given us far more. In spite of Haase's careful work over 200 errors, mostly slight, have been corrected, and in 100 more cases, where erasures had been unnoticed or dispaired of by Haase, the reading of the first hand has now been deciphered.

The introduction is divided into three sections: history of the manuscript; description of the manuscript; character of text. The manuscript seems to have been written in the second half of the seventh or the first half of the eighth century, but nothing is known of its wanderings before the middle of the fifteenth, when it appeared at Aquileia. The

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MS once contained about 350 pages, but only 296 remain. The text of Mark and Luke is practically entire, but Matthew has lost the first chapter and a half, and John is quite fragmentary, having six lacunae and ending with 16, 13. Very interesting is the proof given on page xvi of the introduction that the MS was copied from the parent line for line and column for column. Ligatures, abbreviations, and peculiar spellings receive ample treatment.

An almost contemporary hand has corrected the MS in many hundred passages, in all cases substituting the Vulgate for the Old Latin reading. Though the erasing was very carefully done the original can usually be deciphered. A later hand (eighth century Italian) has added one half of a *Capitulare Evangelii*, or list of Gospel readings for the days of the Church year. A list of the many liturgical marks in the MS completes the chapter.

To illustrate the character of text Vogels first gives a selection of 18 readings of *l* which show combination of two Latin variants. All seem in point except perhaps the first:

Matth. 14, 8 *l*: ***dixit da mihi inquit*** (ebenso g^2 E O^{gl} T Z* P)
dixit da mihi a b c d f (ff^1) ff^2 g^1 h k q D Q
inquit da mihi R
da mihi inquit vulgate (and Greek)

The reading of *l* and its Latin relatives is also found in Greek W, a fourth century MS, so the conflation is older and more widely distributed than suggested by Vogels. His contention nevertheless holds good that the text of *l* shows combination not only of Old Latin with Vulgate text, but of the various styles of Old Latin text with each other. As above noted the Vulgate readings have further been multiplied by the careful corrections of a second hand. This is most interesting as it gives us an example of the manner in which the many mixed text MSS were formed. Yet this process was even older in the text history of *l*, for Vogels' proof of the combined character of the first hand text of *l* shows that some ancestor had suffered a similar correction. It may further be noted that this earlier correction affected Matthew and Mark more than Luke and John and that not even the parts of the individual Gospels fared at all the same.

The Vulgate readings in the MS have no interest but the Old Latin remnants are good and old, showing in general a notable relationship to the Old Irish branch of the Latin tradition, as found in the Vulgate MSS D E ℌ P L Q R. A table of 18 agreements with D in Mark illustrates this relationship. These are however all Old Latin readings and Vogels has found support in other OL MSS for all except one of these examples. He intentionally omits the Greek support, which in several cases is both good and old. Owing to the frag-

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mentary character of Vulgate E the comparison with *l* is made in Luke, 7, 24–11, 1 and shows 22 interesting agreements. The agreement with ℭ P L Q and R is hardly less, though it is noteworthy that the entire group never seems to unite on any of the peculiar errors listed. From this and other evidence Vogels infers that the relationship of *l* to the Irish Vulgate MSS is not a direct one, but is presumably with the Old Latin element back of the Irish Vulgate.

Of the other Vulgate MSS only G (classed as g^1 in Mark, Luke, and John) shows noteworthy agreement. Of these some 30 examples are given from Mark, most of which show some support from the Irish MSS, and all have other Old Latin support. Very remarkable also is the agreement with M (27 examples) in chapters 12 and 13 of Luke.

Vogels finds the text of *l* in the main too composite to warrant extended comparison with the other Old Latin MSS or the attempt to classify its text as distinctly "European", "Italian", or "African". This varying character of text is well illustrated by printing selected passages in parallel columns with the Vulgate. In Matthew 13, 1–15, and Luke 1, 1–22, the agreement is almost perfect. In Luke 2, 41–52 there is still Vulgate influence, but the differences are more striking, while in Luke 23, 24–37, John 2, 1–12, and 4, 1–14, the text is almost pure Old Latin, and the agreement with the Old Latin e is very close in the more peculiar readings. Enough has perhaps been said to show that the basic text of *l* was old and good, but that it has suffered much correction.

The remaining 300 pages of the stately and well printed volume give an accurate line for line reprint of the manuscript. Only the first hand readings appear in the text; erased letters and words are enclosed in brackets, if legible; if not, they are shown by asterisks. Corrections by later hands are given in the footnotes. Three excellent facsimile pages complete the work.

The incomplete and sometimes inaccurate citation of the readings of *l* in Tischendorff's New Testament, which has been our best available source up to this time, makes this new edition of *l* indispensable to the textual student and all must be most grateful to Vogels for this complete and accurate publication.

HENRY A. SANDERS.

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REPORTS.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM FÜR PHILOLOGIE, Vol. LXVIII (1913).

Pp. 1–10. Das Ende von Caesars Gallischer Statthalterschaft und der Ausbruch des Bürgerkrieges. W. Judeich. Caesar's Gallic command came to an end December 29 of the year 50.

Pp. 11–15. Zur Geschichte des Lavinatischen Kultus. O. Seeck. A study of a fragmentary inscription found at Pratica, on the site of the ancient Lavinium, CIL XIV 2065. Seeck guesses that it belongs to the fourth century, and that it refers to the Emperor Julian the Apostate. He 'restores' the first half of each of the seven lines, and not only displays all possible confidence in his 'restoration' but also adds a naïve approval of its high literary quality. Denn in seiner reinen Form und der feinsinnigen Anknüpfung an das römische Nationalepos . . . gehört es wohl zu den geschmackvollsten Erzeugnissen seiner Zeit.

Pp. 16–21. Die Grabgruppe eines römischen Ehepaares im Vatikan. Ch. Huelsen. A study of a well known tomb-relief of a man and a woman in the Vatican (Hall of the Busts, no. 388). It seems to be described (c. 1580) in an anonymous account (Barb. Lat. 2016) of the antique objects in the garden of Alessandro dei Medici (afterwards Pope Leo XI)—a garden which lay near the ruins of the Basilica of Constantine and the Temple of Venus and Rome. The description is followed immediately by a copy of two inscriptions which apparently refer to the two figures; *Gratidia M. l. chrite* (for *Charite*?) and *M. Gratidius Libanus*. The cognomen suggests that the man was of Greek stock, and either a freedman or the son of a freedman.

Pp. 22–67. Hesiodos von Askra und der Verfasser der Theogonie. W. Aly. The author of the Works and Days is the Hesiod who is mentioned in Theog. 22, but he is not the author of the 'kernel' of the Theogony. The two poems are decidedly different in their poetical technique and in their language.

Pp. 68–90. Vergil und Quintus. P. Becker. The writer finds the influence of Virgil in Quintus' account of the fight between Achilles and Memnon (II 395 ff.) and in his description of the boxing match (IV 284–404).

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Pp. 91–96. Nonniana. Arthur Ludwich. Textual notes on Dion. 2, 425; 5, 225; 11, 227; 22, 288; 25, 440; 33, 175; 33, 195; 34, 157; 42, 288; 48, 114.

Pp. 97–109. Plutarchstudien. K. Ziegler. III. Seitenstettensis und Matritensis.

Pp. 110–127. Der Frontinuskommentar. C. Thulin.

Pp. 128–152. Zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte des Tertullian-textes. E. Kroymann.

Miszellen.—P. 153. W. A. Baehrens. Zu Apollodors Chronik (ed. Jacoby, p.339). Bergk's proposal (Rh. Mus., XXXVII 362) to read *τρίτῳ* for *δευτέρῳ* is supported by a passage in Justin, XII 16, 8.—Pp. 153–4. Karl Praechter. Zu Julian or. 4, p. 135 C. A proposal to read *τὸ δὲ μέσον ἐξ αὐτοῦ <τοῦ> μέσου, τὸ δὲ τοῖς νοεροῖς αὐτὸν ἐνιδρῦσθαι βασιλέα ἐκ τῆς ἐν τοῖς πλανωμένοις μέσης τάξεως.*—P. 155. P. Corssen. Zu Plinius N. H. XIV 58 und XVII 239. The writer finds that two of his own 'emendations' are unnecessary.—Pp. 155–6. E. Stechert. Zum Prolog der disticha Catonis.—Pp. 157–60. A. Brinkmann. Nachträge. In the *Θαύματα* of Kosmas and Damian, 17, 21, p. 142 D., read: *ὁ δὲ ἄλλος εἰς ὑπήκοον τοῦ ἀσθενοῦντος ἔφη.*—P. 160. Ch. Huelsen. Nachtrag zu S. 16, 1.

Pp. 161–201. Randglossen zu den Hellenika von Oxyrhynchos. F. Rühl. On the expedition of Demaenetos, on *ὄγδοον ἔτος*, 4, 1, on the credibility of Xenophon.

Pp. 202–216. Der Staatsstreich der Vierhundert. Th. Lenschau. A study of the coup d'état of the Four Hundred. The documents given by Aristotle, *Ἀθ. πολ.*, 30–31, are the work of a commission of one hundred which was appointed by the Five Thousand. He has inserted them in the wrong place, immediately after the assembly at Kolonos. They ought to come after the fall of the Four Hundred.

Pp. 217–238. Wort- und Versrhythmus bei Homer. K. Witte. A study of the Homeric use of trochaic words which end in a consonant. In *ἡμιν* and *ὑμιν* the *ι* is long.

Pp. 239–250. Lenäen oder Anthesterien? E. Petersen. Discussion of a group of fifth-century Attic vases recently published by A. Frickenhaus.

Pp. 251–256. Horaz Ode I 32. R. Reitzenstein. The point of the poem is, May I sing now *inter arma* as well as I ever sang in times of peace and idleness. For Alcaeus in the midst of war or after the dangers of sea-faring sang not of the *dura navis, dura fugae mala, dura belli*, but of love and wine. And such songs are to me *laborum dulce lenimen medicumque*. Read *poscimur*, not *poscimus*, in the first line.

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Pp. 257–278. Drei Epigramme des Martial. G. Friedrich. Epigram IV 8 describes the *Emperor's* day. Hence read *continet* in line 1, not *conterit*. Epigram VI 3, like Statius, Silv. I 1, was written in October, 90. In Epigram VII 87 the proper names should be written, Claudilla (7), Telesina (8), Labyrtae (9).

Pp. 279–285. Umfang der Lücke in Tacitus dialogus de oratoribus. K. Barwick. The lacuna amounted to just 1/12 of the entire work, or about $2\frac{3}{4}$ Teubner pages. Decembrio's statement *Post hec deficiunt sex folia* must be a mistake. He should have said *sex pagellae*.

Pp. 286–296. Ueber die Bedeutung des Namens Hellespont bei den Geographen. A. Klotz. The name Ἑλλήσποντος was extended to the Aegean Sea only in the imagination of a grammarian who misinterpreted certain passages of poetry.

Pp. 297–306. Der Mythos von der Geburt des Dionysos in den Bakchen des Euripides. P. Corssen. Proposes ἐπείπερ for ἐκεῖνος (243), and perhaps λύων νιν for Διόνυσον (294).

Miszellen.—Pp. 307–9. J. M. Stahl. Zu den Ἰχνευταί des Sophokles. Κυνηγέσω (44) is formed from κυνηγέσσειν, not from κυνηγεῖν. Μόνον (265) refers to παῖδα, not to σπέος. In 296 read ἢ χὡς (=καὶ ὡς). In 322–3 read φάσματ' ἔγχορδ' ἐπανθεμίζει, and translate, "und vernehmliche Tongebilde schmückt sie auf den Saiten wiederum aus." In 324–6 read οὐ πέρι προνεύω . . . ὡς τοῦτ' ἐτεχνήσατο, and translate, "die Sache, wegen der ich mich bücke im Schritt, sei überzeugt, dass der Dämon, wer er auch sein mag, sie listig ins Werk gesetzt hat".—Pp. 309–12. L. Meister. Zu den kyprischen Alphabetinschriften (Le Bas —Waddington, 2725 and Newton, Inscr. Brit. Mus. II 152 n. 382).—Pp. 312–16. K. Preisendanz. Zu den griechischen Zauberpapyri. Textual notes on Pap. Mus. Lugd. Bat. J. 384. —Pp. 316–19. E. Hohl. Zur Historia Augusta (Vita Severi 17, 6). The influence of this passage is traced in Aur. Vict., Caes. 20, 10.—P. 319. W. A. Baehrens withdraws his statement (p. 153) that Bergk proposed to change the text of Diog. Laert. V 11.—P. 320. A. Brinkmann. Lückenbüsser. K. W. Krüger's proposal to read οὐ μέντοι Αἰγύπτιόν γε is supported by a Rylands papyrus of the second century. In Diogenes of Apollonia, fr. 5 D, in Hippocr. 123, 21 K., and in Athen. XIII 604 a, the γε after μέντοι should be struck out.

Pp. 321–335. Ist die Alexandra dem Tragiker Lykophron abzusprechen? P. Corssen. A defence, against Beloch and others, of the traditional date of the poem.

Pp. 336–354. Zum Zeushymnus des Kallimachos. K. Ziegler. 1. Zeus is the god of kings—a view accepted by the astrologers in the Hellenistic period, probably in Egypt. 2. On

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the liturgic use of χαῖρε. 3. The influence of Hesiod Pindar and Aeschylus on Callimachus.

Pp. 355–360. Zu Aristophanes Thesmophoriazusen. Paul Maas. In line 2 read ἀλύων, in 277, ἔα· σπεῦδε, in 604, τἄρ' for γὰρ (and transpose 603 and 604), in 809, οὐδ' Ανυτος τοῦτό γε φήσει.

Pp. 361–365. Zu Menander. Paul Maas. 1. Der Stilwechsel in der Erkennungsszene der Perikeiromene. 2. Nominativ statt Vokativ bei Frauennamen auf -ις. 3. παῦ (proposed in Sam. 252, 333). 4. Citharistes 46 f. In 47 write μηθαμῶς (scil. τοιαῦτα λογίζου).

Pp. 366–394. Antiochos und Stratonike. Josef Mesk. A comparative study of the various versions of the story. Lucian's version, De Dea Syr. 17. 18, must be the closest to the original form. Directly or indirectly, the story was influenced by Euripides' Hippolytus.

Pp. 395–412. Die Märtyrerakten von Lugudunum 177 (Eusebius h. e. V 1 ff.). U. Kahrstedt.

Pp. 413–418. Zur Lehre von den Freilassungen in der römischen Kaiserzeit. S. Brassloff. Argues, from passages in Julian, Paulus and Modestin, that under the Empire manumission might be done by proxy.

Pp. 419–428. Handschriftliches zu Cicero's De officiis. C. A. Atzert. Description of a twelfth-century MS in the Royal Library at Brussels, No. 10036.

Pp. 429–447. Zu Curtius Rufus. W. A. Baehrens. On the prosody of the clausula, which agrees in many points with the prosody of Plautus. Application of the theories advanced to many passages of the text.

Pp. 448–452. In Sachen Abderas. M. L. Strack. Defence of the author's book Die antiken Münzen von Thrakien, I 1 (1912), against an attack by von Wilamowitz.

Miszellen.—P. 453. C. O. Zuretti. Anth. Pal. V 191. The διπλοῦν γράμμα is the letter s.—Pp. 453–454. S. Sudhaus. Samia 327. Read, εἶσιθ' εἶσω ταῦτ' ἀφείς.—Pp. 455–459. S. Sudhaus. Ciris V. 48. Read, *impia* pro Stygiis est *quondam* exterrita templis. In Culex, 127, for *insigni* read *ignipedum*. —Pp. 459–461. P. E. Sonnenburg. De Ciceronis officina. Discussion of Cat. III 25. Both of the sentences "atque illae tamen omnes dissensiones" are not needed. The second one was probably written first, and the first one was written later to take its place.—Pp. 461–464. E. Hohl. Tacitus und der jüngere Plinius. On the relation between the Panegyricus of Pliny and the speech in Tacitus' Histories, I 15–16, about the

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adoption of Piso. It cannot be proved that Tacitus' "adoption" speech is the earliest.

Pp. 465–476. Ὅτι und ὡς bei Plato als Hilfsmittel zur Bestimmung der Zeitfolge seiner Schriften. H. Kallenberg. A study of 'hiatus' in the last group of Plato's dialogues suggests that the Philebus is the earliest one of the group.

Pp. 477–514. Zur Kritik einiger ciceronischer Reden. A. Klotz. Textual notes on the speeches Cum Senatui gratias egit, Cum populo gratias egit, and De Domo sua.

Pp. 515–528. A che punto siamo con l'interpretazione dei testi etruschi? Elia Lattes. Notes on the relation of Etruscan to Oscan and Umbrian.

Pp. 529–537. Die Lokalhistorie von Sikyon bei Menaichmos, Pausanias und den Chronographen. F. Pfister.

Pp. 538–559. Die literarische Ueberlieferung des Prometheusmythos. W. Aly. The earliest references to Prometheus (Hesiod, Semonides, Sappho) suggest the existence of a 'Hymnos' on the Creation of Man. The Prometheus of Aeschylus is a new type.

Pp. 560–583. Die Ueberlieferungsgeschichte des Maximus Tyrius. H. Mutschmann. The archetype of our MSS is the Regius.

Pp. 584–595. Euripides Hypsipyle. E. Petersen.

Pp. 596–602. Strassburger literarische Papyri. W. Crönert. I. Ionisches Schriftwerk.

Pp. 603–609. Zu altitalischen Sprachdenkmälern. H. Ehrlich. I. Zum carmen arvale. II. Zur Fuciner Bronze.

Pp. 610–630. Beiträge zur Geschichte der antiken Schrift. A. Mentz. I. ὁ ὀξύρυγχος χαρακτήρ. II. Die Entstehungszeit der griechischen Tachygraphie. The art seems to have been practised in Rome earlier than in Greece. III. Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Zahlzeichen. The statement in Isidore, Orig. I 22, "vulgares notas Ennius primus mille et centum invenit", means: "Ennius hat die Volksnoten M=*mille* und C=*centum* als erster erfunden". IV. Die Notensammlung Senecas.

Miszellen.—Pp. 631–2. J. M. Stahl. Zu Pindar. In frag. 221 Schroed. read *ναὶ θοᾷ <χθό>ν' ἀμείβων*.—Pp. 632–3. W. Crönert. Zu den Troerinnen des Euripides. Ἀμβρότα, 536, refers to Μοῦσα at the beginning of the chorus.—P. 634. E. Schwyzer. Die Inschrift von Nebi-Abel (Dittenberger IO. 606).—Pp. 635–6. Th. Birt. Hellespont. In the Ciris, 413, 'Hellespontus' means the Aegean (cp. Strabo, VII fr. 58). 'Amplectitur' is passive, and the line should read: "qua

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curvus terris amplectitur Hellespontus".—Pp. 636–7. W. Aly. Zur Ueberlieferung des Dialogus. Note on Vat. 4498.—Pp. 638–9. K. Barwick. Nachtrag (to pp. 279 ff.). Textual notes on the Dialogus of Tacitus.—Pp. 639–40. A. Brinkmann. Lückenbüsser. 10. In BGU II 597 read: *φωσφόρε, φωσφορέουσα φίλον φῶς, φῶς φέρε λαμπάς.* 11. The verb *ἀρτικροτεῖν*, with the meaning of *συγκροτεῖν*, occurs in Strabo, XV 1, 32, p. 700. 12. At the beginning of Isidore's treatise Institutionum Disciplinae, read 'debet' (impersonal) for debere.

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GLOTTA: Band IV. (1912–13.)

Pp. 1–21. K. Witte, Homerische Sprach- und Versgeschichte. Die Entstehung der ionischen Langzeile. Summarizes the results of the author's studies publisht in previous volumes of Glotta (A. J. P. XXXIII (1912), 223, 473; XXXIV (1913), 227 sq., 231), and develops, mainly from them, the theory that the epic hexameter originated in the fusion of two shorter lines, of four and two feet respectively. (This theory was first exprest, very briefly, at Glotta III. 148, but is here for the first time fully set forth and defended.) "Alle Homerverse zerfallen in drei Kategorien, je nachdem sie entweder die bukolische Diärese oder die Hepthemimeres oder, bei Nichtvorhandensein dieser beiden Einschnitte, die weibliche Cäsur aufweisen" (p. 14). Of these only the first is original; the second is developt from the first, and the third from the second.

Pp. 22–49. E. Fraenkel, Graeca-Latina. 1) Grammatische und syntaktische Bemerkungen zu griech. *θέμις*. The original stem of the word (found Hom. and Thess.) was *θέμιστ-* (gen. *θέμιστος*, dat. *θέμιστι*). This was the weak grade of a compound noun, *θεμι-* (representing *θεμερο-*, see Wackernagel Verm. Beitr. 10 ff.) + *στᾱ-*, the root of *ἵστημι* used without formative affix. In such root-nouns the weak grade shows a complete loss of the root-final (cf. Vedic *dhiyaṁ-dhé*, dat. sg., <*-dhā*, etc.); *θέμιστος* and *θέμιστι* are therefore regular forms; by analogy with them *θέμις* (for **θεμιστς*) and *θέμιστα* were substituted for **θεμίστᾱς* and **θεμίστᾱν*. In later Greek *θέμις* naturally followed the analogy of more familiar categories in its declension. It was originally concrete, as the name of a goddess ("die fest und unverbrüchlich Stehende"). [On this point cf. Kretschmer, below.] The occasional use of the word as a neuter is not original, as some have supposed, but secondary, being due to the analogy of such words as *θεμιτόν, πρέπον, ἐξόν, δίκαιον*, etc. 2) Zur Vereinigung zweier Synonyma zu einem Wortganzen.

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Additional Greek and Slavic material to the "Iteratives, Blends and 'Streckformen'" quoted by Wood, Modern Philology IX. 2, 1 ff. (e. g. καλαΐς, a name for the cock, cf. καλέω, ἀείδω; Russian *zhylo-bylo*, "there lived—there was", i. e. "there lived once upon a time"). 3) Zu griech. κλῄζειν, κλείζειν und aksl. *blagosloviti*, czech. *blahoslavie, blahoslaven*. Two cases of confusion between originally distinct word-groups whose meanings were similar. 4) Zu ἀμφιανακτίζειν. Slavic parallel. 5) Zum Wechsel von *-k-* und *-v-* Suffixen. 6) τὸ νῖκος=ἡ νίκη. The neuter stem of the κοινή not merely a contamination of νίκη with etacized νεῖκος (Wackernagel), but a new formation under the analogy of σθένος, κράτος. The *s*-stem is found in compounds earlier than the κοινή. 7) κνῆστις 'Rückgrat'. (Additional note on Glotta II. 1.) 8) Zum separativen Gebrauche abgeleiteter Verba. (Addition to Glotta III. 201 ff., 279.) 9) Lat. *prīmōrēs*. <*prīmus* with compv. suffix (so Sommer); cf. Eng. *former*, to OE. *formest*[*a*]=Gth. *frumists*. 10) Lat. *hibernum*> franz. *hivers*, ital. *inverno* und lat. *testimonium*> franz. *témoin*, ital. *testimonio* 'Zeuge'. Substitution of a derivative adjective for original substantive; abstract becoming concrete. 11) Zur Verwendung der Adversativpartikel in Doppelfragen. Apropos of Lat. *an* for *at-ne, anne* (Skutsch); parallels from Gk. and Skt. 12) Zur Bezeichnung von Lokalitäten in den idg. Sprachen.

Pp. 50–51. P. Kretschmer, Zum Namen der Themis. Θέμις originally an earth-goddess, and only secondarily goddess of law and order; this fits Fraenkel's (above p. 22) etymology ('die fest Stehende') quite as well as the meaning F. thinks original.

Pp. 51–78. A. Rosenberg, Etruskisches. I. Zur etruskischen Wortbildung. On the etr. suffixes *-na, -u, -a, -ie* (and combinations thereof); W. Schulze has shown that gentile names were formed with them, but R. maintains that they had a much wider scope: 'prädikative Begriffe, die ein Ding in einen gewissen Kreis einordnen.... *ais* ist demnach Gottheit (=das "Gott sein"), *ais-na* ein Wesen, welches auf dieses Attribut Anspruch hat', etc. To the same group belongs *-ne*, which Torp wrongly maintained was a preterite formative. II. Zu den Agramer Mumienbinden. An ingenious and attractive study of the interpretation of this 'litany', producing a number of important results. Of especial interest are, for example, the identification of the Etr. expression for *deus animalis* (cf. Servius on Aen. III. 168), and the plausible identification of the affix *-m* as the Etr. relative pronoun.

Pp. 78–143. M. Lambertz, Zur Ausbreitung des Supernomen oder Signum im römischen Reiche. No distinction is observable between the terms *supernomen* and *signum* (a

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second cognomen, for which even the word *cognomen* itself is sometimes loosely used). The second name frequently added with *quī et* (ὁ καί) in inscriptions is the same thing. This second name originated in various ways; it might be a translation into Greek or Latin of a barbaric given name, or an arbitrary substitute therefor, or a modification of the father's or husband's name (sometimes the father's name itself), or a nickname, pet-name, or the like; it might also be taken from the name of a club or association to which the person belonged (*Concordius*, etc.). L. combats the view of Diehl, according to which the *signum* is a different thing from the second name introduced by *qui et*, and is regularly a form in *-ius*, meaning a member of a society or guild. The facts do not bear out this distinction.—The appearance of fem. *signa* with the masc. ending *-ius* Diehl explained by the supposition that guild-members, both male and female, were called, as such, by masc. adjectives (*Concordius*, a member of the guild *Concordia*, whether man or woman). This L. rejects; he finds an explanation for the irregularity of gender in a very complicated—and unconvincing—combination of analogy and popular confusion of forms. (A much more likely explanation is given by Kretschmer, below, p. 207.) L. gives a very complete and interesting collection of examples, arranged by provinces of the empire.

Pp. 144–165. F. Hartmann, Die Behandlung der lateinischen Wortfamilien im Unterricht. Undertakes to show the usefulness for pedagogic—as well as scientific—purposes of detailed studies in the semantic development of words etymologically related. The theory is illustrated by discussions of the following groups: (1) *pēs, pedālis, pedārius, pedes, pedester, pedum, peddre, antepēs, compēs, pedica* (>*peccāre*), *impedīre, impedīmenta, expedīre, expedītiō, praepedīre, oppidum, oppidō.* (2) *arx, arca, arcānus, arcēre, coercēre, exercēre, exercitus, exercitātus, exercitātiō, arma* (! derived from *arcēre*, as "Schutzwaffen"), *armārium, artus* (*arctus*), *disertus*, etc. (3) *tēla*, etc. (: *texere*). (4) *lavere, lavāre* and cognates.

Pp. 165–187. G. Herbig, Neue etruskische Funde aus Grotte S. Stefano und Montagna. Besides publishing the text of two new inscriptions (both very brief), H. discusses at length the meaning of the etr. forms in the suffix *-l* (*-al*), which he believes to be probably genitive case-forms in origin, but which in some cases "man infolge ihrer besonderen syntaktischen Verwendung nicht mehr als genetiv empfand", so that to them sometimes "bei ausgesprochener genetivischer Verwendung von neuem das Genetiv-Suffix *-s* oder *-sa* antrat". (Against the theory of E. Lattes, Glotta III. 166 ff., according to which *-l* or *-al* is an adjective-forming suffix.)

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Pp. 187–200. F. Skutsch, Der lateinische Accent. The change from the IE. system of free accentuation to a universal expiratory accent on the first syllable is "gemeinitalisch", but not "uritalisch"; it dates from about the 6th or 5th century B. C., and was due to direct influence from Etruscan. A study of Greek proper names in Etruscan shows that Etr. had the same strong stress on the first syllable, other syllables being reduced in a manner strikingly parallel to the Latin. In both languages unaccented short vowels were frequently lost entirely; in such cases an adjacent liquid or nasal became vocalized (Etr. *atlnta*; Lat. **agro-los> *agr̥los> *agerlos> agellus*); the vocalic liquid or nasal became finally *er*, *en*, etc., in Latin. In other cases an unaccented vowel became reduced to a Schwa, which in Latin tended to become *i* in open, *e* in closed syllables. S. denies that unaccented *a*, for instance, could *directly* be changed to *e* or *i* as the result of expiratory accent; he thinks such conditions could only change *a* to a reduced vowel—call it Schwa—which then might, under the influence of different surrounding sounds, become *e*, *i*, *u*, etc. The further change in Latin accent, which resulted in the system found in historic times, occurred about the 4th century B. C., and S. thinks it may have been due to the influence of the Greek language (altho he admits there are grave difficulties in the way, and does not undertake a proof of the suggestion—which has been made previously by Kretschmer and others).

Pp. 200–206. P. Kretschmer, Eingeritzte griechische Inschrift eines apulischen Gefässes. Newly discovered vase with very archaic inscription (6th century!), apparently recording the owner's triumph in some sort of fight. K. reads: *'Αρκεσίλαϝος ἀλόϝη τυχαῖος* (or *τυχαίως*) *βόϝεον βλαμίνι(ν) τὰς πλε(υ)ρὰς †ξαιθοινανις†*, and translates (omitting the last word): Arkesilavos aus Tyche drosch (oder Ark. drosch durch einen glücklichen Zufall?) ochsenmässig dem Flamini(u)s (oder Blaminis) die Rippen . . . .

P. 207. P. Kretschmer, Zu den weiblichen Signa auf-*ius*. (Cf. Lambertz, above, p. 89.) An early case of the modern usage by which a woman takes the surname of husband or father without change of form ("Herr Fabricius; Frau, Fräulein Fabricius"—not Fabricia!).

P. 208. O. Lautensach, *πηνήκη—πηνίκη, πηνηκίζω—πηνικίζω*. The forms with *η* alone are correct.

P. 208. P. Kretschmer, Boiot. *ἀσαυτόν*. For *αὐσ-* by dissimilation, cf. *Agustus, asculto*.

Pp. 209–242. K. Witte, Die Vokalcontraction bei Homer. Uncontracted forms occurring in cases where we normally ex-

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pect contraction are not voluntary concessions of the poets to the Ionic language of every day (Bechtel); such variations are to be explained by one of the three following principles: (1) Inflection of Homeric formulae (A. J. P. XXXIV (1913), 227 sq.) in certain parts of the verse, especially at the end of it; thus the accus. to ἡμεῖς and ἡμῖν is generally ἡμέας as a dissyllable (also gen. ἡμέων). (2) Late imitations of passages in which two vowels were originally uncontracted, but were misunderstood by the imitators as contracted (because so pronounced in the 'Umgangssprache' of their time). (3) Avoidance for metrical reasons of a tribrach or cretic; this is often found in connexion with (1) above, as in ἡμέων. Witte closes with some general remarks on methods of Homeric study; he argues the necessity of studying *all* the facts of the Homeric language, and the danger of basing generalizations about the relationship of different parts of the epics on one or two arbitrarily selected data.

Pp. 242–245. J. Wackernagel, Varia. 1. Zu Pind. Pyth. IV 250 (446). Read with Didymos τὰν Πελίαο φονόν <Christ: φονόν requirit Gildersleeve>. 2. Die Deminutivendung -άφιον. The α is long; in early examples it occurs exclusively after ρ and ι; cf. ξυλήφιον (Hippocr.). 3. ὅσον ὅσον (NT), cf. Ar. Vesp. 213 ὅσον ὅσον στίλην. 4. Zu Glotta III 44. Reply to criticism of Schmalz.

Pp. 245–248. E. Nachmanson, Ueber die Lautverbindung μν. Repeated cases of simplification to μμ (μ), νν (ν).

Pp. 249–253. A. Debrunner, Ἐπιούσιος. τὸν ἐπιούσιον (ἄρτον) in the Lord's prayer; =τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν οὖσαν (sc. ἡμέραν), "für den betreffenden Tag bestimmt".

Pp. 253–261. E. Löfstedt, Sprachliche und epigraphische Miscellen. Ten brief notes; among them (1) Pl. Poen. 659 *tu . . . agere tuam rem occasiost* (contamination of different modes of expression; text is sound). (6) Vulgar Latin *r* for *d*. (10) The collocation *bonus* (*et*) *optimus* (late Latin).

Pp. 261–262. V. Ussani, Ariamne=Ariadne. Further light on Glotta III 275 (A. J. P. XXXIV (1913), 230).

Pp. 262–265. A. Ehrenzweig, Zur Frage der Einreihung des neuen Bruchstückes des etruskischen Mumientextes. (Herbig, Abh. Bayr. Akad. ph-h. Kl. 25. 4.)

Pp. 265–280. W. A. Baehrens, Vermischtes über lateinischen Sprachgebrauch. I. *Perdux* Adjektiv nach *redux*. (Sext. Aurel. Victor. Liber de Caes. c. 33. 31; p. 112. 5 ff.) II. Ueber den Nominativus Absolutus. Occurs as early as Curtius (contrary to Schmalz's statement). III. Zu einer Form der Attraktion. *eo quo* for *eo quod* (late Latin). IV.

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Bemerkenswerter Gebrauch des Singulars. Separative or distributive; as *vitam excellentium virorum*, and conversely *cum mulieris ingeniis* (Seneca; for *mulierum*). V. Einiges über unpersönliches *potest* und *debet*. VI. *prae* mit Accus. (By analogy with *propter*.) VII. *per*=*propter*. Occurs in Frontinus as well as later. VIII. *postquam*=*post*, and IX. *propter* =*pro*. Late Latin.

Pp. 280–293. R. Methner, Ueber den Gebrauch von *aliquis* in negativen und *quisquam* in affirmativen Sätzen. These usages are nowhere satisfactorily accounted for in the Latin grammars. "Aliquis, 'any one, it matters not who', is generally used in affirmative sentences. But it is also found in negative sentences, when the speaker does not simply represent a thing as unreal, but first pictures to himself the possibility of the thing in order forthwith to deny (or to dispute) this possibility". (Also, of course, when the negation applies not to the whole sentence but to a single part of it.) "Quisquam, 'any one at all', is generally used in negative sentences. But it is also found in non-negative sentences, when the speaker wishes to indicate a doubt as to the correctness of that which is contained in the sentence with quisquam, or wishes to make it appear as though he had such a doubt".

Pp. 294–299. H. Petersson, Lateinische und Griechische Etymologien. 1. Lat. *classis*, to ON. *hlaða* 'laden' etc. 2. Lat. *fullō* (:**fullāre* 'walken'>fr. *fouler* etc.) to Lith. *baldyti*, *baldas*, Swed. *bulta*, Eng. *bolt* etc. 3. Lat. *floccus* (for **flōcus*) to Germ. *Blahe* 'grobes Leintuch zur Bedeckung'. 4. Lat. *paedor*: Skt. *pāyuṣ* 'After'. 5. Lat. *asser* for **arsser*: Lith *ašrdai* 'Stangengerüst' etc. 6. Griech. *κίφος*: Skt. *çiphā* 'Rute'. 7. Griech. *ὐσσός* 'Wurfspiess': Lat. *sudis* 'Spitze', '*sublica*' etc.

Pp. 299–302. R. G. Kent, Zu den orthographischen Regeln des Lucilius. Further defense of L.'s rule about *ei* and *ī* (cf. AJP. 32. 272 ff.), against Sommer and Skutsch (Glotta I 309 f., III 353 f.).

Pp. 303–304. E. Weidner, *βάρβαρος*.<semit.-babyl. *barbaru* 'der Fremde'. [The author seems unaware that the Sanskrit language has a word *barbara-s*, also meaning 'foreigner, barbarian', whose original meaning was 'stammering'—clearly onomatopoetic.]

P. 304. P. Kretschmer, *Oppidum*<*ob*+*pedes*: *id quod pedibus obest*. (Cf. above p. 155 f.)

P. 305. Notice of the death of Franz Skutsch, whose place as coeditor of Glotta will be taken by W. Kroll.

Pp. 305–309. P. Kretschmer, Mythische Namen. 1. Achill.

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<*ἀχιλος: ἄχος 'Trauer'; he rules over the Φθίες (: φθίω=φθίμενοι 'die Toten'); for the Μυρμιδόνες also cf. μύρμος· φόβος Hesych., so that we have in A. originally a sort of ruler of the dead! (Perhaps as 'der Frühverstorbene'.) 2. Nestor (νόστος, νέομαι): cannot well be other than one of those figures that symbolize the annual return of vegetation. 3. Kekrops. <κέρκοψ 'mit Schwanz versehen' (so represented in art). A chthonic demon.

Pp. 310–430. Literaturbericht für das Jahr 1910. Greek by P. Kretschmer; Italic by F. Hartmann and M. Lambertz.

Pp. 431–455. Indices by K. Witte.

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BRIEF MENTION.

Aegean Days. Such is the title of Professor MANATT's book (London, John Murray). I also have had Aegean days, too few of them, and as I read I sigh with old Alkman, *βάλε δὴ βάλε κηρύλος εἶην*, and I do not stop to ask what *βάλε* means[1] —Baal or another—and I do not beg D'Arcy Thompson to enlighten me as to the identity of the *κηρύλος* with the kingfisher. The wings of a dove will answer as well as the wings of the Phaedrus. A book like this wakes memories, rouses yearnings. I fish out of the recesses of my desk the note-book in which I jotted down the stages of my sixty days in Greece, and I find that on the twelfth of May 1896 a wave of the Aegean curled over into my pocket, and wellnigh obliterated the record—not too legible before. But it was after the twelfth that we lay off Andros for several hours, and I see once more the white houses climbing up the steep slope, sit once more in the kapheneion of the hospitable villagers, and gaze at the strange slate walls of which I made a rude drawing at the time. Andros has been nearer to me ever since (A. J. P. XVII 356), and I am glad that Professor MANATT made his summer home on the island, and entered into the life of the people, as few foreigners could do. The classical scholar is always seeking the old in the new, but the new has its rights. Somehow excavations always stir a regret for the life that has been displaced; and Professor MANATT's story owes its special charm to his familiarity with both worlds—his sympathy with the homely present and his love of the ideal past. But I must not linger on Andros as not so long ago I lingered on Poros (A. J. P. XXXIII 363), nor yield to the temptation of recalling my memory of a day on Delos—a day of fasting by reason of the *γλύκισμα* of the day before; but for all that I climbed up Kynthos, which 'lifts its awful form' three hundred and seventy feet above the level of the sea, and wondered if Aristophanes would have called it *ὑψικέρατα Κύνθον*, if he had ever been there, to say nothing of Vergil's literary geography:

> per iuga Cynthi
> Exercet Diana choros, quam mille secutae
> Hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades.

There was no room on the summit of Kynthos for all the members of Dörpfeld's company. At least most of them

[1] S. C. G. 396 read: a <not yet, perhaps never to be,> unriddled *βάλε*.

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thought so. But for the curiosity of the thing I must not suppress a note I made on the chapter headed A Modern Greek Pilgrimage, in which Professor MANATT describes the panegyris on Tenos, and tells us how the church of the Panagia Phaneromene 'is as full of votive offerings as ever was the Epidauric temple'. Among these votive offerings 'hangs', he says, 'a big silver ship, and here is the story':

> A great ship overtaken by a storm sprang a leak, and was going down. The captain called upon the Virgin of Tenos to save him from sinking, and forthwith a great fish appeared, swam into the hole, and neatly plugged it up. The ship came into port with flying colours, and here you have it in solid silver, with the great fish in fine gold. On my asking when this occurred, my friend replied without a wink: Oh, but a few years ago.

But a few years ago I made a pilgrimage to Bristol, moved thereto by the *force majeure* of one who wished to see the home of Edward Colston, the great philanthropist, the head of her house. In Bristol there are memorials of Edward Colston on every hand, among others a bronze statue, the pedestal of which is enriched with tablets of bronze illustrative of Colston's career, and bronze dolphins at each corner. On one of these tablets is to be seen the great ship neatly plugged by a great fish. The fish is the dolphin, the same 'philanthropic creature', as the ancients called him, that figures at the four corners of the pedestal and on the Colston coat of arms. This story of the singular deliverance of one of Colston's ships is still told, and listened to without a wink. Why not? Nor am I the one to wink.

Aegeus is Poseidon, as everyone knows, the Old Man of the Sea who will not let me go; and so I must make one more note on *Aegean Days*. I would fain let that note pertain to Keos (A. J. P. XXVII 481). What a trinity—Simonides, Bakchylides, Prodikos; but Lesbos must have the preference this time. Writing of Pausanias some years ago I made the trivial observation that the copying of guide-books did not preclude actual vision (*Atlantic Monthly* 79, 1897, p. 637). Planning a visit to Italy years before I was able to carry out my purpose, I laid in a supply of guide-books—Murray and Förster being the chief. It is to me quite conceivable that even in these days of the supremacy of Baedeker a traveller might have recourse to those ancient manuals, in which much will be found that Baedeker passes over; and to this day I sometimes look into the fourteenth edition of Reichard's Passagier auf der Reise . . . durchweg berichtigt und ergänzt bis zum April 1849 —my guide, philosopher and friend of 1850–1853. Now, Sappho needs the setting of Lesbos, and lecturing on Sappho

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thirty odd years ago, I introduced my talk by quoting Symonds's lush description of the island. I had no means of knowing whether Symonds had ever visited 'Mytilini' or not, and took for granted that it was a literary vision. Symonds's phrases are haunting, and I was interested to find that in a recent work on the Island of Lesbos by an accomplished scholar who knows Sappho's home intimately, Symonds's words are blended with those of a far less ambitious description of the island. Here we have Polemon and Pausanias over again.

The first botany put into my childish hands was based on the sexual system of Linnaeus. De Candolle seems to have been unknown to the compilers of that far-off time, and we played innocently enough with pistils and stamens and seed-vessels—as innocently as we read the Second Eclogue of Vergil. We were not of an age to see the poetical side of the Vegetable Kingdom. We were not introduced into the Botanical Garden of Erasmus Darwin, and some years were to elapse before I read Jean Paul Richter's profound reflexion that the ways of the flowers are not as our ways, that the chaste lily spreads her bridal bed under the eye of the sun and hides her mouth in the darkness of the earth, whereas we . . . It is not so long ago that I chanced upon some verses of a minor French poet—I cannot recall the name, but the verses themselves linger in a sadly capricious memory:

> Heureux les palmiers! Leurs amours
> Vont sur les ailes de la brise
> De l'amant inconnu toujours
> À l'amante toujours surprise.
> Rien de réel ne vient troubler
> L'idéal essor de leurs fièvres.
> Ils ont l'ivresse du baiser
> Sans avoir à subir les lèvres.

And I wondered whether this Epithalamium of the Dioecious might be of service in the modern method of introducing young children into the mysteries of sex. But unless I am misinformed, the botanical method is no longer in vogue, and the instruction given is much more direct and practical. The advance in education is something portentous. When I first taught Aristophanes to advanced classes, a deeply religious student of mine excused himself from attending my analysis of the Lysistrata. Last summer a modified version of the Lysistrata was enacted as an amateur society play in a most refined environment. In the early days of our Baltimore University, Professor Goodwin of Harvard, who had made a special study of Plato's Republic, was invited to lecture on the ideal

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state of the great prose poet. When he came to the fifth book, Goodwin refused to discuss a system which substituted for the family circle 'the regimen of the stock farm'. To-day, in the *Journal of Heredity*, the organ of the American Genetic Association—no longer the Breeders' Association—Professor ALEXANDER GRAHAM BELL tells us How to Improve the Race, and how to overcome in a measure the restrictions which the laws of society impose on the propagation of the species. It is an illuminating essay. It reads not so much like a book of the Republic, as like a chapter of the Laws in which Plato recognizes the metes and bounds of tradition; and it is interesting to observe that the plaintiff who succeeded in defeating the eugenic laws of Wisconsin made as part of his plea a point that was anticipated by Plato. True, the judge before whom the case came decided that there was nothing unconstitutional in the law that confined examination to one sex; but Plato,—or was it Philip of Opus, who knew his Lokrian girls (A. J. P. IX 458 foll.[1]), insists on the inspection of both, though not to the same extent—a distinction applauded by Montaigne. If matters go on at this rate, I shall be able to bring before the world my sexual system of the cases, the only satisfactory solution of that difficult branch of syntax—a problem which has started me on this whole line of reflexion.

It may be remembered by some readers of *Brief Mention*[2] how eagerly I seized upon Freud's theory of dreams, as bridging the gap between optative and potential, and how heartily I welcomed the view to which I had committed myself years ago. Since then the same great psychologist has founded a Journal called *Imago, Zeitschrift für Anwendung der Psychoanalyse auf die Geisteswissenschaften* (Leipzig u. Wien, Hugo Heller) which deals with the most interesting problems in the most interesting way, and Freud's interpretation of dreams embraces the whole dream we call life. The root of the matter is traced back to the erotic dream, and in the whole system the sexual nisus is almost distressingly prominent, so that one is constantly reminded of the tense situation in the Lysistrata, to which popular play I have just adverted. The speech of Aristophanes in the Symposium, considered from this point of view, gains in philosophic depth. The preference of daughter for father, of mother for son, is explained by the Aristophanic theory, as it is explained by the Freud theory, which goes back

[1] By the way, for κα, l. 7, from bottom read γα = γε. Hanssen's κα = δ' is impossible.

[2] A. J. P. XXXII 479.

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to the bifurcation of the sexes. Applications to the phenomena of language will at once suggest themselves, and the day may yet come when the art of speaking and writing correctly, the old definition of grammar, will be taught under the title of sex hygiene. We need no longer dread the true interpretation of active and passive, and supine will no longer be a meaningless word; herein lies, as I have hinted, the ultimate theory of the cases, herein the doctrine which evolves the potential out of the optative, whereas Brugmann-Thumb leaves the choice open, optative out of potential, potential out of optative. To me the wish is father *to* the thought, which is not the same thing as the wish is father *of* the thought and the bifurcation comes with the masculine negative οὐ and the feminine negative μή. The eternal feminine wins. Freud's theory opens a vast perspective and, if I were younger, I might say with Platen, 'Frei steht die Folge jedem. Ich fliege voran'. But I think of Rembrandt's 'Time clipping the wings of Love', and I leave the course open to those who are born to a freedom of discussion and expression impossible in the distant times I call my own.

M. MASQUERAY'S *Bibliographie Pratique de la littérature grecque* (Paris, Klincksieck) is intended for the use of French novices in classical philology, and must be measured by that standard; and, which is very refreshing, it is thoroughly imbued with the personality of the compiler, who is much more than a compiler. In M. MASQUERAY'S eyes 'ten verses of Sophokles are worth more than ten books of scholia, were they of Didymos or Aristarchos', and those who are acquainted with M. MASQUERAY'S special studies will understand the comparative fulness of certain sections. The tone is that of a teacher in the circle of his pupils, a paternal tone, more paternal perhaps than it would be twenty years hence, which one hopes M. MASQUERAY may be spared to see. No dry list of books is this bibliography of M. MASQUERAY'S. It is full of caprices—caprices which affect sometimes the spelling and accentuation; but it is a delightful book for all that, perhaps by reason of all that, and I should be glad to surrender to it all the pages reserved for the current *Brief Mention*. It opens with a chapter of advice to beginners—sound advice for the latitude and longitude of Bordeaux. It enlivens the dusty way of bibliography by summaries of situations, the 'gegenwärtiger Stand' business and by criticisms of books, always brief, now caustic, now kindly, and in the main just, so far as my knowledge goes. One wishes there were more of these comments, but the author exercises his sovereign pleasure in

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such matters; and so from time to time he refers his pupils to the leading reviews of the work in question. But you can't count on your cicerone; and when he gets tired of all the necessary aridity of the subject, he refers the student to the Bursian-Kroll Jahresbericht or to the Berliner Wochenschrift; for whilst he puts French editions and French works of reference first, and his criticisms of French articles constitute a valuable feature of the book, the bulk of the bibliography is German. M. MASQUERAY is no chauviniste, and in fact he begins by doing homage to German erudition and German methods. 'Whoever', he says, 'wishes to study Greek antiquity seriously must know German'. 'L'allemand est la langue qu'il lui importe le plus de connaître. *Il ne la saura jamais assez*'. The italics are his, but there is no escaping the justice of the law thus emphatically laid down; and in like manner the first question the American teacher asks the intending philologian is, 'Do you know German?' Once it might have been a hard saying, but 'made in Germany' rouses no susceptibilities now, except here and there in England. Such knowledge as M. MASQUERAY has of American work seems to have been filtered through German bibliographies and German criticisms; and no American periodical is on his list, though the intellectual sympathy between the two republics is becoming ever closer, and Americans have a certain affinity with French clearness and French incisiveness. Personally I have no fault to find with my French critics, and sometimes I seem to hear *la voix du sang* still echoing in the third generation. The French summarist of the Journal translates *Brief Mention* by *Causeries*, and I am so grateful for the charming word and its charming associations that I forgive the silence that envelops the serious element of my quarterly talks. But there are other omissions more grave than the failure to mention this Journal, but the chapter of omissions might be a rather long chapter, and I wish to thank M. MASQUERAY for one insertion. Apropos of journalistic work, M. MASQUERAY gives us the solution of the MY problem in the *Revue Critique*. The many reviews in that highly esteemed periodical are not by M(o)y or by M(asquera)y himself, but by M. Mondry-Beaudouin.

In recent numbers of the Journal (XXXIV 370, 493), I have adverted with a thankful heart to MELTZER'S *Jahresbericht* on Greek Syntax for the years 1906–1910, and the present notice written many months ago has been crowded out until now. Himself a distinguished specialist in that line of work, MELT-

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ZER has presented us with clear, and in some cases, detailed analyses and valuable criticisms of the various monographs that have appeared in the quinquennium covered. Not all, of course, but enough to give the reader a notion of the tendency of syntactical study and the principal results. Once cut off for four or five years from access, direct or indirect, to work done outside, and since then taught by fortune to rely on my own resources, I am apt to console myself for the lack of this and that monograph, and when the other day I chid Mr. Mooney for his neglect of the 'litteratur' (A. J. P. XXXIV 370), I had certain compunctious visitings by reason of my own short-comings in that regard. However, I fortify myself against self-reproach by the reflection that most of my published work follows lines in which a vast apparatus is not necessary. As an eminent scholar has said, the kind of work to which I am addicted is 'litterargeschichtlich' rather than 'sprachwissenschaftlich', and can be done on the body of the authors themselves; and if Stahl with all the resources of the land of monographs could afford to waive the whole business of bibliography (A. J. P. XXIX 259), I might plead some excuse for not having studied and digested all the treatises that have passed through MELTZER's competent hands; and yet on looking over the list I find that no inconsiderable proportion of the most important have at least been mentioned, and some of them discussed in the Journal—such as Walter Petersen's Greek Diminutives in *-ιον* (XXXII 91–3), Kurt Witte's Singular and Plural and Jones's Poetic Plural of Greek Tragedy (XXXII 234), Brugmann's Akkusativ der Beziehung (XXXI 363), Helbing's Die Praepositionen bei Herodot (XXV 104). Stahl's Syntax des gr. Verbums was the subject of no less than three long papers (XXIX and XXX, afterwards published separately), Mutzbauer's and MELTZER's contributions have been noticed here and there (e. g. XXX 358, 478), and abstracts made of Schlachter's investigations (XXIX 243; XXX 105, 478), though not with the fulness of MELTZER's report, due, doubtless, to a special interest in that line of research. Brackett's Temporal Clauses in Herodotus gave rise to some remarks (XXVI 489). On Kieckers' Aor. and Pres. Imper. see XXX 235, where the name is misspelt; on Reik's Optative in Polybius see XXX 105; on Nilsson's Causal Sentences XXVIII 354; XXXIII 469; on Ogden's Final and Consecutive Inf. XXXI 364. Much more I could not have put forth without abusing my editorial privileges, and whenever I have been tempted to ride my hobby too hard, I have recalled the warning example of President Barnard, who gave page after page to Magic Squares in the first edition of Johnson's Cyclopaedia—a subject reduced to reasonable limits by Newcomb in the second edition (A. J. P. XXV 226).

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In the beginning there was no need for what we call synonyms. There were different names for the same things, different aspects of the same thing. There were divine names, there were human names. *χαλκίδα κικλήσκουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ κύμινδιν.* There were hieratic names, there were Delphic names for the animals. The bee was the honey-she to some, the flower-worker to others. The Arabs, I have read somewhere, have forty names for the camel. Love's Labor's Lost gives a string of names for the deer at different stages. Breeders distinguish cattle in like manner—sometimes by names that are not in the dictionaries. But as time went on, the stamps became flat, the colors faded. If the etyma could be restored—well. But antique etymologies have only the value of telling us what the ancients thought of such and such a word. Hence they are useful to us, whether the etymologists were in jest or in earnest. The Cratylus of Plato is a philological document, however you take it. There was a certain feeling about the abraded coin, a certain lingering scent about the faded flower; and the sophists, watching the popular use of words, refining on it, uttered the challenge 'Distinguo'. The wise poets, Simonides and Pindar, had preceded them. The Index to my Pindar gives a number of references to Pindaric usage in this regard, and it is not without significance that the first synonym-monger came from the same island with Simonides. Prodikos of Keos, caricatured by Plato and followed by him—a familiar combination—Prodikos of Keos set the fashion; and the fashion was overdone. We see the same thing in a similar stage of English literature, the period of Euphuism; and Costard gives a practical lesson in synonyms when he says, 'Guerdon, O sweet guerdon! better than remuneration, eleven pence farthing better'. This synonym-mongery was a *praeparatio stilistica* for perfected prose. Nearly thirty years ago I assigned to one of my men the study of synonyms in Antiphon —a notorious feature of that orator, and an important point in connexion with the question of the genuineness of the Antiphontean corpus, and not uninteresting in its bearing upon the tradition that Thukydides was a pupil of Antiphon's, a tradition, however idle, that started the study of the articular infinitive. At all events, Thukydides 3, 82, is an elaborate display of the fad, if it deserves no better name. The whole theme has been taken up in HERMANN MAYER'S *Prodikos von Keos u. die Anfänge der Synonymik bei den Griechen*, the first of the Drerup Series of Rhetorical Studies (Paderborn, Schöningh). The great work of Heinrich Schmidt, an invaluable repertory of material, lighted up by the responsive glow of a sensitive soul, does not deal with the study in historical fashion, and MAYER has made a good beginning in the domain of the Attic orators, which has interested me for the same

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reasons that have put the Attic orators in the forefront of my syntactical exhibits. The best framed synonyms are often wrecked upon metre. In the Greek Anthology πέλαγος, πόντος and θάλασσα are interchanged under the stress of versification. Who would insist upon pedantic exactness in familiar prose, and there is no sense in basing elaborate distinctions on easy dialogue. Plato (Meno 88 C) uses σὺν νῷ and μετὰ νοῦ almost in the same breath (cf. A. J. P. VIII 219). But what is *grata negligentia* in one sphere becomes disgraceful slipshoddiness in another, and I cannot help sympathizing with Thomas Love Peacock who refused to tolerate 'the banner with the strange device'. "'Strange device' indeed! Excelsior means 'taller', not 'higher'". But in spite of Roget and March and dictionaries of synonyms and 'antonyms', the subject seems to have fallen into neglect. Professor Hale still continues to confound 'prospective' and 'anticipatory', and a devotee of the Greek tragic poets, who is currently reported to have brought to life and light hundreds, if not thousands of *loci conclamati*, has put in the colophon of one of his translations the funereal τελευτή instead of τέλος. No wonder that I welcome Dr. MAYER'S book, which treats of the influence of Prodikos from Sophokles to Isokrates.

In these days of the linotype—a Baltimore invention, by the way—the great dailies have ceased to call attention to a new dress. They have followed Goethe's advice, and are born anew every day. The new dress of a periodical printed from movable type is still an event for printer and for publisher. The Greek fonts, procured at considerable expense and trouble from the other side, have not lasted my time, as I thought they would; and the call for fresh type came from the enterprising firm which has had charge of the typographical fortunes of the Journal from the beginning. It is a sign of life, of courage somewhere. My only fear is that attention will be called, not to the persistence of the Journal, but to the age of the Editor, and I shall be moved to protest, however ineffectually, as I protested publicly some years ago, against the opprobrious epithet of Nestor. 'To me', said I, 'Nestor is the only hateful character in the Iliad. In the Odyssey he is more tolerable. In my eyes the chief merit of Nestor is the witness he bears to the realism of Homer. The Marquis of Salisbury yawned when he delivered his first speech in Parliament. Homer must have yawned when he composed one of Nestor's long discourses. If Homer nods, it is in response to the nid-nod-nodding of Nestor. If Homer is a bore, it is when he

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tells us how Nestor holds Patroklos by the antique substitute for the buttonhole until he spins out his yarn about his own youthful exploits. In vain does the son of Menoitios protest *οὐχ ἕδος ἐστί*. But the grievance of grievances is that Nestor has left a name to be fastened on every man who, to avail myself of the schoolboy's translation of *μετὰ τριτάτοισιν ἄνασσεν*, has the opportunity of making an ass of himself in the sight of the third generation. Juvenal cites Nestor as a deterrent answer to the prayer: Da spatium vitae, multos da, Juppiter, annos; for he survived Antilochus, he survived everybody and everything except his self-complacency.

> The lamp of our youth shall be utterly out,
> and we shall subsist on the smell of it;
> And whatever we do we shall fold our hands and suck
> our gums and think well of it.
> Yes, we shall be perfectly pleased with ourselves, and
> that is the perfectest hell of it.

A Shakespearian reminiscence of Kipling's. 'Let me not live', quoth he, 'After my flame lacks oil to be the snuff Of younger spirits'. (All's Well, i. 2). It is this self-complacency that makes Philokleon in the Wasps so loathsome as he hiccups out; The older fellow floored the younger chap—*ὁ πρεσβύτερος κατέβαλε τὸν νεώτερον*. It is this self-complacency that takes away any pleasure I should have in contemplating the Teniers-like interior of the Nestorian cabin, and the portrait of fair-tress'd Hekamede, whose functions were limited to setting the table and drawing the bath and mixing the liquors of this garrulous prototype of Old King Cole, who showed his vigour by the ease with which he raised his punch-bowl. *Νέστωρ δ' ὁ γέρων ἀμογητὶ ἄειρεν'*. True, this is a favorite quotation of mine, but it is not because of Homer's truth to human nature and the persistency of senile vanity, but because of the Attic article *ὁ γέρων* therein contained (S. C. G. 514). Next to 'Nestor' comes 'Dean'. When Dean Stanley was pressed by some American women for a definition of 'Dean' he said that a 'dean' was the head of a chapter and a 'chapter' was a body headed by a 'dean'. To be the dean of one's profession is nothing more than the culmination of a chapter of accidents that have carried off better men.

D. S. B.: In the seventh volume (1912) of the ethnological and linguistic journal *Anthropos*, published at St. Gabriel-Mödling, near Vienna, Professor Hugo Schuchardt has an article entitled *Sachen und Wörter* (pp. 827–839), which deserves the attention of students of language. As the journal in question is not readily accessible to most American

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scholars, it may be of service to call attention to one of the principal points made in the study.

Professor Schuchardt is well known as a leader in the movement for the conjoint study of *Wörter und Sachen*, which seeks to derive information about the history of words from the history of the things they designate. In the present article he points out that we should not confine ourselves to studying the history of words and things considered as fixed entities, since both are involved in constant change and consequent reciprocal readjustment. We should rather direct our attention to the history of designations and of meanings, that is, to the facts relating to changes in the name of a given object, as well as to those bearing on changes in the meaning of a given word. He emphasizes the statement that a change in the name of an object is always due to some need felt by the individual, whether it be that of greater accuracy, clearness, convenience, brevity, or what not.

The striking and novel idea that what we ordinarily call a change in meaning is really a change in designation is then set forth. It is merely a question of the point of view whether we regard a new sense of a word as a new signification of that word or as a new name for the object denoted. The second procedure is more rational, since the change is due to the desire to give the object a new name rather than to that of giving the word a new meaning. We speak of the "neck" of a bottle, not because we wish to give a new signification to the word "neck", but because we need a name for that part of a bottle. It is only the hearer who feels that such a use of the word involves a change in its meaning; the speaker simply effects a change in designation. The word is not a river in flood which overflows its banks, but a stream which flows into a hollow lying open before it.

Professor Schuchardt consequently recommends a broader point of view in the study of word history. Bearing in mind the object as well as one of the names it may have borne, we should study onomantic as well as semantic change.

We already possess a number of studies undertaken from a point of view more or less similar to that just outlined. To speak only of the Romance field, works such as those of Tappolet, *Die romanischen Verwandtschaftsnamen* (Strassburg, 1895), Kemna, *Der Begriff "Schiff" im Französischen* (Marburg, 1901), Zauner, *Die romanischen Namen der Körperteile, Romanische Forschungen*, XIV (1903), 339–530, as well as a number of later monographs, represent a practical application of the principle enunciated. Diez, *Romanische Wortschöpfung* (Bonn, 1875), represents the first step along this as along so many other lines of investigation. The new suggestion is distinctly useful, however, in bringing home to us very

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forcibly the need of a broader point of view than that of the lexicographer. Teachers of historical grammar would do well to impress upon their pupils that *Bedeutungswandel* is really *Bezeichnungswandel.*

G. L. H.: Professor C. H. BEESON in his *Isidor-Studien,* keeps up the standard set by the earlier volumes of the useful collection founded by Ludwig Traube, the *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters.* No other patristic writer has had such an influence, other than doctrinal, on Occidental Europe for a thousand years after the fall of the Western Roman Empire, as Isidore of Seville. The most specific proof of such an influence is to be found in the number and widely distributed area of the manuscripts of his works. The first part (1–131) of Professor Beeson's monograph is devoted to a list and description of the manuscripts of Isidore's works, written chiefly before the middle of the ninth century, followed by a summing up of the results of the paleographical and literary evidence, and the data afforded by the manuscripts in regard to the medieval libraries, in which they were written, preserved or found. It is clear that France, naturally, the first to become acquainted with the works of the Spanish writer, was largely responsible for their further transmission, partly through the agency of Irish monks, to whose industry we owe, not only many of the extant manuscripts, but also others, no longer extant, which served as models for many more. The second part (133–166) is devoted to the first complete critical edition of the *Versus* on the contents of the library of Isidore, whose authorship of this indifferent metrical essay is fully vindicated by Professor Beeson.

Professor C. H. GRANDGENT in his *Provençal Phonology and Morphology* (Cf. A. J. P. XXVI 364) spoke of the future publication by one of his pupils of a work on word-formation in Provençal. DR. E. L. ADAMS's thesis, or rather the elaborate study, suggested by his thesis (*Word-formation in Provençal,* The Macmillan Company 1913, pp. xvii, 607. 8vo.) is a well done piece of scholarly work, along the same line of investigation as that most useful book, Cooper's *Word-Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius* (A. J. P. XVI 506), also the contribution of an American scholar. Dr. Adams has necessarily had to leave unexplained the etymology and meaning of certain words, but his arrangement of a good proportion of the Provençal vocabulary, according to suffixes and prefixes, and the indices of the book, relieve future scholars of all branches of Romance linguistics from much preliminary work, and furnish them with a model for similar investigations.

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With the publication of the *Paradiso* (Ginn and Co., 1913) Professor C. H. Grandgent has completed his edition of the *Divina Comedia.* One can say without hesitation, that if it is the first edition of the Italian text with English notes, it has qualities that make it the best edition that has ever been published, both for scholastic use and general reading. The biographical introduction, the preliminary notices to each cantica, the argument to each canto, which are not to be found in any other edition, offer all the aid needed by the reader for the interpretation and understanding of the poem. While it is thus eminently fitted for beginning the study of Dante, the industry, discrimination and good taste, which Professor Grandgent shows in the use of the most recent investigations, make the edition indispensable for those who make a special study of the great Italian poet.

The last volume of the Journal has its quota of remediless errors, needless to confess except for the satisfaction of the Editor's conscience. XXXIV 106, l. 28, 'and hides her mouth with her fingers' is an inaccurate description; l. 44, for the second 'music' read 'measure'. P. 492, l. 7 from the bottom, for 'sculpe' read 'scalpe' lest someone should fancy that my only Horace was the Delphin edition. As for 'Burmann' (p. 496, l. 29), I do not apologize for the two n's, in spite of Sandys' Pieter Burman; and I mention the matter simply to quote the words of INGRAM BYWATER in the last number of the English Journal of Philology, No. 65, where in treating of *The Latinizations of Modern Surnames,* he says:

> It seems to me that the resuscitation of the vernacular names, real or supposed, of the scholars of past ages, is in a sense a distortion of history. The men themselves lived in a sort of Latin world; most of them habitually wrote in Latin, and for men who were always reading Latin; the names by which they were known in the great 'Republic of Letters' were either Latin or on Latin models, and these they have generally retained till quite recently. It is not the last word of wisdom to cast aside the older names in order to put in their place others, which some antiquary or archivist has been able to rescue from oblivion.

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Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 30–32 W. 27th St., New York, for material furnished.

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I.—THE ARCHETYPE OF OUR ILIAD AND THE PAPYRI.

Ludwich estimates in his Beiträge zur homerischen Handschriftenkunde, Fleckeisens Neue Jahrbb., 27ter Supplementband (1900), pp. 31–81, that there are upwards of 300 MSS of the Homeric poems. So little has yet been accomplished in their classification that it is necessary to speak with reserve about the probability of their descent from a single archetype. Ludwich does not even discuss this problem, presumably for the reason that he does not consider it possible to settle the question at the present time. Allen—to whom we are indebted for most of what has been done in this line of investigation[1]—answers the question in the affirmative, cf. Class. Rev. XIV (1900), p. 386; and Cauer, Grundfragen der Homerkritik[2], p. 42 f., is inclined to agree with him. I also regard this as the most probable explanation of the origin of our manuscripts, though I am compelled to reject the bit of evidence which Cauer adduces to support it.

This evidence is the emendation of Γ 453 in which the vulgate reading is: *οὐ μὲν γὰρ φιλότητί γ' ἐκεύθανον, εἴ τις ἴδοιτο* for which Heyne (or perhaps Bentley) proposed *ἔκευθον ἄν* as a correction both of the syntax and the word-formation. If the emendation is correct, the question is indeed settled. It is impossible to believe that such a mistake was made inde-

[1] The publication of the evidence on which his classification of the MSS is based, is greatly to be desired. Until it is done every use made of his critical apparatus is an act of faith.

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pendently in this same line by two or more scribes, and consequently we must regard our MSS as all descended from the manuscript of the copyist who made the blunder of transposing these syllables. The importance of the issue depending upon it renders the emendation unusually interesting.

Cauer of course is absolutely certain. Not only has he introduced this conjecture into a school edition (Ameis-Hentze-Cauer, Homers Ilias, Gesang 1–3, Leipzig, 1913; cf. also p. 143), but in his Grundfragen, loc. cit., he writes with unusual warmth: "Wer an einer so schlagenden, die Erklärung in sich selbst tragenden Verbesserung zweifeln mag, mit dem kann ich nicht streiten". Nevertheless, it can be shown that had ἔκευθον ἄν been the reading of all MSS it would have demanded emendation.

The syntax is in the first place without parallel in Homer, cf. Cauer's note "Irreale und potentiale Auffassung des Verhältnisses zwischen bedingendem und bedingtem Satze sind so nur hier bei Homer vermischt". Still more important is the fact that the position of ἄν is thoroughly unhomeric. Ἄν placed after the verb is common enough in Attic Greek, cf. SCG., § 460, but there is not a case in Homer. The parallelism of κέν would be at best a weak support, as the words belong to different dialects and might easily be placed in different fashion. However, κέν is placed after the verb only —cf. Γ 53. 220, Δ 94, E 273, Z 285, Θ 196, O 697, X 253, Ω 56. 418, α 228, ν 237, φ 202—when the verb is the first word of its clause. This is not a mere coincidence, it is part of a much larger phenomenon, the tendency of enclitic and similar words to take the second place in the clause, cf. Wackernagel, IF. 1. 333 ff. Furthermore, ἄν and κέν are words behind which the Homeric poets are not inclined to allow a pause. Thus ἄν never stands at the close of the line, nor at the close of the 4th foot, and only 6 times—E 85, O 40, P 489, Ω 566, σ 22, φ 329—before the caesura of the 3d foot. Likewise κέν is never used at the close of the line, rarely at the end of the 4th foot —A 137=324, Z 410, I 57, Ξ 108, P 105, Φ 280, X 253, Ψ 559, Ω 418, β 74, 86, γ 80, δ 644, η 33. 333, ι 131, ξ 99, ρ 514, σ 28. 166, φ 193, ψ 47, but more frequently before the caesura of the 3d foot: A 139, B 12=29=66, Γ 291, Δ 421, I 139. 409. 545, K 44, Λ 654, M 447, N 127, Ξ 79. 239, O 224, P 144. 260. 622. 629,

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X 130, Ψ 855, Ω 154. 183, α 236, β 168, δ 64. 421. 651, ζ 285, η 212. 314. 332, ι 334, κ 269. 383, μ 446, ο 300, π 153, σ 265, χ 66. 262. Many of these lines are exceptional only in appearance, that is the diaeresis or caesura in them is not real. To show this would lead too far from my main purpose. I will note, however, the fact that in only one passage X 253 *ἕλοιμί κεν, ἤ κεν ἀλοίην* does *κέν* stand in the fourth foot before a mark of punctuation, and it is easy to see the difference between this and the proposed: *οὐ μὲν γὰρ φιλότητί γ' ἔκευθον ἄν, εἴ τις ἴδοιτο.*

In view of these facts not even the testimony of all the MSS could have made *ἔκευθον ἄν* acceptable. As for the objections to the traditional reading Cauer concedes the possibility of the syntax when he says, p. 143, "dass die Partikel *ἄν* für den Gedanken *kaum* entbehrt werden kann". I regard the sentence as the outcome of the contamination (cf. Oertel, Lectures on the Study of Language, p. 172) of two ideas: a) they were not concealing him; b) they would not have concealed him, supposing one saw him; the first clause of b) having been suppressed. Nor are we justified in demanding a form *ἐκύνθανον* after the pattern *πεύθομαι* : *πυνθάνομαι, φεύγω* : *φυγγάνω, τεύξομαι* : *τυγχάνω*. Presents in *-άνω* with infixed nasals are formed only in association with strong aorists, cf. Hirt, Handb.,[2] § 433 and the aorist *κυθεῖν* was soon lost. It is attested only γ 16, while the future *κεύσω* (12 times) guarantees a sigmatic aorist, actually used ο 263. The analogies leading to *κευθάνω* are not strong, as such verbs generally have, cf. Hirt, op. cit., § 434 a second stem in *-η*; but we may note *ἐρυκάνω, ἀλυσκάνω, ἰζάνω, ληθάνω*, and conclude that the formation of *κευθάνω* was possible, though perhaps not in good taste. The only chance for emending the passage which I can see, would be on the supposition that Sommer's theory of the admissibility of a trochee in the 4th foot was correct. We might then regard *ἐκεύθανον* as the blending of *ἔκευθον* and a gloss *ἄν*. That theory, however, seems to me[1] to lack sufficient proof. The objections urged against the verse are such then as to reflect upon the ability of its author; but are insufficient to impugn the credibility of the MS tradition.

[1] Cf. A. J. P. XXXIV, p. 171, n. where no countenance should have been given to Rzach's emendation of Hes. Op. 443; *κέ* being properly placed in the MSS, as Professor Wackernagel kindly points out.

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The argument for a single archetype must rest for the present on a broader basis. Fragments of eight papyri (one of the Odyssey, the remaining seven of the Iliad), which were written before 150 B. C., have now been published. Of these one, P. Rylands 49, containing parts of II 484–9, is too small for consideration; the others all contain a text of which we can say without hesitation that it is not our Homer. Its most striking characteristic is the presence of additional lines distributed very unequally throughout the fragments. These amount to about 7% of the text, according to the computation of the last editor of such fragments, G. A. Gerhard, Ptolemäische Homerfragmente, p. 3, in the Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung, IV. 1, Heidelberg, 1911; while on the other hand about 2% of the verses of the vulgate are omitted in these papyri. After the year 150 B. C. the situation changes completely. Of later papyri we have more than 140; and of these only two (P. Berl. 9774 of the first century B. C. and a Florentine papyrus of the next century, cf. Cauer[2], p. 48 ff.) are certainly akin to the Ptolemaic text, while of two others (P. Fayum 4, C. 100 B. C., and P. Tebt. 266 of the second century A. D.) the same may possibly be true. The others all agree in presenting what we must recognize—despite more or less variations in smaller details—as our vulgate.

This means (cf. Grenfell and Hunt's introduction to P. Hibeh 19) that an edition of Homer, substantially the same as the text offered by our mediaeval MSS appeared in Egypt shortly before 150 B. C. and succeeded almost at once in monopolizing the market. The most probable hypothesis is that all our MSS are reproductions of that edition. This probability would become a certainty if it could be shown that the text then published was a novelty for the rest of the Greek world as well as for Egypt. Personally I am inclined to believe that such may well have been the case, but the discussion of the problem requires a fuller collection of evidence than what I have now in hand. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff wrote in 1889 Herakles, p. 138, "ein buchhändlerisches Bedürfniss neue Homertexte zu schaffen lag auch nicht vor", but the discovery of the Ptolemaic papyri, beginning two years later, has proved on the contrary that there did take place in Egypt a revolution in the business of publishing Homer. In

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the same place, Wilamowitz-Möllendorff suggested, only to reject, the idea that our vulgate was a 'kleine textausgabe' of Aristarchus, and it is possible that this may still prove to be the truth, or an approximation to it.

An interesting result of the discovery of the papyri has been the confirmation of a number of emendations. For instance, Cauer[2], p. 27 ff. discusses eight passages in which a correction made to avoid neglect of the digamma is corroborated by a papyrus. Quite on a line with these is Robert's treatment of a passage in the fifth book of the Iliad, which has not received the recognition that it deserves. In our vulgate we find:

E 796 ἰδρὼς γάρ μιν ἔτειρεν ὑπὸ πλατέος τελαμῶνος
ἀσπίδος εὐκύκλου·

which in 1901, when Robert wrote, was the reading of all our authorities, except that Eustathius reported a variant ἀμφιβρότης. The passage is of cardinal importance both for the question of armor and for the analysis of the Διομήδους ἀριστεία. Robert saw that the worse attested reading ἀμφιβρότης was so superior intrinsically that it was entitled to preference. Five years later (1906) Grenfell and Hunt published a papyrus (P. Hibeh 20) which they date circa B. C. 280–240, and which contains a few letters from each line of E 796–803. In v. 797 only]HÇ[is preserved but the position of the letters renders it certain that the papyrus read ἀμφιβρότης and the editors so restored it, though apparently without realizing the importance of the variant.[1] At present ἀμφιβρότης is the better attested reading, though it does not yet enjoy the fascinating power which comes only from being printed in the text of an edition. And so Drerup, Das fünfte Buch der Ilias, Paderborn, 1913, p. 309, can put forward a hypothesis of a peculiar poetic technique, in virtue of which the poet treats arbitrarily the weapons of his heroes, changing or ignoring them at will; and then add a footnote: "Auch hiernach läge kein Grund vor, mit Robert, Studien zur Ilias, S. 177, *die Ueberlieferung*

[1] If anyone is inclined to brush this evidence away with the statement that the papyrus is too mutilated to prove anything, he should first note Ludwich's similar method (Homervulgata, p. 65) of dealing with Monro's restoration of Θ 216a–219, and then read in P. Hib. 21, how Monro was justified.

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in v. 797 εὐκύκλου in ἀμφιβροτῆς (!) (nach Eustathios) *zu ändern*".[1] To defend staunchly the tradition (cf. Drerup, p. 4) has its merits; only it is well to know your tradition before you defend it.

Perhaps, however, there is something more to be learned from this footnote of Drerup's.

A marked tendency of recent Unitarian writing is its call upon reason to abdicate. That quality of a *lederndes Philologentum* is to be replaced by the simple faith that can move mountains. First a *Glaubensbekentniss zu dem einen Dichter,* then a hypothesis that he has a peculiar poetic technique, that he operates with *souveräne Willkürlichkeit*—or some phrase tantamount thereto—and naturally all difficulties disappear. The reward promised to such believers is the revelation of a poetic beauty passing the understanding of critics.

I digress to give a specimen for which we are indebted to Drerup. In E 37–83 we have a series of battle vignettes, Drerup's treatment of which, p. 97, is well worth reading. In addition to other artistic merits he has discovered a wonderful 'kunstvolle Variation der Todesarten'. Thus we must note that of the fleeing Trojans the first is struck between the shoulders, the second in the *right* shoulder, the third in the back (the correspondence with the first vignette is made exact only by the interpolation (cf. below) of v. 57, which Drerup himself regards as possibly interpolated), the fourth is struck in the *right* buttock, the fifth in the neck, the sixth has his arm hewn off. This yields a scheme a. b. a. b. c. c, and I can only express my admiration for the ingenuity necessary to recognize it. But this is far from all. The fourth Trojan is Phereklos, the man who built for Paris the ships in which he sailed to Lacedaemon, the time of his affair with Helen. Symmetry required him to be struck on the right buttock, and the spear—naturally enough as a mere critic might imagine—passed straight on under the bone to the bladder. The scholiast, however, has a keener eye for beauty and has not allowed this splendid example of poetic justice to escape him. His comment is: κατὰ κύστιν· αἰσχρὸν

[1] Ostern, Ueber die Bewaffnung in Homers Ilias, Tübingen, 1909. p. 15, takes a similar view; only he accuses Robert of putting ἀμφιβρότου (!) in the text.

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τὸ τραῦμα τοῦ τῆς πορνείας ναυπηγοῦ; and Drerup soberly adds "Dass dem Dichter solche Hintergedanken nicht fern liegen, werden wir unten beim Tode des Pandaros genauer erkennen". One hastens to p. 144, and learns that, as Pandaros had achieved his deeds of heroism with his tongue, it was consequently his tongue that was cut off by the spear of Diomedes. "Das ist die glänzendste Erfindung der 'epischen Ironie' die unserm Dichter gelungen ist". Again the scholiast has blazed the way ἔτεμε δὲ τὴν γλῶσσαν αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐπιώρκησε (καὶ ὅτι δι' αὐτῆς ἐμεγαλαύχει add. T sec.). Drerup's reason for dropping the first explanation (ὅτι ἐπιώρκησε) is, that in the breach of the truce the guilty party was Athene. May it not be that there was a more profound, a more poetic reason? I write with the greatest hesitation, ἤδη δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν σοφίαν ἐπιχειρῶ μιμεῖσθαι, ἅτε ἐπιθυμῶν αὐτῆς. However guilty of perjury Pandaros may have been, his tongue was not the place for its punishment, for he might have pleaded: ἡ φρὴν ὁμώμοχ' ἡ δὲ γλῶσσ' ἀνώμοτος.

I return from my digression. The rationalistic criteria on which we have depended in the past are pronounced invalid. We can no longer reason from contradictions in the narrative; however flagrant they may be, the hypothesis of *souveräne Willkürlichkeit,* renders them of no importance. Reasoning from linguistic evidence is barred by Mülder's hypothesis, cf. f. i., Bursian's Jahresb., 1912, p. 191;[1] reasoning from archaeological evidence is ruled out by Drerup, 'the poet changes the weapons or ignores them as he chooses'; reasoning from topographical evidence is pronounced by Rothe, Jahresb. des phil. Vereins zu Berlin XXXVI (1910), p. 354, inadmissible until Gruhn is convinced that Hissarlik is Troy. Gruhn, be it noted, is the man who thinks that the gods of Olympus are meant as representations of the Jews, cf. Rothe, ibid. XXXVIII (1912), p. 155. Reason so far as I can see has but a single refuge.

The ability *als Dichter dem Dichter nachzuempfinden* before which we are to bow down should certainly be able to distinguish between the words of the poet, and the blunders

[1] Mülder recognizes the existence of the problem, and he is willing to grapple with it. In these ways he differs from other Unitarians; but the practical outcome is, that, if Mülder's hypothesis were tenable, the linguistic analysis of the Iliad would be a hopeless undertaking. Mülder undertakes none.

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or additions of a copyist. From this point of view Drerup fails us signally in E 797, nor does he pronounce with the necessary (cf. below) definiteness against E 42 and 57, two interpolated lines. In the single book of which he treats these are the only cases in which definite external evidence permits the testing of his power. But that he fails in these cases is all the more significant, because Drerup is philologian as well as *Nachdichter*, and in his former capacity his reason should save his faith from such pit-falls. One may object that these lines are unimportant. True in one sense—the sense in which it made no difference to theology whether the earth or the sun was the center of our planetary system.

The study of the vulgate papyri shows conclusively that a number of lines in our printed texts and manuscripts of the Iliad have been added since the year 150 B. C. The study of the Ptolemaic papyri indicates still greater fluctuations of the text. At present I shall confine my attention to the former, and we shall see that even two of these late additions have found valiant defenders. The man who interprets the Iliad as it stands without assuming either interpolation or lacuna, proves simply that his method of interpretation is unable to discriminate between Homeric and unhomeric verses.

The writers of papyri were, like other copyists, prone to error; but omissions of this sort can usually be easily detected. As such I should specify in the first place, a number of lines in which the temptation to haplography is more or less evident: A 275–6 (*μήτε σὺ . . . , μήτε σύ . . . .*), P. Rylands 43; B 289–90 (*. . . . ἀπονέεσθαι, ... νέεσθαι*), P. Brit. Mus. 126; B 842 (*τῶν . . . , τῶν . . . .*), cod. Bodl. ms. Gr. class. a 1 (P); E 75 (*ἤριπε . . . . , Εὐρύπυλος . . .*), Ox. Pap. 223; E 126 *ἄτρομον . . . . , ἀχλὺν . . . .*), ibid.; Θ 59 (*πᾶσαι δ' . . . . , πεζοί θ' . . . .*), P. Goodspeed 7; N 67 (*αἶψα . . . , Αἶαν*), Ox. Pap. 446; N 602–6 (*Πείσανδρος δ' . . . . , Πείσανδρος δὲ . . . .*), P. Brit. Mus. 732; O 442 (*ὠκύμοροι . . . . , ὥς φάθ' . . . .*), P. Berl. 230; O 551 (*. . . . Τρώεσσι, ... τέκεσσι*), ibid.; P 160–2 (*αἶψά κε . . . . , αἶψά κεν . . .*), ibid.; P 352–3 (*. . . . μάχεσθαι, ... μάχεσθαι*), P. Berlin 9783; Σ 141–2 (*. . . . κόλπον, ... Ὄλυμπον*), P. Brit. Mus. 107; Σ 350 (*. . . . ἤνοπι χαλκῷ, ... λίπ' ἐλαίῳ*), P. Brit. Mus. 127; Σ 459 (*καὶ . . . . , καὶ . . . .*), P. Brit. Mus. 107; Σ 508 (*τῷ . . . . , τὴν . . . .*), ibid.; Σ 537 (*. . . . ἄλλον, ...*

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ἄλλον), P. Brit. Mus. 127; Σ 609 (ἄντυγα . . . . , αὐτὰρ), P. Brit. Mus. 107; Φ 63 (. . . . ἐρύξει, ... ἐρύκει), P. Aberd. 7; Ω 440[1] (οὐκ ἂν . . . , ἦ καὶ ἀναΐξας . . . .), P. Brit. Mus. 128; Ω 519–20[1] (. . . κατὰ θυμόν, . . . καὶ ἐσθλούς), ibid. No one would seriously advocate the omission from a recension of the vulgate of any of these lines, and many of them are absolutely indispensable. There are also certain external indications that their omission is accidental. Some (B 289–90, E 75, Σ 141–2, 350, 459, 508, 537, 609, Ω 519–20) are added in the same papyrus which omits them; some are found in other papyri, thus Σ 459, 508, 609, in P. Brit. Mus. 127. Only in three cases are these lines omitted by one of the MSS: N 602–6 by Mediolan. Ambros. p. sup. J 4, but added by the second hand; O 551 by the Syrian palimpsest; Σ 352–3 by Parisinus 2766. All three are clearly mere coincidences, the temptation to haplography (Πείσανδρος, Πείσανδρος; Τρώεσσι, τέκεσσι; μάχεσθαι, μάχεσθαι) being particularly strong. Finally we have the direct testimony of Didymus that P 161, Σ 537 were read by Aristarchus, and the same may be inferred for Σ 142 where Didymus mentions a reading of Zenodotus. These indications will help us in dealing with the omission of other verses.

Next come a number of lines, for the omission of which no mechanical reason can be suggested, but which are absolutely indispensable for the sense: B 549, cod. Bodl. ms. Gr. class. a 1 (P); Δ 215, Cairo papyrus, cf. Sayce, Acad. 1894, p. 401; Δ 461, P. Brit. Mus. 136; P 173, P. Berl. 230; Σ 132, 360, 559, 577, P. Brit. Mus. 107; T 134, Ox. Pap. 553; Ψ 540, P. Berl. 230; Ψ 892, P. Brit. Mus. 128. It will be noticed, as significant of the habits of their writers, that of these papyri Berl. 230, Brit. Mus. 107, figure in the preceding list. Of these lines Σ 132, 360, 577, Ψ 892 are added in the margin; Σ 132, 360 are found in P. Brit. Mus. 127, and Σ 559 in a Paris papyrus. Σ 559 is also omitted by (U[d]) a Breslau MS, but it is the only case of the sort. For P 173 we may infer that it was in the edition of Aristarchus, as Didymus cites the reading of Zenodotus. Σ 360 also stood in the text of Aristarchus, if he athetized 356–68, cf. Roemer, in Belzner's Hom. Probl. 174 n.

More doubtful, but probably accidental, are the following omissions: A 178, P. Berl. 9813, the line would be regretted

[1] Partly due to the distraction of beginning a new column.

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and there is no evidence in corroboration of its omission; B 532, P. Tebt. 265, the line could be spared, but all other authorities have it, Didymus cites the reading of Zenodotus; Ω 119, P. Brit. Mus. 128, the line could easily be spared, but there is no other evidence against it; Ω 344, P. Brit. Mus. 114; the verse, while not indispensable, is highly desirable, there is no other evidence against it, and on the contrary readings both of Aristarchus and *αἱ κοιναί* are cited by Didymus. The most difficult cases are Ψ 626 (for which, cf. below), and the omission of N 46 in P. Brit. Mus. 732. The latter may easily be due (as the editors believe) to haplography (*Αἴαντε . . . . , Αἴαντε . . .*); it is added in the margin; it occurs in the Paris papyrus; and its omission by the first hand of (F^2) a Laurentian MS is undoubtedly a mere coincidence. All this points to an accidental omission, but the meaning of the line connects it with a peculiar group of intentional omissions to be mentioned later.

As a mere blunder I should regard the addition of B 798[a] = Γ 185 in Ox. Pap. 20. This is the only line found in a papyrus later than 150 B. C. (excepting of course the four akin to the Ptolemaic papyri) which is foreign to our vulgate.[1] Its presence is due to the fact that B 798 and Γ 184 resemble each other, and that Γ 184 was, according to Aristonicus (cf. AHT. II, p. 227), cited to illustrate B 798.

The other instances of omitted lines in the papyri stand on a very different footing.

In the first place there is a group of lines which formally introduce speeches, after a verb implying speaking has already been employed.

Γ 318 f. *λαοὶ δ' ἠρήσαντο, θεοῖσι δὲ χεῖρας ἀνέσχον·*
ὧδε δέ τις εἶπεσκεν Ἀχαιῶν τε Τρώων τε

319 om. P. Berl. 263.

Γ 386 ff. *γρηῒ δέ μιν εἰκυῖα παλαιγενέι προσέειπεν*
εἰροκόμῳ, ἣ οἱ Λακεδαίμονι ναιεταώσῃ
ἥσκειν εἴρια καλά, μάλιστα δέ μιν φιλέεσκε·
τῇ μιν ἐεισαμένη προσεφώνεε δῖ' Ἀφροδίτη.

389. om. P. Tebt. 427.

[1] There is also a meagre possibility that Ox. Pap. 949 had a different version of K 446.

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Similar examples are Δ 369, Ox. Pap. 753; N 46, 480, P. Brit. Mus. 732; P 219, P. Berl. 230; P 326, P. Berl. 9783. Haplography could be invoked only in the cases of Δ 369 (καὶ . . . . , καὶ . . . .), and N 46 (αἰψα . . . . , Αἴαντε . . . .), where it may serve to explain the omission of these lines by the first hands of A and F^z respectively. With these exceptions P 219, omitted by S^1NJTY^{b}LEY^c (Eust.) added in margin S^2P and marked with a sign ' in A, is the only line for which our MSS show any disturbance; N 46 being found even in a Paris papyrus. There is however a scholium on N 480 *ἐν πολλοῖς οὐ φέρεται.* The group which forms almost one-fifth of the whole number of intentionally omitted lines cannot possibly be the result of accident. That is the writers of these papyri did not independently prune the vulgate text in the same fashion. The contrast with the other intentionally omitted lines is also marked by the fact that the latter are regularly omitted by a considerable portion of the MSS, while the omission of these lines finds quite as regularly no reflection in the manuscripts. It seems to me that there are three hypotheses between which we must choose: 1) Our MSS have a common archetype later than the vulgate edition of 150 B. C. in which these interpolations were made; 2) Our MSS reproduce faithfully this vulgate, while these papyri represent a critically revised vulgate edition; 3) The lines were absent from the first vulgate edition, they were soon interpolated in some MSS, and have spread until by the time our MSS begin they had become universal. Of these hypotheses the last seems to me the most probable. In its support I may note that Γ 389 is omitted by the Ptolemaic papyrus Hibeh 20; this being the only one of the lines covered by a Ptolemaic fragment. Furthermore there seems to be no proof that any of these lines was read by Aristarchus. Now quite on a par with this group is the passage:

> Φ 71 ff. *αὐτὰρ ὁ τῇ ἑτέρῃ μὲν ἑλὼν ἐλλίσσετο γούνων,*
> *τῇ δ' ἑτέρῃ ἔχεν ἔγχος ἀκαχμένον οὐδὲ μεθίει·*
> *καί μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα.*

The note of Didymus to the last line is: *τοῦτον προστιθέασί τινες, οὐ φερόμενον ἐν ταῖς Ἀριστάρχου.* What Didymus tells us of this line is, I believe, true of the whole group of similar lines.

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The remaining cases of omitted lines present four characteristics in common: 1) With a single exception these lines can always be dispensed with, generally to the improvement of the text; 2) These lines are omitted by *all* the papyri covering the passage; 3) These lines (except the doubtful case of Ψ 626) are omitted by a considerable portion of the MSS, especially by the older ones; 4) None of the lines can be proved to be Aristarchean, while some are known to have been absent from his text. From these facts the conclusion must be drawn that these lines were originally foreign to the vulgate and to the edition of Aristarchus. They were interpolated in some MSS and spread owing to the tendency of the tradition (cf. Allen, loc. cit.) to assimilate in its later stages. Frequently we can see this taking place as the lines are added in the margins of MSS in which they were lacking.

The examples are:[1]

A 265. *Θησέα τ' Αἰγείδην, ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισι.*

Omitted by P. Rylands 43, and Ox. Pap. 537. The line is omitted by ASBMDF^{r}GJD^{d}LH^{b}EW^{b}XX^{c}Z, by the first hand of D^{c}HTWY^{b}Q^{b}E^{s}U^{a}X^{b} in which it is added by a second hand. It is = Hes. sc. 182 and is quoted as Homeric by Dio Chrys[2]. 57. 1, Paus. 10. 29. 10, and is read by FP^{y}E^{c}P^{d}U^{c}YY^{c}Z^{p} There is no proof (cf. Ludwich, AHT. II. 397 n.) that the line was Aristarchean. It is omitted by Ludwich. The line is accepted without hesitation by Scott, Athenian Interpolations, Class. Phil. VI, p. 426; Shewan, The Lay of Dolon, p. 160 n., rejoices over its defence by Friedländer, Herakles, Phil. Unt. XIX, pp. 166–76, which is far from being such a 'defence'[3] as Shewan should want. Mr. Lang is wiser, cf. The World of Homer, p. 16 n. and the index s. v. Theseus.

B 166 ff. *ὣς ἔφατ' · οὐδ' ἀπίθησε θεά, γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη,*
βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων ἁλξασα.
καρπαλίμως δ' ἵκανε θοὰς ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν.
εὗρεν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆα κτέ.

[1] I cite the readings of the MSS from Ludwich's commentary, to which I am also indebted for the readings of three papyri, P. Brit. Mus. 107, 114, cod. Bodl. MS Gr. Class. a. 1 (P).

[2] Dio's comments contain, however, no allusion to Theseus.

[3] Friedlaender's idea, which goes back to Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, Hom. Unt., p. 260, n. 23, is that Theseus is originally not Athenian but Thessalian.

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Verse 168 (= B 17) is omitted by P. Brit. Mus. 126 and probably by the Bodleian papyrus. It is omitted also by ABMGJQ^{b}E and by the first hands of SD^{b}TU^{b}N^{a}E^{a}U^{a}X^{b}X^{c} in which it is added by a second or third hand; it is found in D^{c}FF^{r}HY^{b}H^{b}PX. There is no evidence that the verse was Aristarchean. It is omitted by Ludwich, and one should compare his note AHT. II. 479.

B 204 ff. εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω,
εἷς βασιλεύς, ᾧ δῶκε Κρόνου πάις ἀγκυλομήτεω
σκῆπτρόν τ' ἠδὲ θέμιστας, ἵνα σφίσι βασιλεύῃ.

The last verse (ω I 99) is omitted by P. Tebt. 4, P. Brit. Mus. 126, and probably by the Bodleian papyrus. It is omitted also by ASBMD^{b}DGHTLN^{a}QX^{b}X^{c}ZZ^{p} and by the first hands of D^{b}JP^{x}E^{s}CED^{c}FF^{r}JU^{b}Y^{b}PU^{a}XY[1] in which it is added by the second hands. It is quoted by Dio Chrys. 1. 11 with the variant βουλεύῃσιν which is closer to I 99, and is found in D^{c}FF^{r}WU^{b}Y^{b}H^{b}PC^{b}E^{c}UU^{a}U^{c}XY.[1] Two MSS C^{b}E designate it as στίχος νόθος. Eustathius did not know it (cf. 203, 18). There is no evidence that the line was Aristarchean; it is omitted by Ludwich.

B 557 f. Αἴας δ' ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος ἄγεν δυοκαίδεκα νῆας.
στῆσε δ' ἄγων ἵν' Ἀθηναίων ἵσταντο φάλαγγες·

The second verse is omitted by P. Tebt. 265 and the Bodleian papyrus. It is also omitted by ADF^{r}GU^{b}E^{s}Y and by the first hands of D^{c}FHKY^{b}F^{h}C in which it is added by the second hands; it occurs in BMF^{c}JF^{b}F^{d}F^{p}H^{b}PF^{z}U^{a}U^{c}X. It is cited by Aristot. rhet. I 1375^{b}, 28, while the story of its interpolation by Solon or Peisistratos is given by Strabo IX 394, Plut. Sol. 10; Diog. La. 1. 48. Quintilian 5. 11. 40 says that it was not found in all editions; and Aristonicus, at Γ 230, says: παραιτητέον ἐκεῖνον τὸν στίχον τὸν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ὑπό τινων γραφόμενον. The verse has long been a battle ground of the critics; for my present purpose it is sufficient to point out that it was not in the edition of Aristarchus nor in the vulgate edition, a conclusion which is in agreement with Ludwich, AHT. II. 395 ff. Ludwich prints the line in small type. It would be well therefore to prove that the poet wrote the verse before asserting with Scott, op. cit., p. 424 "that he had the same

[1] There seems to be confusion in these statements of Ludwich's.

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idea when he pictured the Epipolesis, the Teichomachia, and the fighting between Hector and Ajax at the ships".

Δ 193 ff. Ταλθύβι', ὅττι τάχιστα Μαχάονα δεῦρο κάλεσσον
φῶτ' Ἀσκληπιοῦ υἱόν, ἀμύμονος ἰητῆρος,
ὄφρα ἴδῃ Μενέλαον Ἀρήιον, Ἀτρέος υἱόν,
ὅν τις ἰοστεύσας ἔβαλεν, τόξων ἐὺ εἰδώς,
Τρώων ἢ Λυκίων, τῷ μὲν κλέος, ἄμμι δὲ πένθος.

The last two lines (= Δ 206–7) are omitted by Ox. Pap. 544, and by the Cairo papyrus.[1] They are also omitted by SY^{b}, and the first hands of DN^{a}; J omits line 197. The Venetus has the following note of Aristonicus to v. 195: ὁ ἀστερίσκος καὶ ὁ ὀβελός, ὅτι νῦν παρέλκει. This was rewritten by Friedländer in the plural so as to refer to 195–7, it being evident that 195 alone cannot be dropped. Ludwich, AHT. 1. 246 apparently, and Roemer, Aristarchs Athetesen, p. 272 explicitly approve this change. This in spite of the fact that the scholia BT have also the singular (referred to the wrong verse) οὐ περιττὸς οὖν ὁ στίχος τὸ "ὅν τις ἰοστεύσας" μιμούμενος τὸ ἦθος τῶν τεταραγμένων,[2] which Roemer again rewrites. The evidence I am presenting points to a much simpler conclusion; vv. 196–7 were not in the edition of Aristarchus. Ludwich prints 195–7 in small type.

E 40 ff. πρώτῳ γὰρ στρεφθέντι μεταφρένῳ ἐν δόρυ πῆξεν
ὤμων μεσσηγύς, διὰ δὲ στήθεσφιν ἔλασσε.
δούπησεν δὲ πεσών, ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷ.

The last verse (= Δ 504) is omitted by Ox. Pap. 223, and also by ABM and the first hands of TEX^{b} in which it is added by the second hands. It is found in the rest of Ludwich's MSS. There is no evidence that it is Aristarchean. Ludwich prints it in small type. Drerup, p. 97 n., regards it as possibly interpolated.

E 56 ff. μετάφρενον οὔτασε δουρὶ
ὤμων μεσσηγύς, διὰ δὲ στήθεσφιν ἔλασσεν.
ἤριπε δὲ πρηνής, ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷ.

Verse 57 (= E 41) is omitted by Ox. Pap. 223, and also by BLX^{b} and the first hands of ASMT(K?)N^{b} in which it is

[1] Fortune has dealt unkindly with us, inasmuch as P. Aberd. 3 begins with Δ 199, while Δ 193–7 are missing from P. Brit. Mus. 136.

[2] Such is the form quoted by Roemer; according to Dindorf the reference to 195 is correct in B.

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added by the second hands. It stands in the rest of Ludwich's MSS. There is no evidence that it was Aristarchean. Ludwich prints it in small type, and Drerup, p. 97, concedes the possibility of its omission.

Θ 5 f. *κέκλυτέ μευ, πάντες τε θεοὶ πᾶσαί τε θέαιναι*
ὄφρ' εἴπω, τά με θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι κελεύει.

The second formulaic verse is omitted by P. Goodspeed 7, and by AP^x and the first hand of S; it is added by the third hand of S, and is found in BM and the rest of Ludwich's MSS. There is no proof that it was in the edition of Aristarchus. Ludwich prints it in small type.

N 255 ff. *Ἰδομενεῦ, Κρητῶν βουληφόρε χαλκοχιτώνων.*
ἔρχομαι, εἴ τί τοι ἔγχος ἐνὶ κλισίῃσι λέλειπται,
οἰσόμενος·

The first line is omitted in P. Brit. Mus. 732, and P. Berl. 46, it is also omitted by ΣAB and the first hands of SMTK; it is added by the second or third hands of these MSS, and is found in $D^bDHJD^dY^bH^bPF^zXYZZ^pP^c$. S^3 adds it also (266ª) at the beginning of the next speech of Meriones, and Eustathius has it in the latter but not in the former place. A scholium in T to 254 reads: *ἔν τισι μετὰ τοῦτον φέρεται Ἰδομενεῦ κτλ.* Ludwich comments, AHT. 1. 353: "Rührt das Scholion aus den Kreisen der Aristarcheer her, so muss der Vers u. A. in Aristarchs Text gefehlt haben: s. Einl., § 42". There is now no reason to doubt this fact, and the source of the note may well be Didymus. Ludwich omits the line.

N 315 f. *οἱ μὲν ἄδην ἐλόωσι καὶ ἐσσύμενον πολέμοιο,*
Ἕκτορα Πριαμίδην, εἰ καὶ μάλα καρτερός ἐστιν.

The second verse is omitted by P. Brit. Mus. 732 and Ox. Pap. 769 (P. Berl. 46 unfortunately is not available for this line), and also by ABM and the first hands of ST; it is added by S^sT^2 and stands in $D^bDHJD^dKU^bY^bLH^bPF^zXYZZ^p$. Eustathius seems the earliest authority for the line, which is printed by Ludwich in small type.

Ξ 267 ff. *ἀλλ' ἴθ', ἐγὼ δέ κέ τοι Χαρίτων μίαν ὁπλοτεράων*
δώσω ὀπυιέμεναι καὶ σὴν κεκλῆσθαι ἄκοιτιν
Πασιθέην, ἥς αἰὲν ἰμείρεαι ἤματα πάντα.

The last line (Ω 276) is omitted by Ox. Pap. 551; P. Brit. Mus. 732; it is also omitted by ΣABDGTKY^{b}LH^{b}Q^{b}E^{b}F^{z}U

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and by the first hands of SM. It is added by $S^{s}M^{2}$ and is found in $D^{b}HJU^{b}PCE^{c}U^{d}XYZ$. It is not even certain that Eustathius had the verse. Contrast the unanimity with which 276 is presented to us. Ludwich omits the verse. Scholiast B at 276 declares that Hera intentionally avoided (269) specifying the name of the Charis to be given to Hypnos.

Ξ 419 f. χειρὸς δ' ἔκβαλεν ἔγχος, ἐπ' αὐτῷ δ' ἀσπὶς ἐάφθη
καὶ κόρυς, ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ βράχε τεύχεα ποικίλα χαλκῷ.

The second line is omitted by P. Brit. Mus. 732 and also by Θ and the first hand of A. It is added by A^{2} and stands in the rest of Ludwich's MSS. Eustathius had the line but there is no evidence to connect it with Aristarchus. Ludwich prints it in small type.

Ο 480 f. κρατὶ δ' ἐπ' ἰφθίμῳ κυνέην εὔτυκτον ἔθηκεν
ἵππουριν· δεινὸν δὲ λόφος καθύπερθεν ἔνευεν.

The second line (= Γ 337 etc.) is omitted by P. Berl. 230, also by $AD^{b}NGHJTY^{b}LH^{b}PE^{b}C^{b}F^{z}O^{b}Q^{d}RU^{d}YZZ^{p}$ and by E^{c} together with the two preceding lines. It is found in $SBMU^{b}X$. There is no evidence to connect it with Aristarchus. Ludwich omits the line.

Ο 561 ff. ὦ φίλοι, ἀνέρες ἔστε καὶ αἰδῶ θέσθ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ
ἀλλήλους τ' αἰδεῖσθε κατὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας.
αἰδομένων ἀνδρῶν πλέονες σόοι ἠὲ πέφανται.

The second line is omitted by P. Berl. 230, and also by NTPUYZ and the first hands of $SU^{b}C$; it is added by $S^{3}U^{b2}C^{2}$ and stands in the rest of Ludwich's MSS including A and Z^{p}. Eustathius is the oldest authority for the verse. Ludwich does not discriminate against it.

Π 611 ff. τὸ δ' ἐξόπιθεν δόρυ μακρὸν
οὔδει ἐνισκίμφθη, ἐπὶ δ' οὐρίαχος πελεμίχθη
ἔγχεος· ἔνθα δ' ἔπειτ' ἀφίει μένος ὄβριμος Ἄρης.
αἰχμὴ δ' Αἰνείαο κραδαινομένη κατὰ γαίης
ᾤχετ', ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἄλιον στιβαρῆς ἀπὸ χειρὸς ὄρουσεν.

The last two verses (=N 504 f.) are omitted in P. Greco-Egizii II. 110, and also by $ABMNGTU^{b}LH^{b}$ $PE^{b}F^{z}UU^{d}$ ZZ^{p}, and the first hands of SHY^{b}. They are added by $S^{3}H^{2}Y^{b2}$, and are found in $JE^{c}XYY^{c}$. Not even Eustathius knows the lines, which are omitted by Ludwich. There is a scholium of

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Didymus to v. 613: *ἐν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τῶν Ἀριστάρχου οὐκ ἐφέρετο καθάπαξ· ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ ὀβελὸς αὐτῷ παρέκειτο*, which is perfectly credible. It recalls Δ 195 ff.

Σ 198 ff. *ἀλλ' αὔτως ἐπὶ τάφρον ἰὼν Τρώεσσι φάνηθι*
αἴ κέ σ' ὑποδείσαντες ἀπόσχωνται πολέμοιο
Τρῶες, ἀναπνεύσωσι δ' Ἀρήιοι υἷες Ἀχαιῶν
τειρόμενοι· ὀλίγη δέ τ' ἀνάπνευσις πολέμοιο.

The last two verses (= Λ 800 ff., Π 42 ff.) are omitted by the Harris papyrus (P. Brit. Mus. 107) and probably by P. Brit. Mus. 127. The reason for the last statement is that the papyrus has ϵ in the margin opposite line 505, while before line 100 ᾱ is correctly placed. Ordinarily such stichometric marks are not entitled to much credence, but in the present case we find in the Harris papyrus exactly 5 of these intentionally omitted lines (200–1, 381, 427, 441) each of which stood in a portion of pap. 127 that is now lost. In view of the regularity with which the papyri agree in this respect it is probable that the numbering in pap. 127 is correct and the lines (which differ from those suggested by Kenyon, p. 98) were actually missing. The lines here are omitted also by ΣNJ, but are found in A and most of Ludwich's MSS. That the omission—which might easily be ascribed to haplography—is really intentional, and that the lines are late intruders is shown by the fact that they come in singly; line 201 being omitted also by SD^{b}TCE^{c}Q^{d}RZZ^{p} and the first hand of Y. Eustathius is the oldest authority for the lines, or at least the first one. Ludwich prints them in small type.

Σ 426 f. *αὖδα, ὅ τι φρονέεις· τελέσαι δέ με θυμὸς ἄνωγεν*
εἰ δύναμαι τελέσαι γε καὶ εἰ τετελεσμένον ἐστί.

The second line is omitted by the Harris papyrus and probably by P. Brit. Mus. 127; also by ΣG and the first hand of H. It is added by H^{2} and is found in A and the bulk of Ludwich's manuscripts. There is no evidence to connect it with any ancient authority; the intramarginal scholium *ἄνωγεν*] *ἐν ἄλλῳ ἀνώγει* being of doubtful provenance.

Σ 440 f. *τὸν δ' οὐχ ὑποδέξομαι αὖτις*
οἶκαδε νοστήσαντα, δόμον Πηλήιον εἴσω.

The second line is omitted by the Harris Papyrus and pre-

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sumably by P. Brit. Mus. 127. G is the only MS to omit it, but we have a scholium: *ἔν τισιν οὐ κεῖται* A^t, the age and source of which is doubtful. Ludwich prints the line in ordinary type.

Σ 604 f. *τερπόμενοι· [μετὰ δέ σφιν ἐμέλπετο θεῖος ἀοιδὸς φορμίζων·] δοιὼ δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ' αὐτούς.*

The bracketed words are not found in the Harris papyrus nor in P. Brit. Mus. 127 nor in any manuscript. They were introduced into the text by Wolf from Athen. 181^d who says that they were cut out by Aristarchus. The question is discussed by Ludwich, AHT. 1, 439, who declares "ein besserer Berichterstatter würde gesagt haben: athetirte". The last assertion is undoubtedly wrong, Athenaeus meant that the words were not in the text of Aristarchus; their absence from the papyri and the manuscript, shows that they were not in the vulgate. The further question of whether they were in earlier texts or not, and, if so, of Aristarchus' reasons for rejecting them, do not concern us at present. The words are omitted by Ludwich.

Χ 120 *μή τι κατακρύψειν, ἀλλ' ἄνδιχα πάντα δάσασθαι· κτῆσιν, ὅσην πτολίεθρον ἐπήρατον ἐντὸς ἐέργει.*

The last verse (ω Σ 512) is omitted by Ox. Pap. 558, and also by ASHZ^p. It is found in BMNJU^{b}Y^{b}LH^{b}PXYZ. Eustathius is the oldest authority for the verse; Ludwich omits it.

Ψ 564 f. *ὁ δ' ὤχετο καὶ οἱ ἕπεικεν.*
Εὐμήλῳ δ' ἐν χερσὶ τίθει· ὁ δὲ δέξατο χαίρων.

The second verse is omitted by P. Brit. Mus. 128; and also by ΣABMHTPU and in the text of U^{b}YZ^p. It is added in the margin of these three MSS, and stands in SNGJY^{b}H^{b}Q^{b}X Y^{c}Z. Eustathius is the oldest authority for the line, which Ludwich omits.

Ψ 626 f. *ναὶ δὴ ταῦτά γε πάντα, τέκος, κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες· οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἔμπεδα γυῖα, φίλος, πόδες, κτλ.*

The first line is omitted by P. Brit. Mus. 128, but added at the top of the column. This looks like a pure accident and the line is not omitted by any manuscript. On the other hand is the fact that according to Aristonicus the line was not in the edition of Aristarchus. It is possible that it was an exceed-

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ingly early and successful intruder. Ludwich prints it in small type.

Ψ 802 ff. ἄνδρε δύω περὶ τῶνδε κελεύομεν, ὥ περ ἀρίστω,
τεύχεα ἐσσαμένω, ταμεσίχροα χαλκὸν ἐλόντε,
ἀλλήλων προπάροιθεν ὁμίλου πειρηθῆναι.

The last verse is omitted by P. Brit. Mus. 128, and also by SP^{x}UU^{d} and the first hands of AGT. It is added in the margin of these MSS by the second hands, and stands in the bulk of Ludwich's MSS, BMN included. The line, however, cf. AHT. 1, 403, was unknown to the Alexandrian critics; Eustathius passes over it in his commentary. Ludwich prints it in small type.

Ψ 862 ff. αὐτίκα δ' ἰὼν
ἦκεν ἐπικρατέως, οὐ δ' ἠπείλησεν ἄνακτι
ἀρνῶν πρωτογόνων ῥέξειν κλειτὴν ἑκατόμβην.

The last verse (= 873, Δ 102) is omitted by P. Brit. Mus. 128, and also by ΣSNT (note also that B^{2} seems to have used a MS in which this verse was lacking, cf. Ludwich at 866). The verse stands in the bulk of the MSS including A; the oldest authority for it is Eustathius. Ludwich prints it in small type.

Ω 555 ff. σὺ δὲ δέξαι ἄποινα
πολλά, τά τοι φέρομεν· σὺ δὲ τῶνδ' ἀπόναιο, καὶ ἔλθοις
σὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν, ἐπεί με πρῶτον ἔασας
αὐτόν τε ζώειν καὶ ὁρᾶν φάος ἠελίοιο.

The last verse is omitted by the Bankes Papyrus (P. Brit. Mus. 114), but added in the margin by a second hand. It is also omitted by STP^{x}Y^{b}LU^{d}Z^{p}, and by the first hand of G. It is added by the second hand of G, and stands in A (with the gloss A^{r}: οὗτος ὁ στίχος οὐχ εὑρέθη ἐν τῷ παλαιῷ) BM and the bulk of Ludwich's manuscripts. The verse was not even known to Eustathius, who, like Didymus, puzzles over the meaning of ἔασας. Ludwich omits the line. It is unfortunate that we are deprived of the testimony of P. Brit. Mus. 128 at this point.

Ω 692 f. ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ πόρον ἷξον ἐυρρεῖος ποταμοῖο
Ξάνθου δινήεντος, ὃν ἀθάνατος τέκετο Ζεύς.

The second line (= Ξ 434, Φ 2) is omitted by the Bankes Papyrus and P. Brit. Mus. 128; also by ASNGJTE^{b} and the

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first hand of Y. It is added in the margin of Y by a second hand, and stands in BMD^{c}HY^{b}H^{b}PXZZ^{p}. Eustathius does not comment on ll. 688–696, and our line has no older authority. It is omitted by Ludwich.

Ω 789 ff. *τῆμος ἄρ' ἀμφὶ πυρὴν κλυτοῦ Ἕκτορος ἔγρετο λαός.*
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἤγερθεν ὁμηγερέες τε γένοντο,
πρῶτον μὲν κατὰ πυρκαϊὴν σβέσαν κτλ.

The second of these lines is omitted by the Bankes papyrus (P. Brit. Mus. 128 stops before this) and also by AD^{c}TY^{b}L H^{b}UU^{d}YZZ^{p}. It is found in SBMNHJU^{b}E^{x}PE^{b}XY^{c}. Eustathius' commentary passes from *θρασύν* (786) to *λάρνακα* (795). The line is omitted by Ludwich.

If one looks back over this list of 27 passages, he must be impressed by the solidarity of the papyrus testimony. It wavers only at two points, the addition of Ψ 626 and Ω 558 by second hands, the date of which is not stated. This points to an intrusion, though an early one of these lines, as they may well come from some source other than the MS from which the papyrus was copied. The majuscule MSS (for Θ, cf. Ξ 420; for Σ, N 255, Ξ 269, Σ 200–1, 427, Ψ 565, 864) whenever cited by Ludwich are in agreement with the papyri. The oldest minuscule MS A is opposed to the papyri eight times,[1] but twice (Σ 441, Ω 558) with glosses that confirm their testimony; while in three other cases (Σ 200–1, 427, Ψ 864) it thus puts itself also into opposition with the Syrian palimpsest. This united testimony is too strong to be disregarded; and, if we ever get a recension of the vulgate as it existed about 150 B. C. these lines must disappear.

My belief that all these lines are non-Aristarchean may appear more doubtful. But we have found 36 cases of lines accidentally omitted for seven (B 532, P 160–2, 173, Σ 141–2, 360, 537, Ω 344) of which we can prove more or less positively their presence in the edition of Aristarchus. Even if we set aside the four doubtful cases, the figures (32–5) will not be seriously altered. This shows what might be expected from a random selection of thirty-odd lines. The 27 passages

[1] Δ 196–7, Ο 562, Σ 200–1, 427, 441, Ψ 626, 864, Ω 558; not counting of course Ε 57, Ξ 420, Ψ 804, where the line is added by the second hand. Is it significant that the opposition in Σ is practically complete?

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just discussed, and the 7 introductions of speeches, make 34 intentionally omitted lines. For not one is there the slightest indication that it was by Aristarchus;[1] while on the contrary, there are 5 passages B 558. Δ 196–7. N 255. Σ 604/5. Ψ 626 for which there is positive proof that they are non-Aristarchean, besides others in which the silence of the scholia and even Eustathius is eloquent.

These facts have their bearing also on the treatment of Homeric papyri. It has been the custom, when it could be proved that a papyrus lacked a certain number of verses between certain points, to suppose that these were most likely verses athetised by Aristarchus. For instance Kenyon, Class. Texts, p. 100 after noting the numerals opposite Ψ 502, 604, 705, 805, says: "The two (lines) missing before l. 502 were probably either ll. 92 and 701 (l. 471) or ll. 405, 6 all of which were athetised by Aristarchus; l. 565 was certainly omitted, but no other has dropped out between ll. 502 and 604, so the numeration is either wrong or else is taken from a MS which omitted also l. 581 (athetised by Aristarchus)". The inadmissibility of such inferences is now clear. Verses athetised by Aristarchus will appear—barring haplography and similar accidents—regularly in our papyri. The verses to suspect are those known to have been absent from his edition, or those which may not have been in his edition and are absent from other papyri or our manuscripts.

There remains one exceptional passage.

> Σ 380 ff. *ὄφρ' ὅ γε ταῦτ' ἐπονεῖτο ἰδυίῃσι πραπίδεσσι,*
> *τόφρα οἱ ἐγγύθεν ἦλθε θεά, Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα.*
> *τὴν δὲ ἴδε κτέ.*

The second line is omitted by the Harris papyrus (and its omission perhaps implied by the numeration of P. Brit. Mus. 127). That this is not an accident is shown by the omission of the line in NGY^{p} and the first hands of ASU^{b}; it is added by the second hands of these three MSS (with a gloss: *ἐν ἄλλῳ καὶ οὗτος εὑρέθη, ἀπέστραπτο δέ* A^{r}), and is found in the rest of Ludwich's MSS. Nevertheless the line is absolutely neces-

[1] Unless it be sch. Σ 441 *ἔν τισιν οὐ κεῖται* A^{t}; which, however, may be not ancient, but on a line with sch. Ω 558 *οὗτος ὁ στίχος οὐχ εὑρέθη ἐν τῷ παλαιῷ* A^{r}. Ludwich ascribes both hesitatingly to Didymus.

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sary.[1] The most probable hypothesis seems to me that we have a case of haplography in a common ancestor of these MSS, and that brings us very close to a single archetype.[2]

* * * * * *

The above was sent to the printer before I came upon the article, Iliaspapyrus P. Morgan, by Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and G. Plaumann in the Sitz. Ber. d. kgl. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. 1912, pp. 1198–1219. The account of this remarkable volume—part (Λ–Π) of a cheap edition of the Iliad published about 300 A. D.—gives an excellent opportunity for testing the opinions I have advanced, and I think confirms them. Lines, the omission of which I have classed as accidental (N 67. 602–6. O 444. 551), all occur in the Morgan papyrus. The superfluous formulae for the introduction of speeches (N 46. 480) are not omitted; but I have already indicated that these were to be considered extremely early interpolations. Of six lines which I regarded as absent from the archetype, five (N 255. 316. Ξ 269. 420. O 481) are omitted also by this papyrus. The remaining line, O 562, is misplaced (standing after 530), which shows that it was not in the text, but in the margin of the manuscript from which this book was copied. The case is therefore parallel to those of Ψ 626. Ω 558.

My forecast—cf. above—of the sort of line that would not appear in a papyrus is also confirmed by the absence of the following lines. Λ 543 *Ζεὺς γάρ οἱ νεμεσᾶθ', ὅτ' ἀμείνονι φωτὶ μάχοιτο*,—brought into our printed texts from Aristot. rhet. II 9, p. 1387[a] 35, Plut. de poet. aud. 24[c], 36[a], and foreign to all our manuscript tradition. The line is omitted by Ludwich and consequently by Ox. Pap. 550. N 731[3] *ἄλλῳ δ' ὀρχηστύν, ἑτέρῳ κίθαριν καὶ ἀοιδήν*—the verse was read by Zenodotus (cf. schol. T. and Eust. 957. 10) but was ignored by Aristarchus and Aristonicus (at Δ 420), it is omitted by AS[1]BMH[1]TP[1]U[d]ZZ[p], it

[1] That is if l. 380 is to stand. Scholia to both 380–1 are lacking and Eustathius does not comment on them.

[2] As an indication of a single archetype might be considered also the absence in all MSS of Θ 216[a], which seems to me rather a defect.

[3] This and the two following fall within the great gap N 675–Ξ 120 of pap. 732 of the British Museum.

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is added with ἐν ἄλλῳ A^r and in margin $S^3H^2P^2$, and stands in $D^bDJD^dKP^xU^bY^bLCC^bE^cF^zO^bUXYY^c$. N 749 αὐτίκα δ' ἐξ ὀχέων σὺν τεύχεσιν ἅλτο χαμᾶζε omitted by $A^1H^1U^d$, is added in margin by A^2H^2 and stands in the text of the other manuscripts including SBM. There is no proof that it was known to Aristarchus, or even to Eustathius. Ludwich prints it in small type. Ξ 70 νωνύμνους ἀπολέσθαι ἀπ' Ἄργεος ἐνθάδ' Ἀχαιούς (= M 70), omitted by Ludwich, following $A^1SBM^1DKU^{b1}Y^{b1}H^bY^c$; it is added in the margin by $A^tM^2U^{b2}Y^{b2}$, and stands in the text of $D^bGHJTPXYZ$. It is omitted by Eustathius, and there is no evidence to connect it with Aristarchus.

The other omissions are clearly on a different footing; they vary from book to book in such a fashion that they should be ascribed not to the writer but to his sources. In Λ lines 195–209. 265–8. 313. 331. 369. 503. 535. 560. 595. 735 are omitted, but supplied (except 195–209) by a second hand. This is pure carelessness: that the omission of 313 (due to passing from one column to another) was not intended is guaranteed by 316^a; no one would advocate dropping 503 or 595, while the omission of the others cannot even be considered. In M the omissions, 51. 378. 404. 418–9 (haplography as also in Q^1). 426–8. 431. 439. 448–50. 458, are of the same character; but the corrector has stopped adding lines. Only the omission of 458 could be considered, and that has nothing to recommend it. In N such omissions, 178. 230. 241. 347. 501. 596–7 are rarer; only the last could be considered, and it is obviously due to haplography. Carelessness in the transposition and repetition of lines (cf. notes to 14. 382. 439. 705. 794) is manifest only in Π and this book. In Ξ the omissions are still fewer, 12. 182–3. 229. 401; and, what is more remarkable, every one is possible, though not desirable. That line 12 is omitted by P^x might be considered a mere coincidence, but cf. below on O 578 and Π 154. Otherwise the omissions receive no support from our manuscripts; while, on the contrary, we have papyrus and majuscule testimony in behalf of the other lines, and for 229 a reading of Aristarchus. It looks then as if this text went back to a critically revised edition of the vulgate, in support of which may be noted the presence of plus verses in the other books. In O but three lines are missing; 68 which could possibly be spared, 454. 704 which

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are indispensable. The manuscript now shows a new characteristic; verses added in the source at the head or foot of a column are copied in their new order, regardless of the nonsense that results. Thus 113 stands after 94, 562 after 530, 578 after 570; a greater but clearly mechanical dislocation is the placing of 650 after 452. Of these verses it is clear that 113 and 650 have been dropped accidentally; and we have already seen that line 562 was a plus verse from the point of view of the vulgate. For line 578 the case is doubtful; it is omitted by GHP^{x}U^{b1}U^{d}, and there is no evidence that it is Aristarchean, but it is found in a papyrus (P. Berl. 230) of the fifth century. In II we are again confronted by pure carelessness. The omission of line 26 would be possible, though undesirable; while that of 154–5. 317 or 393 could not be considered. The dropping of lines 154–5 is due to haplography, but it is worth noting that in P^{x} lines 153–4 are missing. Careless transpositions (between 41–44, 238–43) are also made.

Finally the papyrus is remarkable for the presence of plus verses in what is clearly a vulgate text. The examples are: Λ 316^{a} *διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ* (so also T^{2}E^{c}Y^{c} K^{2}), repeated also as 346^{a}; Ξ 231^{a} *ἐρχομένῳ μετὰ φῦλα βροτῶν ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν* (so scholiast T, reading *κατὰ*); O 409^{ab} = M 419–20.

My conclusions are thus quite different from those of Plaumann, p. 1209, that of the plus and minus verses only Λ 543. N 749. Ξ 231^{a}. 269 are important.

The papyri are like the sticks in the fable; their strength lies in their union.

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II.—VARRONIANA.

De Lingua Latina.

Part I.

The following study of the text of Varro's *de lingua latina* is based on the masterly edition of Goetz and Schoell. Even when I return to the MS reading from their very conservative emendations it seems expedient to note that fact. I have sought the briefest possible indication of the nature of the changes proposed and take for granted the use of insertion and excision brackets as indicative of haplography homoioteleuton etc. Goetz and Schoell list on p. xxvi of their prolegomena the ductus confusions of the MS; the compendia on p. xviii. In the chain of transmission of the text I have admitted not only confusions of capitals, but at least one Lombardic predecessor of F, especially for *a/oc/ci/*. In a few cases other minuscule confusions have been admitted. The index captions *ductus* and *compendia* are not to be taken too strictly. In giving *t/r*, e. g. as a case of ductus I think of T/P in thin capitals, and after that of P/R.

Inasmuch as the following pages contain matter not solely concerned with text criticism, I permit myself to refer to these in advance.

Emendation vs. interpretation (6. 52).

Forms: impersonality of the passive (10. 32); causative formant (E)P- 'facere' (7. 38); construct analogical forms (8. 51; 8. 74; 10. 67); dative-nominatives (5. 131; 7. 8); gen. sg. in -ES (6. 91); dat. sg. ME 'mi' TE 'tibi' (7. 8;) hapax retained 5. 127; *haec* fem. pl. (9. 113).

Phonetics: Italianate *-tt-* for *-ct-* (7. 65).

Syntax: *tam* (*magis*) with nouns (7. 30; 9. 73; 9. 77); *dum*, in pairs (6. 91); *sic*, in pairs (10. 41).

Words discussed: *adorea* (5. 40), Celtic *Alacco(s)*, dat. *Alaucu* (8. 65), *aliae*, dat. sg. (10. 15), *analogia* not='analogy' (9. 114), *ἀν[τι-]τιμοι* 'paying back' (5. 177), *apruno(s)* 'boar', adj. (5. 97), *aries*: "*ăra*" (5. 98), *ariuga(s)* "arae-iugatus" (5. 98), Oscan *asta* 'adstantia' (7. 54). *ăter* (sc. dies) 'after' (6. 23), *cavitio* 'cautio' (5. 20), *ciccum* 'severant' (7. 91), *continuitas* 'immediacy' (7. 107), *cor-tumione*

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'heart-cutting' (7. 9), *cum hoc* 'adhoc' (6. 52), *dō(m) nec* 'while not' (6. 91), *dum* (ibid.), EMPTA 'capta' (7. 27), *epulae* (7. 38), *externi*= ceteri (9. 102), *fari* 'eloquentes' (6. 52), *fitur* <fivitur (5. 166), *frequentia* '*πολυπτυχία*' (5. 107), *fulmentum* 'qualifier <and conjunction'> (8. 10), *gralator* 'gravia ferens' (7. 69), *inanis* (5. 126), *in eo* 'ad hoc' (5. 152; 9. 89), *innatio* (9. 82), *Iovis*, nom. sg. (8. 46), *κράνος/κράνον* 'grain-mat' (5. 105), *mētula* dimin. (6. 61), *μόρα* 'ordo' (5. 109), *olvo-* 'one-and-the-same' (5. 177), OLLANER ULLABER 'yonder': Skr. *-dhri*, Goth. *-drē* 'loco' (7. 8), PELLONA 'dea quae hostes pellit' (5. 52), *φιλο-* 'bast' (5. 128), *piscipem*, haplological (8. 61), *pollu[c]tum* 'profanatum' (6. 54), POSTILIO *ἀπόστολος*' (5. 148), QUILIS 'station' (5. 50), *quinquatrus* 'fifth-after' (6. 23), QUIRQUIR 'quisquis' (7. 8), QUOM 'with' (6. 52), *recticasuum*, confluent word (10. 50), *seli-quastrum* 'seat-basket' (5. 128), *simi[la]- lixulae* (7. 106), *sodus* 'solum' (6. 2), *σουβρικιον* (5. 166), *strittabillae*, 'long-shanked' (7. 65), *subricula* (7. 166), *supplica<n>te* (7. 27), *trama* 'ratiné' (5. 113), *tran-quillus* 'dormi-quiescens' (5. 50), *turdelicē* 'thrush-spiral' (6. 4), *urna urina urinator* (5. 126), *velabrum* 'vannus; blower (=boat); Water-Basin'; *vē(r)-iovis* 'water-Jupiter' (5. 43), *vellinera*, syncretic form (5. 54), *vellis/villis*, dialectic form (5. 130), *ventus* 'a coming' (5. 94), *vi[ti]tulantes* 'cenitulantes' (7. 107).

Book V.[1]

1. Delete asterisks: consuetudo apud aliquem is perfectly good Latin, cf. Caesar, Gall. 1. 50. 4 (ap. *Thes.* I. 340, 62), Augustinus, civ. 11, 18 (ap. Thes. IV. 559. 52). Too much concinnity is not to be demanded of Varro.

5–6. Punctuation. In § 5 read possent <->; going on in § 6 delete period after omnis [.], and insert commas after communi and facta, deleting comma after animadverterit.

6. The inconcinnity in †productione is undeniable. Perfect parallelism between syllable change and change of letters is not to be demanded, to be sure, but we may add after *syllaborum* something like <demptione aut additione et traiectione aut>.

8. Initia regis=mysteries of the high-priest; regis sc. sacrificuli.

—. Read quô si non perveniam scientiâ[m] or quo<ius> . . . <ad> scientiam. Another possibility is perveniam <per incertam> scientiam.

10. For †quo ita invenerim ita opiner read quo *l*<oco> ta<men> invenerim <et cur> ita opiner. Omission of small words like *et cur* is not uncommon; and may have been due here to a sort of haplographic skipping from ETC- to ITAO-.

[1] References to section numbers.

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11. Punctuation: status et motus <.> [***] quod etc.

13. For totidem verborum †enim horum de quis locis etc. read totidem verborum [enim horum] dequ<e h>is locis etc. †agrosium hominem. GS. rightly compare Agrasius, one of the characters in Varro's R.R. Cf. rhotacised *agrarii* in viii, 15. In *agrosius* we have a contamination of **agrosus* and *agrasius*.

15. Ductus, a/i: For quod usque id †emit read quod <que> usque <quoi> *a*demit; for *pretium, pretio*.

18. Brachylogy: posterior (sc. quasi derivatio).

—. Inconcinnity (*caelo* : *caelando*). Varro's habit of citing any form of word he deemed convenient is expressly acknowledged in V. 4: in quo genere verborum aut casu erit illustrius unde videri possit origo, inde repetam. For quod † posterior multo potius a c<a>elo quam caelum a c<a>elando read q.[†] p. m. p. a *celo* (i. e. cēlando) quam caelum a c<a>elando.

20. Varronian parentheses = footnotes. Remove the excision brackets about et convallis, cavata vallis. A good punctuation to indicate an incorporated footnote would be to use ⌊ brackets. Note Varro's R. R. 1. 12. 3, in convalli cava.

—. Definition: <;> et [†]cavea *a* cavitione. This is a second definition of *cavea* (the first having been from *cavus*) viz: from (*a*, ms. *e*) *cavitio*, a variant, perhaps artificial, of *cautio*. The following *cavium* may be an allegro form (*di*>j) equivalent to *cavidium* in the gloss caudino· organo cavidium; or is it a vulgar form for *cáv*(*um*) ⌢*aedium*?

21. Lacuna supplied; c/t: eae partis propter limitare iter maxime teruntur; itaque hoc c u m <is itinere iter t e r>is. Here cum (is) and ter(is) will have been expressed by compendia. In early Irish minuscules (see Lindsay, Contractions in Early Latin Minuscule MSS, p. 9) *cum-* and *cer-* were indicated by the same syllabic sign; *c/t* a common minuscule confusion. GS. (proleg., p. xxvi) note c/p and p/t, but not c/t.

24. Insertion: read 'terra exhalat auram atque auroram humidam' <; humidam> humectam,—unless we assume a Varronian brachylogy.

28. Interpretation: i n d a g a b i l i ex a m b i t u causam dicit,—said of a campaigner by the "still-hunt" course, as opposed to a "stumping" campaign. It is true that the

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indago seems to have been, at the start, a presumably noisy beating-up or drive of the woods. On the other hand the drivers perhaps proceeded with individual silence to prevent stampeding the game. Stratagem and stealth are certainly connoted by examples like Auct. bell. gall. 8, 18 velut indagine hunc insidiis circumdederunt.

35. Dittography, ut/ac; read u t tribus [a c tibus]. A compendium for tribus was perhaps used.

36. MS not impaired: et ab inconsitus incultus. Here as in § 20 supra the et clause gives an alternative derivation. On the use of the nominative *inconsitus* after *ab* see on 18, supra.

40. rursum rursum. I do not bring myself to see a dittography here.

—. The citation is from a non juridical writing of Sulpicius (see Schanz in Hdbch. kl. Alt. Wiss. viii, I.² 395). I use ⌊ ⌋ brackets for the words out of the citation, which forms a trochaic long verse (septenarius), viz:

dividit in eos ⌊ <S>e<rv>ius scribit Sulpicius⌋ plebei rura largiter ad <ad>oream.

—. Derivation: *adorea,* an early name for a soldier's donative (v. exx. ap. Thes. Ling. Lat. s. v.), may have been, in the cant of the camp, a hybrid confluent out of *ad δωρέαν.*

43. Insertion: quod [†] ea (sc. ratis) quâ tum <uti dicebantur> dicitur velabrum. For the antecedent of *ea* note advehebantur ratibus earlier in the sentence.

—. Etymology: *velabrum* 'boat' is found only here but in *evelatum·* eventilatum, unde *velabra,* quibus frumenta ventilantur (Paulus-Festus 54, 29) we find a *velabrum* = winnowing-fan, i. e. shovel (= Lat. *vannus*). Both meanings, boat and shovel (without the connotation of 'winnowing'), are found in *σκάφος σκαφίς,* wherein the etymological sense is clearly 'dug-out'. The *vannus mystica* was a shovel- or scoop-shaped basket, not unlike a scow or punt with low prow and high poop. Metaphor apart, when we seek an etymon for *evelatum velabra* we are led most directly to *vallus,* identical in meaning with *vannus,* cf. *evannare* | *evallare* 'to winnow'. The second *e* in *evelatum* (*?l* early writing for *ll*) is not in real conflict with the (recomposition?) *a* of *evallare* (cf. *fallo: fe-felli*). In ultimate derivation *velabrum,* as well as *vallus,*

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may start in a "root" *wĕl* as found in ἄ-ελλα 'blast', Celtic *awelo-* (see Fick-Stokes, p. 22). Since in OHG *winta* 'ventilabrum' we have, on the face of things, a mere feminine of Lat. *ventus* wind, the pair being *o/ā* extensions of a participial *wĕnt-* 'blowing', we need scarcely hesitate to derive *velabrum* 'ventilabrum' also from the root WE̅, and explicitly from *wĕl-nā-re*, the startform *-wĕlnā-* being also permissible for ἄ-ελλᾰ̄ (quantity of ᾰ̄ secondary; Boeot. ἀείλη from *ἀϝελνᾱ, cf. -ειλ- from -ελν- in βείλομαι). The boat named *velābrum* will also have been a 'blower', a 'res flans', loosely used for 'res flata'. A popular connection with *velum* 'sail' cannot be doubted. As there is no intrinsic improbability in Isidore's derivation of *candelabrum* from *candela-ferum* (cf. λυχνοφόρος), so the possibility that *velabrum* 'boat' is from *vela* (acc. plur.) +*f(e)ro-m* will remain open. A verb *velāre* 'to sail' (from **wĕlnare*) seems attested by the locution *velaturam facere* in §44.

—. Etymology of *Velabrum, Vēiovis.* GS. read: sacellum <Ve>labrum. Velabrum a vehendo. Rather read Sacellum <al>Labrum, cf. *allatus* for *ad latus* in 7. 17. Here *Labrum*=Basin, cf. the name of the seaport called Labro (Cicero, ad Q. Fr. 2. 6. 2). In English, Basin is used for a landlocked harbour, often a canal or the enlarged end of a canal, as e. g. the Old and New Basins at New Orleans. The proper name *Velabrum* comes from *vēr-* 'water', especially rain-water (see the cognates cited for §126), +*Labrum.* In citing *al⏑Labrum* to prove *Velabrum* Varro perhaps thought of pairs like *grandis*: *vēgrandis,* even though he went on to explain *Velabrum* from *veho.* As *Ve(r)-labrum* is 'Water-basin' so I take *Ve[r]-iovis* as 'Water-Jove', doublet to *Iovis* 'bright (sky')'. Thus *Iovis Veiovis* sweepingly included the sky in all aspects. Cf. Skr. *vṛṣṭí-dyāvas* 'imbri-caelum habentes'.

47. Capitalize; punctuation: Ceroliensis <,> a *C*arinarum iunctu dictus <,> [; †Carinae] postea Cerionia. I delete *Carinae,* after Wissowa.

48. Capitalize; Terreus Murus.

—. Punctuation: sed <ego a> (insertion not mine) pago potius Succusano dictum puto [†] Succusam <.> nunc scribitur etc.

49. Lacuna deleted: excultae [†] a rege Tullio. a/i: read

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loca vicina. a/ae (or a<e>): iam diu enim late avaritia una[e] est.

50. Etymology: *quilis*—deleted by Wissowa as a dittography with *ovis*—is right. It meant 'station' and belongs with *tran-quillus:* Eng. *while*, cf. the sept of Lat. *quies*, which also means 'lair' or 'resting place'. ⌞In *tran-* I do not see *trans*=Fr. *très*, but a *drāmo-* 'sleeping': Skr. *drā-* 'dormire', also found in Lat. *dor-m-it* 'sleeps'. Thus *tran-quillus* is a tautological compound⌟.

—. OL/CI: the correction of *ovis* to *o*[*u*]*ls* (not [*o*]*uls*) is right. In a capital archetype OIS was read, and the expansion to *ovis* will have been due to an emending copyist who knew the cognation given by Varro, infra §96, item ovis quod ὄις. The same OLS was misread as *ois* in §50 in the words *terticepsois quarticepsos* (sic) *quinticepsois*, and in §52 in *terticepsois*. It seems impossible that, even in these ancient formulae, with their quite obsolete numeral forms in *-ceps* (surviving only in *princeps deinceps*), the common form *cis* should have been so consistently miscopied.

52. The Goddess Pel(l)ona; E/I, a/ae, ois/as, l for ll: for Collis Salutaris quarticeps adversum †est pilonarois <a>edem Salutis read C. S. q. a. e. Pelon<ae> ar<as>[1] ⌞or archaic Pelon<as> as<as>⌟ ols aedem Salutis. Hitherto we have known the goddess *Pellonia* only from Arnobius and Augustine (see e. g. Usener, Götternamen 310 fn. 26). For the present variation *Pelona* (l=ll in the ancient formula) cf. the pair Mellonia (Arnobius) but Mellona (Augustine). What place so suited to an altar of *Pellona*—pellendorum hostium dea potens Pellonia est (Arnob. 4. 4)—as Safety Hill? Both names attest some otherwise unrecorded deliverance from a dangerous attack of the enemy.

53. Lacuna supplied: qui et Palatini; <et (or aut) Palatini> <,> aborigines ex agro Reatino, qui appellatur Palatium, ibi consederunt. <et> gives an alternative, as in §20, above.

[1] The plural is not without parallel. We may note (from Pliny, N. H): in Ponto citra Heracleam arae sunt Iovis Στραtίου cognomine, ubi quercus duae ab Hercule satae. Cf. also Vergil, Ecl. V 65-66: en quattuor aras. | ecce duas tibi, Daphni, duas altaria Phoebo, where Daphnis, no less than the great god Apollo, is given two altars. Note that in its earlier usage *altaria* is always plural.

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54. Old syncretic form: for velle[ine]ra read ***vellinera*** (:***vellera*** :: ***iecinoris*** : ***iecoris*** :: ***itineris*** : ***iteris***).

57. Reduplicated verb-form? ***ta-ta-ce-am*** = hus-s-s-h?

66. Emendation accepted: oriuntur vel (for ***vi***, after Skutsch) aboriuntur. Insertion: quorum quod finis <is> ortum (for ***ortuum***?—or ***ortorum***), Orcus dictus. The inserted ***is*** refers to Dispater.

70. Insertion: ignis a<g>nascendo—a Varronian etymology. Insertion: omne quod nascitur igni[s] scindit<ur>; ideo calet etc. Here scinditur = scindendo creatur. Cf. the name of the Australian god, Baiame, said to mean 'Maker' from 'Cutter out'.

71. Capitalize: Lymphae Comitiis, quasi Election Waters. The second word seems to be a dative of " purpose ".

75. Delete †; punctuation: for primum †nomen nominem alites read p. nomin<a> o m n i u m <:> alites etc.

78. Read ***cerceris***, though the word is otherwise unknown.

79. Ductus, e/a: for dissolvere †ab litra read d.<,> a. li<n>-tre etc. Varro seems to be saying that the ***lutra*** or otter was a feller of trees by a digging out process, and then to connect ***lutra*** 'digger out' with ***linter*** 'dug-out' (cf. e. g. Livy, 21, 26, 8).

85. After others: Sodales Titii dicti <a titis (avibus)>.

86. Inconcinnity; punctuation: nam per hos fiebat ut iustum conciperetur bellum<;> (not ,) et ***inde*** desitum etc ***inde*** is negligent for ***per eosdem***.

87. For †oppressi hostis read oppressi<t> h.

92. Read minus nullo est. ***nullo*** = ***nulla re***, ablv. of ***nihil***.

93. Insertion, definition: huic rei <hic> etc. ***hic*** = herein.

94. Punctuation: tamen [†] ĭdem quod vindemiator <—> vel quod vinum legit dicitur vel quod de viti id demunt <—> vestigator a vestigiis etc. Word form: venator a ventu, quod sequitur [†] verbum ⌊ i. e. ventus 'a going' ⌋ adventum et inventum.

95. Insertion: a quo pecora universa. <pecunia>, quod in pecore pecunia etc. Compendium for ***dicere:*** peculatum publicum primo <dixeru>***nt*** (ms. ***ut***) etc. On these compendia see Lindsay, op. cit. pp. 10, 33; GS. proleg. p. xviii; adn. ad 37. 17 on p. 256.

96. Greek in Roman script: ex qua (sc. pecude) fructus

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maior, hi[n]c est qui Graecis ὗς ὗς: <sus>, quod ὗς. For ὗς ὗς (reduplication to give the snuffing cry of the swine) the ms. has *usus*, which Varro was deriving from ὗς ὗς.

97. Greek in Roman script: [†] porcae porco<i>. Did Varro write πόρκαι <et> πόρκο<ι>? The gender question may have been in his mind from Cato where *porcus femina* is found (Agr. 134, 1). Etymology: quod Sabini dicunt †apruno porco por. Varro seems to me to mean that in the Sabine dialect *por* ⌊_ ? from *puer* as in Marcipor etc._⌋ was the name of a boar pig. The accusatives *apruno(m) porco(m)* can hardly be denied to early rustic Latin, and *aprunŏ-* would seem to be a derivative of *apro-* 'boar' extended by *-(g)no-*: *genus* 'kind, child'.

98. Insertions, a/e: aries<:> [†] qui eum (ms. eam) dicabant are<i>s <dicebant>, veteres nostri, ariuga<s>, hinc ariuga[s]. Or, aries <dictus ab eis> qui eum dicabant (cf. §177) etc. The miswriting of *eum dicebant* as *eam d.* will cohere with in hostis eam dicunt ariugem (see next entry). The popular connection Varro seems here to adumbrate between *aries* and *ara* 'altar' will not be alien to the well known devotion of the buck (caper) to the altar, cf. e. g. Varro himself in R. R. I. 2. 19. On the association of *Aries* in the Zodiac with sacrifice see Encyc. Brit. 28, 994. Insertion; derivation of *ariuga(s)*: in hostis (contracted from hostiis) eam dicunt ariug<am vel ariugat>em quae cornua habet. For the formation of *ariugas* cf. *optimas* etc. In view of quae cornua habet I suppose *ariuga(s)* to be derived from a prius *ardi-* (: ἄρδι-ς 'point of an arrow') or *arid-* (: ἄρι-ς 'auger'—note the spiral shape of the ram's horn) + a collective neuter plural (= fem. sg.) *-iuga* 'pair', the whole = possessing a horn pair. The form *ariugas* contains *iuga(tu)s*, like *damna(tu)s*. In either form *-dy-* has yielded *j*; before which, if the startform was **ari(d)juga*, there has been syncopation of *i*.—But Varro also hints at another definition for *ariuga*, viz: in the relative clause quorum in sacrificiis exta in olla non in veru coquuntur. Cf. Paulus-Festus 100, harviga dicebatur hostia cuius adhaerentia inspiciebantur exta. This last is a clear connection of *har(v)-* with the prius in *haruspex* (glossed by ἡπατο-σκόπος, σπλαγχνο-σκόπος). In adhaerentia I see an interpretation of *-iugas* 'iugatus', so that

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hariuga is rather to be read than ***haruiga***—only ancient etymology was quite capable of the division ***har-viga***, with posterius: ***vincit*** 'binds'. The phrase of Varro looks to an explanation of ***ar-iuga-*** by 'coniuncta in olla' as against 'diiuncta in veru'; but if we read between the lines Varro seems to have felt that ***ar-iugas*** meant 'ad aram iugatus'.

102. Insertion; punctuation: mālum, quod Graeci <A>eolis dicunt *μᾶλον* [†] pinûs <nucleum.> iuglans etc. Haplographic omission of ***nucleum*** after ***pinus*** and before ***iuglans*** seems not unlikely. Unfortunately the Aeolic use of *μᾶλον* for the pine cone has no other corroboration in fact than this passage and the illustration afforded by German ***tannenapfel***. But *μᾶλον* was a general word for fruits and Varro's residence in Greece, his colloquial acquaintance with Greek, warrants our acceptance from him of words not otherwise attested. Cf. e. g. his ***macellotas*** (v. 146), otherwise unknown save from Hesychius.

105. Varro's Greek: [†] *κρόκην*. The derivation of ***granum*** (frumenti) from *κρόκη* (cf. *κροκάλη*) 'pebble' is perfectly sound according to the etymological canons of Varro. Greek in Latin script; insertion: a quo a Graecis quoque *κράνος* (ms. granum) dictum in quo <conduntur> ea quae conduntur. The sense of *κράνος* might be the sense of the gloss *κράνεα· πλεκτὰ ἐκ σχοίνου*—applied to rush baskets for storing grain; cf. *κράνον* in Tebt. pap. 39. 31; 230 where the sense may have been something like 'mat' (for weaving); perhaps *κράνον* is the form for our text, and we then have to do with a mat used for packing grain. I have seen coffee so packed instead of in the usual sack.

106. Derivation: ***simi-lixulae*** is haplologic for ***simila-lixulae***.

107. Definition; insertion: itaque <a> frequentia Sabinis. Cf. the gloss ***frequentia***· *πολυπτυχία* = many-foldedness.

108. Insertion; *a* in partitive sense: quorum a ge*n*ere (ms. *r*) <*ἀγέραα* et> cruda olera. For partitive *a* see Thes. I. 13. 37. Greek in Latin script; insertion: quod ea<ru>m Attici *ὄρχον μόρα* (ms. orchen mora); an otherwise unattested use of *μόρα* as 'row' = Lacon. *μόρα* 'ordo militaris'. Hardly correct to *μόρα<ν>*, see on 18 above. In using *μόρα* thus Varro must have thought of Attic *μορίαι*.

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109. Insertion: <ut> suilla <a sue>, sic etc.

110. Ductus, a/o/i; compendium: murtatum a murta, quod eâ id (ms. *eo ad*) large farcit<ur> (ms. *fartis*).

111. Insertion; p/l, ct/rt (x. 48): quod <non> [†] ut reliquae *lactes* etc. Suffixal agreement; b/v: assimilate the suffixes in *apexabo* and *longavo*?

112. Ductus, h/z: for †thee· ovum bulbum read zeae ovum etc. The neuter *bulbum* may be Varronian (supra 18), owing its gender to *ovum*.

113. Varronian etymology: trama, quod tram<e>at frigus id genus vestimenti. The correct etymology of *trama* is from *trahere*, cf. *tragula* glossed by κερκίς 'sley', *tractus* 'the wool on the distaff' and the turns trahere vellera, t. lanam (cf. Horace, C. 2. 18, 7–8, Laconicas . . trahunt purpuras). The cloth, *trama*, will have been meshy, like *ratiné*, a basket weave now in vogue. In the gloss *trama*· extrema pars vestimenti the sense of 'fringe, selvage' is suggested (cf. *panios*· tramarios vel ubi fila volvuntur in gyro?). In Seneca, Ep. 90 *trama* seems to designate the larger woof-threads in a ribbed pattern. The facts I have been able to extract about *trama* are as follows: (1) by correct etymology *trama* was a flock of wool pulled off; (2) a woolen thread used in either warp or woof; ⌊ in the Plautine ejaculation *tramas putidas* the sense rotten threads seems best; in Persius 6. 73 *trama* is a lank thread of a fellow, cf. *filum*⌋; in our passage (3) *trama* seems to mean a meshy cloth; while (4) in the Seneca passage the interstices left by the larger *tramae* used in the woof were "filled" with a lighter thread, the *subtemen*.

114. Greek script: In pannus Graecum, ubi ea †fecit the change of *ea* to H A seems adequate to give sense (*pannus*: πῆνος).

—. Syllable inversion; t/d: tunica ab tuendo corpore<;> (for ,) tunica ut in-tu-ca (ms. indica). This etymology by syllable inversion may remind of the story of Numa sacrificing a *maena* (fish) instead of an *anima* (human soul). But Plautine *indūcula* (Ep. 223) looks like a diminutive to *induca*, whether that be from *induo* or *induco*.

118. Greek script: accept with GS., after Scaliger, τρυηλίδα for *trullan*.

121. Greek script; punctuation: id videtur declinatum a

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graeco κυλικεῖο<ν> (ms. *ciliceo*) <,> a poculo cylice <.> qui <ut> illa<e> capid<es> etc.; *qui* is of the gender of Lat. *calix*; κύλιξ is feminine.

122. Insertion; ductus, P/L: paterae ab eo quod latine (ms. °*ni*) <patinae> ita [dicunt] dictae. The doublet dicunt dictae due to some compendium (see on 95).

—. Punctuatiōn; insertion: quod πότος potio graece [.] <graeca> origo potionis <.> (not ,) aqua, quod etc.

126. Etymology: Superior to any extant modern explanation of *urna* (see Walde[2] s. v.) is, when properly interpreted, Varro's, to-wit: urnae dictae, quod urinant in aqua haurienda ut urinator. Urinare est mergi in aquam. In *urna* the original prius *ur*=water: Skr. *vār/vāri-* 'water', Av. *vairi-* 'see; bucht einer see' (see e. g. Walde[2] s. v. *urina*). The posterius was (*s*)*nā*: Skr. *nī* in *náyati* 'draws' *ni-nayati* (liturgical) 'pours' (water). In *urinator* 'diver, swimmer' (cf. *urinantes* in Pliny N. H. 9. 91, in naufragos urinantisve impetum cepit <polypus>), we have *ūri-*, a locative prius from *ūr-*,+ (*s*)*nator* 'swimmer'. Cf. Skr. *snāpayati* (causative) 'dips' (PW[1]).[1]

127. Hapax retained: *impurro*. An unknown part of a plow. Cf. the glosses *imburium*· curvatio, incurvatio; *in burim*· incurvationem, pars curva quae aratio (? lege aratro) iungitur.

128. Definition: *seli-quastrum* appears to mean something like seat-basket—which reminds me of certain Mexican chairs

[1] It may be added that *urīna* 'urine', though identical in its prius with *urīnator*, has a posterius *-isnā* 'evacuation', cognate with *ἰνάει* 'evacuates' (especially of the action of the bowels, v. exx. ap. L. Meyer, Gr. Etym. II, 59), as to which see Boisacq, Dict. Étym. 376. I have elsewhere defended (IF. 26, 40) the old suggestion that *inānis* (from **isnānis* by the "law of mamilla") 'empty' belongs with *ἰνάει*. In Plautus, *inanis* means rather 'emptied' than 'empty' (vacant) and is used prevailingly of persons. The most significant contexts are Ps. 371, amator inanis . quasi cassa nux, St. 231, parasitus inanis quō recondas reliquias. The correspondence between *ἐξινᾶν* (v. exx. ap. L. Meyer, l. c.) and *exinanire* (with alvum bilem pituitam in Pliny N. H.; cf. amatorem exinani, Plautus Truc. 712) is particularly close. That an adjectival "suffix" *ni-*, related to the participial *no-* (cf. e. g. Brugmann, Gr. II. 1, § 198), should be attached to the present stem *isnā-* is not more strange than the attachment of the abstract suffix *ti-* to the same prius (*ἵη-σις*). On such use of a tense-stem, cf. e. g. Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar, § 1140 c.

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I have seen. Cf. the gloss *quastillarius*· φιλο-ποιός=φιλυρα-ποιός (on the etymological question involved see Fay, AJPh. 32, 404) 'bast-maker', unless it is a mistake for κοφινο-ποίος which is the gloss for *quasilarius*.

130. Dialectic *e* for *i* in vellis='nap'.

131. Dative-nominatives: prius [†] de indutui, tum amictui quae sunt tangam. For *prius-tum* cf. Cato, Agr. 135; *indutui* is an indeclinable of the *frugi* type; see other forms in §§ 131–132, and in X. 27; cf. *amictui circumiectui*. Further note the dative-nominatives in the ancient formulae of VII. § 8.

135. Varronian invention: [†] a-ruit. Varro seems to have invented this compound to account for *aratrum*; cf. in § 136 the derivation of *rastri* from *ruere*. Endings confused, -ae/-am: Reiter's plus terra*e* seems right.

140. Compendium(?); a/ae: brevi<ter> [est] vehiculum dictum est aliis vel arcera<e> etc.

143. Insertion: eiusque <in cippis> auspicia urbana finiuntur. c i p p i pomeri stant etc. Cf. also Caesar Gall. 7. 73. 4, where cippi=stakes of a stockade. In construction *cippi* is here analogous to a place name.

146. Excision; Greek script α/ι: hortorum macellotas [ortorum] et castelli μακέλα (ms. *macelli*). Cf. the glosses μακέλα (Lac. Ion.)· φράγματα, δρύφρακτα; μάκελος· δρύφρακτος; μακελλωτά (Iones)· τὰ αὐτά. Insertion (?compendium); P/T: ad <Por>tunium (ms. *Iunium*). Cf. Platner's Topography of Ancient Rome[1], p. 378.

148. Insertion; XIT/AEL, r/n: nec quod is cor*re*<xit> <A>elius (ms. Cornelius) Stilo secutus. On A/X see Lindsay's Introd. to Latin Textual Emendation, p. 84. Ancient forms, compendium: Manio<m> postilionem. In this ancient formula we have a Latin cognate of ἀπό-στολος. Endings confused: eô (not eum) praecipitatum.

151. Interpretation: *de causa* sc. *iuris*; cf. Thes. III, 680. 16, and note *de senatuos sententiad*. Punctuation: vocantur latomiae <;> [†] et de etc.

152. Definition of *in eo*: in eo lauretum etc. Here *in eo*= besides, cf. Varro r. r. 1. 17. 3, eam coniecturam fieri posse ex aliarum rerum imperatis et *in eo* eorum e noviciis requisitione ad priorem dominum quid factitarint; 1. 20. 5 *in eo* agricolae hoc spectandum quo fastigio sit fundus; cf. 3. 16. 4 quod

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(=quasi societatem) si *in hoc* faciunt etiam graguli etc. See also on IX, 89. This peculiarity in the use of an unusual adverbial phrase (*in eo* for *ad hoc*) may be illustrated by Varro's *quaad* for *quoad*.

153. Lacuna denied; m/it: locus idem [***] circus Mecinus dictus quod circu*it* spectaculis ⌊ adnominal dative of purpose ⌋ aedificatus.

157. Insertion: Argiletum sunt qui scripserunt ab Argo <acco>la, seu quod is huc venerit etc. Here *accola* refers to a permanent settler. It is balanced against *seu venerit*, as in Horace we have cantamus vacui, *sive* quid urimur (C. 1. 6. 19); qui ferox bello tamen inter arma | *sive* iactatam religarat . . navim (C. 1. 32. 6 sq.).

163. Emendation accepted: <re>ligionem (so *v*).

166. Ductus *ca/mi*; *l l* dissimilation: sublicas (ms. *sublimis*). This is a ductus possibility in Lombard script. For M/AI see Plautus, Men. 532, *mebas* for *aiebas*; Poen. 1344, *mo* for *aio;* cf. infra vi, 61. For the sense of *sublicas* cf. the gloss *sublica·* ὑπενδύτης, and note its diminutive *subricula* (with *r l* from *l l*), glossed by the artificial (?) word σουβρίκιον.

166. Archaic word: *fitur* from *fivitur* (?): ubi lectus mortui fitur, dicebant feretrum nostri, Graeci φέρετρον. For *fitur* the ms. variant *fertur* is attractive. I do not know how GS. interpret *fitur*: as a passive form of *fit*, in the sense of 'is put'? Perhaps rather *fitur* is contracted from *fivitur* 'figitur' (cf. *fivere* 'figere' in Paulus-Festus). Varronian etymologies sometimes turn on the correspondency of but a single letter, cf. e. g. vi, 10, m e n s i s a lunae m o t u dictus. Cf. *suf-fiendo*, assumed as the source of *suf-fibulum* (under-pin) in vi. 21.

168. Ductus, a/e: gerit in inferior*e* superiorem: if a *duplicata scansio* was a pair of steps the plural *inferiora* must be wrong.

175. Emendation accepted: for *issedonion* read with GS. Hesiodion δῶς.

176. Interpretation; meaning of *ab*: ab eadem mente=of the same purport. Cf. Thes. I. 35, 3 sq.; infra, ix 40, verbum a significatione simile; vii, 6, templum tribus modis dicitur: ab natura, ab auspicando, a similitudine.

177. Insertion; compendium: appellatae eae multae, <*aut* or *vel*> quod olim vinum (ms. *unum*) dicebant multae etc.

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The second *multae* should be *multam* for good syntax, but may loosely echo the first (cf. also supra §18). But perhaps Varro wrote (see also on §98) dic*a*bant (=consecrabant) multae (=*ad multam*), of an offering to the gods. Cicero is cited for multa erat Veneri. Or did Varro have in mind Plautus As. 801: haec multa ei esto, vino viginti dies | ut careat?—wherein the long suspension of *ut careat* hints at a *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*, based on the usage of wine as a penalty. Perhaps a word play on *multa* and *mulsum* is to be felt here (cf. *pultat* | *pulsat, mantat* | *mansus*).

179. Greek script; haplology: for moeton †antimo et read *μοῖτοι ἀντί<τι>μοι*, unless *ἄντιμοι* be accepted as a haplological word; cf. *μοιτοὶ ἄντιμοι· παροιμία Σικελοῖς. ἡ γὰρ χάρις μοι τὸν* (lege *μοῖτον*) *οἰνόχαριν* (Hesychius). In this proverb there is ellipsis of a verb, the sense being 'gratia enim mutuum uni-gratium <habet>', i. e. 'a favor has (demands) a swap of one-and-the-same favor'.

180. Insertion: *s<t>lis* (ms. *si is*); here stlis is used of the deposit or stake required in a suit per sponsionem (vi. 70). Punctuation: litibus <;> Inconcinnity, accusative | ablative: quingenos aeris . . deponebant . . certo alio legitimo numero assum.

181. Read quo[d] stipendia facerent.

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(*To be continued.*)

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III.—THE PARTICIPLE IN LIVY.

We have elsewhere considered some phases of the participle in Livy, and also in Cicero's Epistles[1], and shall here deal with questions not coming within the scope of previous articles. At the outset we disclaim any intention of giving a complete presentation, for this like the subject itself, must have about it something of the indefinite. Combining the force of adjective and of verb the participle is sometimes one and sometimes the other, and the classification as adjective or as participle must often be a matter of individual interpretation. Dynamic verbal force does not appear in the intransitives, and the participles of other verbs also may become static, for there is an abundance of examples in which participial forms express not processes but qualities or characteristics. Some instances of this will be given. In words expressing relationship, such as *nati, cognati, sponsus, sponsa, parentes, adulescentes,* persons not actions are indicated, though these words may at times retain the participial force, as in Livy 2, 6, 2 cum liberis adulescentibus. Other persons also may be designated by apparent verbal forms though indicated as nouns or as adjectives. Some of these get their names from their dress, as *candidati, praetextati, togati, pilleati, purpurati*; some from their equipment—*caetrati, hastati, phalerati*; and some belong to no special class—*advocati, coniurati.* In addition to these and similar nouns there is a mass of verbal nouns in *-um* indicating completed activity, as *actum, dictum, factum, inceptum, promissum, propositum.* But all of these as well as similar forms belong rather to a discussion of the formal side of the question, and are here mentioned merely to call attention to the fact that the original dynamic force of a verbal form may give way to the static.

The extent of the participial usage is partly due to limitations in noun formation. Only a small part of the verbs in

[1] A. J. P. XXIII 295–312; 413–427; XXIV 441–446; XXXIV 172–182.

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Latin have corresponding noun formations expressing agency, and many of these are of late origin. While we do not have complete lists of all words used by the Romans we may safely assume that the present participle of the larger part of the verbs was used to indicate the actor. A personal activity is given more frequently than an active personality, *agens* rather than *actor*, and it was not deemed necessary to have a noun formation to express the doer of an action only occasionally performed. This must be borne in mind when we consider the use of the present participle in certain connections.

Orantes, *petentes*, and *spectantes* are freely used, and sometimes where we should expect a noun formation, as in 1, 25, 4 horror ingens spectantes perstringit; 21, 42, 4 non inter eiusdem modo condicionis homines erat, sed etiam inter spectantes volgo. *Petitores* had acquired a special meaning by the time of Livy, and this may be taken as an explanation of the use of *petentes* where it expresses an action immediately subsequent to the main verb, as in 29, 24, 4 quid petentes venissent; 30, 38, 3. But in 42, 46, 9 legatos in Macedoniam miserunt praesidium petentes, a period of time must intervene between the time of the principal verb and the realization of the participial action. The statement has final coloring, but it is the substitutive value which accounts for the use of *petentes*, as also for *orantes*, as in 21, 6, 2 missi auxilium . . . orantes; and 25, 13, 2 legatos ad Hannibalem miserunt orantes. Notice the nominal and participial forms combined, as in 21, 34, 2 oratores . . . veniunt . . . memorantes; and 32, 16, 14 oratores extemplo ad Attalum veniam fidemque eius petentes miserunt. *Oratores* is used several times, as in 38, 27, 8; 44 31, 9; 44, 45, 1, but the noun as well as the participle is prospective, and Livy puts into the participle the untimed potency of the noun of agency.

There is a still more noticeable limitation in the formation of nouns indicating the actee, if we be allowed to use the term. Both the English and the Latin have recourse to the perfect participle, and for the form alone we may compare Psalm 127, 2 so he giveth his beloved sleep, with Livy 30, 14, 1 amatam apud aemulum cernens. The use as a noun of the participle in the singular is rare (Riemann, p. 89), and occasionally the participle occurs in connection with a noun of

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agency, e. g. 10, 12, 5 lux insequens victorem victumque ostendit; 23, 46, 14 victus aut victor; 22, 30, 4 servato ac conservatori; 10, 19, 2; 40, 10, 1. In the plural the participial noun is much more freely used and *victi* and *victores* are frequently contrasted, as in 9, 32, 9; 10, 12, 5; 21, 40, 6; 23, 46, 14; 25, 31, 15 victoribus victisque pariter perniciosa fames instabat. There are also similar contrasts with other words: 39, 15, 9 stuprati et constupratores; 26, 48, 10 non tam advocati quam moderatores studiorum fuerant.

While the term participle is limited to the designation of some definite verbal forms, there are also adjective formations which deserve a passing notice in the consideration of this indefinite verbal element. Formations in *-bundus* are characteristic of Livy (see Stacey, Archiv 10, 64), and at times, associated with the present participle, they heighten the narrative color, as in 21, 36, 1 ita rectis saxis, ut aegre expeditus miles temptabundus manibusque retinens virgulta ac stirpes circa eminentes demittere sese posset; 33, 8, 1 invitum et cunctabundum et dicentem. As representatives of other adjectives on verbal stems it will be sufficient to give a few instances from Livy: 1, 7, 8 fatiloquam; 1, 7, 10 veridicam; 1, 15, 6 absonus; 1, 18, 3 dissonus; 27, 5, 6 frugifera; cf. the variation in Lucretius 1, 3 frugiferens, the latter expressing activity, while the others give potentiality only.

Some of these formations seem to be doing Helotic service, carrying the burden of expression for the real participles. Of these may be given *aptus*: *aptatus, infestus*: *infestatus, orbus*: *orbatus, sollicitus*: *sollicitatus, vagus*: *vagatus, viduus*: *viduatus*. However, of these the frequentative *aptare* in the finite forms has crowded out the less assertative *apere*. Some occurrences of *vagus* will do to represent the usage with them all: 5, 44, 5 vagi per agros palantur; 10, 20, 5; 21, 61, 2 vagos palantisque per agros; 33, 15, 6 in vagos palatosque per agros; cf. 31, 21, 4 palati vagabantur; and 31, 41, 10 palati vagarentur. We also find in other connections 27, 50, 5 versae . . . vagae; 44, 42, 8 vivi . . . et vagi.

Some adjectives as *fretus, inclutus, infensus, manifestus, peritus* seem like adjectivized participles from submerged verbal stocks of which kindred forms are found.

A short consideration of the negative participial-adjective

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formations will not be out of place, though not really germane to the subject. There is an occasional negative formation from the present participle, and some 360 are given in Harpers' Dictionary formed from affirmative passive participles. Most of these are negatived by *in-*, though by the side of *inopinatus* we find *necopinatus*. The number given in the dictionary represents centuries of development. Cicero felt the need of such forms, and in his letters made a liberal use of negative Greek verbals; see A. J. P. XXI 407. Ovid seems to have added many to the list of negatives, and many appear only in late Latin, where are also found some traces of an attempt to introduce finite forms of negative verbs. Notice the citations for *intolero, inviolo*, and particularly for *inhonoro*, and see also the index to Tertullian, Oehler's edition. The dictionary after the citations adds 'hence *inhonoratus*'. But as this word was known to Cicero and Caesar it should lead and 'hence *inhonoro*' should follow. There is nothing striking about Livy's use of these forms, and he seems to have only those which were then well known.

There are many instances of the coordinate use of adjective and participle, as in 41, 10, 9 favens imperatorum causae et consuli infestus . . . addebat; and also of adjective and participial noun, e. g. *inermis* and *armatus*, as in 10, 5, 11; 22, 19, 12; 24, 22, 1. A succession of participles or adjectives is sometimes due to the need of presenting different stages of the action as completed or in progress, as in 4, 14, 5–6 ereptus a circumstantibus fugiensque fidem plebis Romanae implorare, et . . . dicere . . . orare . . . haec eum vociferantem adsecutus Ahala Servilius obtruncat respersusque cruore [obtruncati], stipatus caterva patriciorum iuvenum, dictatori renuntiat vocatum ad se Maelium repulso apparitore concitantem multitudinem poenam meritam habere. This is an isolated passage highly colored, but not more so than many other passages which might be quoted, and all illustrate the demonstration that "the narrative is the proper sphere of the participle".

It is in stories and descriptive passages of Livy in which the participles are the most prominent. Sometimes the account is brief as that of the reception of Perseus by Paulus 45, 7, 5; the details given by Paulus to his soldiers 44, 38, 9; the military maneuvers mentioned 44, 9, 8; or the summary

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of the actions of Fabius 8, 33, 23 haec simul iurgans, quaerens, deum hominumque fidem obtestans et complexus filium plurimis cum lacrimis agebat. But there are passages of longer length which for Latin are thickset with participles. Of these may be mentioned the account of the destruction of Alba 1, 29; of the repulse of the Gauls in their attack on the Capitol 5, 47; of the Alps as they appeared to the soldiers of Hannibal 21, 32; and of the capture of Philopoemen 39, 49. In telling of the fight at Cannae (22, 47 seqq.) Livy brings in more than the usual number of participles, and with them he caps the climax in his description of the battle of Trasumene 22, 5, 4 ad gemitus vulnerum ictusque corporum aut armorum et mixtos terrentium paventiumque clamores circumferebant ora oculosque. Alii fugientes pugnantium globo inlati haerebant, alios redeuntes in pugnam avertebat fugientium agmen. For the purpose of showing a contrast in the different parts we refer to 2, 20. Nine sections tell us how with varying success the Romans and the Latins struggled at Lake Regillus, and participles are numerous. Then comes the time for hurried action: tum ad equites dictator advolat, obtestans ut fesso iam pedite descendant ex equis et pugnam capessant; dicto paruere: desiliunt ex equis, provolant in primis, et pro antesignanis parmas obiciunt. Recepit extemplo animum pedestris acies.

Contrasted with these are passages in which the participles are not prominent. There is little need for them in enumerating prodigies, as in 35, 9; transcripts from senate journals are equally unadorned (38, 35, 7; 41, 13, 4), and likewise the terms of the treaty with Antiochus 38, 38. The indignation of Gracchus (38, 53) is expressed without participles, and taken as a whole it is in the speeches that the participle is the most poorly represented. If we except the ablative absolute and gerund forms few can be found in many speeches, e. g. 4, 35; 4, 48; 5, 3–4; 6, 40–41; 7, 40; 8, 4; 9, 34. In these there is need of logical analysis, and the impact of the finite verb is needed more than the fluency of the participle. Akin to these are some character analyses by Livy. His portrayal of Cato 39, 40, and of Hannibal 21, 4 are noticeably unparticipial, a result arising out of the necessity of setting forth stable characteristics.

There are a few syntactical points which need mentioning.

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The participle may be used as the equivalent of subordinate clauses (Schmalz, Lat. Syn. 180), but with the exception of examples in the ablative absolute the instances in Livy are not numerous, e. g. 23, 5, 13 cui non genito modo in Italia, detestabile sit? 21, 9, 4 apparebat non admissos protinus Carthaginem ituros; 22, 2, 4 iussit sequi Gallos, ut id agminis medium esset, novissimos ire equites, Magonem inde . . . cogere agmen, maxime Gallos . . . cohibentem, though here the participle may be taken as present to *cogere,* rather than as final with *iussit.*

The predicate use of a participle with another participle is rarely found; see Draeger 2, p. 812. A few additional examples may be quoted: 40, 44, 12 propter effusos sumptus factos; 21, 30, 9 militi quidem armato . . . portanti quid invium? 21, 43, 14 pugnabitis cum exercitu tirone, hac ipsa aestate caeso victo circumsesso a Gallis, ignoto adhuc duci suo ignorantique ducem; 3, 5, 10; 5, 41, 9; 22, 51, 9 subtractus Numida mortuo superincubanti Romano.

Of the rhetorical features we shall call attention only to some instances of the etymological figure: 5, 49, 8 servatam patriam . . . servavit; 5, 19, 2; 7, 3, 4; 8, 15, 5 dictatorem dici iussit. dictus . . . magistrum equitum . . . dixit; 9, 19, 9 uno proelio victus Alexander bello victus esset; 27, 34, 13 quid ita male credito . . . crederent? 37, 54, 17 nec terra mutata mutavit genus aut mores; 44, 45, 7 oppidum deditum militibus datur diripiendum.

We have made no effort in any part to determine the ratio of participles to finite verbs. We have rejected those participles and verbal formations with adjective force, though they are practically the equivalents of participles in many instances, and any ratio established with them left out would be unsatisfactory.

Many verbs in Latin were not in stable equilibrium so far as voice was concerned. On this point see Jahnsson, De Verb. Lat. Deponentibus, especially his words, page 78, "usus multorum verborum in sermone populari semper vacillabat", and also cf. p. 75. A considerable number of deponent participles, noticeably *expertus* are used by Livy in the passive voice; see Kühnast, p. 271. The instances of *comitatus* passive may be held to be from *comito.* Some other verbs

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also have two forms, e. g. *iuro* : *iuror*, *mereo* : *mereor*. *Iuratus* in 32, 22, 7 iuratus se eum sua manu interempturum . . . pervicit, is deponent, while in other passages it may be considered passive, as in 26, 3, 5 iurati permulti dicerent; 26, 33, 14 quod senatus iuratus . . . censeat; 30, 40, 11 patres igitur iurati . . . censuerunt. In like manner *meriti* is active 42, 38, 4 si male meriti clementiam populi experti essent, bene merendo liberalitatem experirentur, though it is passive in other passages. In contrast with this voice-shift in the deponents is the use of some passive forms with active or middle force. The ones most commonly used in this way are *fusus*, *vectus*, *versus* with their compounds, e. g. 8, 35, 8 circumfusi ac gratulantes . . . prosecuti sunt; 7, 40, 15 versus ad suos inquit; 2, 59, 9 invectus in proditorem exercitum; 22, 31, 1 circumvectus . . . oram; 4, 19, 6 Cossus Tiberim cum equitatu transvectus; 2, 23, 10 in eos multitudo versa; 25, 18, 7 conversus abibat; 6, 7, 3 et ante signa obversus in aciem, ordines interequitans. There is also an occasional instance of similar participles with dependent noun, as in 28, 34, 4; 30, 12, 12; 39, 14, 1 advolutus genibus; 27, 37, 12 longam indutae vestem. But in this shifting of the voice of the participle there is nothing of special moment, for it seems to have been a common feature of the phraseology of the day as is indicated by such portions of it as are given by the poets. See Schaefler, Die sogenannten syn. Graezismen bei den aug. Dichtern.

The present participle generally indicates an action present to the principal verb, yet as we have shown *petentes* with *venire* is immediately successive, and *orantes* with *mittere* more remotely so, though the proper mental state may have been present from the beginning. In some passages the present expresses an action to which the principal verb gives the abrupt termination, as in 1, 7, 7 fidem pastorum nequiquam invocans morte occubuit; 2, 7, 8 pro re publica dimicans . . . mortem occubuisset; 31, 18, 6; 26, 25, 14 pro patria pugnantes mortem occubuerunt. A moment in these may be taken as present to the principal action, but only a part of the participial action is present. In some passages an adverb emphasizes the continuation of the action, as in 4, 25, 9; 6, 21, 2 iam diu molientes; 23, 46, 13; 22, 25, 3; 25, 18, 11 diu cunctantem Crispinum perpulere turmales; 9, 34, 2 ille per Cassandrum

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. . . iam diu habitantem . . . caedem fecit; 23, 26, 2 quoad multum ac diu obtestanti quattuor milia peditum . . . missa sunt.

The perfect participle does not always indicate priority of action (see Riemann, p. 307), and at times with some adverbs expresses durative effects: *diu* 7, 8, 5 diu non perlitatum tenuerat dictatorem; 21, 14, 2 turris diu quassata prociderat; 23, 18, 10 saepe ac diu duratum; 30, 11, 1; 31, 25, 11 diu sollicitati ne obsidionis quidem metu fide decessissent; 40, 57, 2; 31, 25, 11 diu optata caede; 34, 41, 9; 36, 7, 13; 39, 29, 10 consules diu retenti . . . profecti sunt; 42, 59, 2; 40, 23, 9; 42, 25, 9 multum ac diu vociferatum reverti postero die iussisse; cf. 42, 11, 6 animum esse inveteratum diutina arte atque usu belli: *semper* 1, 26, 13 s. refectum manet; 8, 34, 2 dictatoris edictum pro numine s. observatum: *saepe* 34, 46, 12 rem s. temptatam. This is not peculiar to participles but is found also with adjectives, as *cupidus* 41, 17, 5; and verbs *trahitur* 44, 32, 3; *caesa est* 44, 42, 4. The duration of being is indicated by *annos* with *natus*, e. g. 28, 43, 11 mihi quattuor et viginti annos nato; 39, 49, 3 septuaginta annos iam natus; 40, 44, 1 quot annos nati quemque magistratum peterent; cf. 24, 4, 5 fidem . . . quinquaginta annos ab se cultam.

Some participial forms have for the most part not been counted as participles, e. g. *adversus, apertus, diversus, editus, intentus, secretus, suspensus, tacitus, tutus,* the idea of antecedent activity having altogether disappeared, and mere static relationship being left. However, activity is sometimes expressed, as in 22, 56, 1 patres diversi ad sedandos tumultus discessissent; 10, 25, 14 sive iuncti unum premant sive diversi gerant bellum; 28, 7, 1 Philippum et ignes ab Oreo editi monuerant; cf. 5, 18, 8 in editum collem; 6, 33, 5 edita vox. This loss of verbal force may be well illustrated by some of the deponents, as *mortuus* 41, 16, 4 sed inde mortuus Romam adlatus; and *intermortuus* 37, 53, 10 in ipsa contione i. haud multo post expiravit. The plural is used 25, 26, 10 mortui aegros, aegri validos . . . conficerent; and in contrast with *vivi* 5, 39, 4; 22, 55, 3; 34, 7, 3 nec ut vivi solum habeant . . . sed etiam ut cum eo crementur mortui; see Riemann, p. 80. The participle may move still further away from the verbal current, and so far that the absolute of the neuter of the per-

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fect participle may become a veritable adverb, the parasite of some other verb. See Riemann, 101; and A. J. P. XXIII 301. The same end practically may be reached through the participle by ellipsis of the noun, as in 6, 26, 8 pacem in praesentia, nec ita multo post civitatem etiam impetraverunt; 7, 37, 2 in perpetuum, in praesentia; 8, 7, 22 imperia non in praesentia modo horrenda, sed exempli etiam tristis in posterum essent; 33, 13, 13 non *in* praesentia modo gravia auditu, sed mox etiam belli causa . . . fuerunt.

If frequency of occurrence determines the importance of each participle the relative value is perfect passive 52%, present active 32.7%, perfect deponent 14.2%, future active 1.1%. As would be expected, perfected actions are most freely given 66.2%, and the future is an unimportant factor. While the numerical relations are interesting some individual phases of each participle are worthy of consideration, and differences in case relations are not unimportant.

In dealing with the perfect passive participle the Latin often maintains nominal preeminence where the English makes use of an abstract noun and dependent phrase, 'the sight of the shields of the Romans' translating 25, 39, 10 scuta Romanorum visa. Although many participles are used in this way *auditus* occurs most frequently, e. g. 6, 2, 9 tantum Camillus auditus imperator terroris intulerat; 23, 17, 8; 25, 10, 4; 25, 38, 17; 31, 10, 4; 35, 11, 12 fumus primo conspectus, deinde clamor trepidantium in vicis auditus, postremo seniores puerique refugientes tumultum in castris fecerunt. In the use of the accusative without a preposition there are two features which should be noticed; 1. The subordination of the prior of two successive actions, using participle and finite verb instead of two finite verbs; and 2. The use of the perfect participle with *habere* and kindred verbs.

1. This is a common idiom, and can be illustrated fully enough by 5, 47, 4 umbone ictum deturbat; 6, 42, 5 T. Manlius Gallum . . . caesum torque spoliavit; 9, 22, 9 is victorem detractum ex equo magistrum equitum plenus maeroris atque irae trucidavit. In these the action is exerted upon a previously affected object, and the statement combines both dynamic and static conditions, where the English with two verbs gives only the dynamic.

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2. *Habere* with the perfect participle is noticeable, for it keeps the even tenor of its way as the principal verb and does not assume an auxiliary position, as in 7, 38, 9 cum omnia ea . . . per tribunos comperta haberet; 21, 13, 6 urbem vobis, quam ex magna parte dirutam, captam fere totam habet, adimit. The later usage with *have* makes the Latin usage interesting, though the logical relation of the participle to *habere* does not differ from that of the occurrences which fall under 1.

There are some noticeable differences in the use of the present and the perfect with prepositions taking the accusative (273:576). Most noticeable is the usage with *in* (143:131), but the deduction of 59 occurrences of *in praesentia*, and a few of *in praesens* would greatly reduce the difference. With *adversus* (29:21) present phases of activity are emphasized, while the reverse is true with *per* (19:73) and still more so with *praeter* (2:25) which is used to indicate addition to a definitely realized condition, as in 27, 8, 5 praeter egregie suppletas duas veteres legiones . . . equitum magnam vim haberet; 33, 34, 7 praeter libertatem concessam Achaei Phthiotae dati. *Per* is usually associated with perfected actions, and the present participles with which it is used are mostly intransitive, most freely *imminentem* or *patentem*. Only two classes need consideration; 1. Those indicating relative position, the phrase being equal to a relative temporal clause; and 2. *Ob* and *propter*, the phrase equalling a causal clause.

1. *Ante, post, secundum* and *sub* are used with the perfect passive participle to indicate the temporal relation of one action to another, the complex equivalent to temporal clauses with *antequam* or *postquam*. *Post* occurs much oftener than *ante* in such connections (83:15), corresponding somewhat to the freer use of *postquam*.[1] *Ante* (see Fügner, p. 1220) is used with both the perfect and the future in Praef. 6 ante conditam condendamve urbem, as is *inter* 21, 21, 8 inter labores aut iam exhaustos aut mox exhauriendos. *Ante* and *post* are thrown into contrast in 3, 61, 6 eandem indolem militibus Romanis post exactos decemviros quae ante creatos fuerit; and in somewhat the same way in 25, 40, 4 ante captas Syracusas . . . p. c. S. In 21, 28, 6 id ut tutius consilium ante rem foret, ita acta re ad fidem pronius est, *actam* should be understood

[1] See Steele, Temporal Sentences in Livy, p. 48. Baltimore, 1910.

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with *rem*, thus corresponding to 26, 18, 10 post rem actam. *Post* was noticed with *captum* in nine passages, *factum* in eight, and *exactos* in seven. The remaining fifty-nine examples have forty-four different participles, the most noticeable passage being 28, 43, 14–15 facile est post fusos fugatosque quattuor exercitus Punicos, post tot urbes vi captas aut metu subactas in dicionem, post perdomita omnia usque ad Oceanum, tot regulos, tot saevas gentes, post receptam totam Hispaniam . . . elevare meas res gestas. Here the principal verb is in the present tense and the participial statement is equivalent to a perfect indicative. The present is also used in 1, 43, 12, and the present participle in 2, 25, 6 timentes p. Pometiam captam. There are a few passages in which the principal verb is imperfect indicative or subjunctive, but in nearly all instances it is a perfect or pluperfect. This would seem to indicate that the free use of *post* is partly compensatory for the restrictions placed on the use of the pluperfect indicative. A participle and noun are used parallel with a noun 23, 1, 3 post famam Cannensis pugnae volgatumque Trebi sermonibus adventum Hannibalis; 36, 32, 1 is post fugam . . . Antiochi Amynandrumque . . . pulsum; 39, 22, 9 post damnationem et bona vendita.

Secundum and *sub* indicate an immediate succession of events, and are used much less freely than *post*: 4, 6, 11 secundum deposita certamina; 24, 10, 11 sec. examen visum; 31, 14, 1 and 41, 10, 7 sec. vota in Capitolio nuntiata; 35, 6, 8 sec. proelium factum; 28, 24, 15 sub cuius vulgatam mox famam; 39, 21, 1 sub hunc nuntium . . . vulgatum; and taken either as noun or participle 23, 12, 6 sec. haec dicta; 42, 23, 10 sub haec dicta lacrimantes procubuerunt; 33, 32, 1 sub haec gesta.

2. *Ob* and *propter* are freely used with the perfect participle and noun, the complex being equivalent to a causal clause; A. J. P. XXVII 57. Both prepositions occur with successive participles 2, 19, 10 ob erepta bona patriamque ademptam: 3, 22, 1 lustrum propter Capitolium captum, consulem occisum condi religiosum fuit; 10, 39, 15; 30, 30, 27. The other participles cover quite a wide range, and from the character of the history refer chiefly to military movements, as 1, 45, 3 ob rem totiens infeliciter temptatam; 4, 1, 4 Vulscos Aequosque ob communitam Verruginem fremere; 25, 15, 7 ira

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p. obsides nuper interfectos. However one difference between *ob* and *propter* stands out prominently. The latter is used with *gestas* 33, 25, 1 p. res bello bene gestas, while *ob* occurs with the singular eight times—8, 33, 17; 9, 15, 11; 10, 21, 6; 34, 10, 3; 39, 4, 2; 42, 9, 3; 45, 2, 8; 45, 39, 12; and eighteen times with the plural, as in 9, 42, 1 ob res tam feliciter gestas; 41, 28, 1 ob res prospere gestas in Hispania.

The larger part of all the deponent participles are in the nominative, the different phases of which have been given A. J. P. XXIV 441. As these give perfected actions they are generally equal to clauses expressing antecedence and giving the temporal basis for the principal action. Compared with the number in the nominative there are relatively few occurrences in the other cases.

The perfect passive participle gives the affected, and the present active the efficient element in the narrative, and the usage with the two is strongly contrasted in the genitive, the dative and the ablative without prepositions. Bearing in mind that the whole number of the present participles is only 63% of the number of the perfect the greater serviceability of the present or of the perfect can be seen from the table.

	Perfect Passive.	Present Active.
Genitive sing. with noun....	379	156
Genitive sing. without noun.	1	44
Genitive plu. with noun.....	140	128
Genitive plu. without noun..	59	247
Dative	361	721
Ablative with prepositions ..	459	137
Ablative without prepositions	191	132

The marked predominance of the perfect in the ablative is due largely to the occurrences with *de* (70: 10), *ex* (76: 12) and *pro* (44: 4), each of these prepositions referring to something that has been definitely realized, and furnishing a fixed rather than a moving basis of reference, as in 3, 18, 1 eadem nocte et Tusculum de arce capta Capitolioque occupato et alio turbatae urbis statu nuntii veniunt; 4, 17, 8 maior itaque ex civibus amissis dolor, quam laetitia fusis hostibus fuit; 4, 9, 1 veniunt pro veterrima societate renovatoque foedere recenti auxilium . . . implorantes. The comparative rarity of the ablative without prepositions is due to the free use of the ablative absolute.

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The differences in the genitive and dative indicate the greater adaptation of the present in the expression of personality. The participle takes the place of a relative clause, generally with a definite antecedent, and considering its function in the statement it may be taken as a participial noun or a nominal participle, for there is no grammatical Mason and Dixon's line cutting the participial current. The one doing is readily taken as the doer, and the reference is generally to some one mentioned in the context. However, the statement is sometimes indefinite and this may be illustrated by occurrences both of the genitive and of the dative. The most noticeable examples in the genitive are with *species, modo, in modum,* and *more,* where the comparison is with a member or members of a class. Some of the occurrences are in the singular, but the larger number are in the plural: 21, 2, 6 ridentis speciem praebuerit; 26, 27, 16 praebuit *speciem dolentis*; 35, 34, 9: 10, 35, 4 praebuere speciem tendentium; 22, 17, 5; 28, 34, 11; 40, 5, 4: 5, 22, 6 sequentis modo; 27, 16, 11; and 28, 30, 9 fugientis m.; 29, 34, 10 Masinissa ex composito nunc terrentis nunc timentis m. obequitabat: 5, 22, 3 sed colentium magis quam rapientium m.; 22, 19, 9 fugientium magis e terra quam in pugnam euntium m.: 5, 15, 4 vaticinantis in modum; 6, 14, 11 contionantis in m.: 21, 41, 4 in m. fugientium; 27, 16, 8; 37, 46, 8. The plural is also associated with *more* 30, 16, 4 adulantium; 34, 13, 6 bellantium; 37, 55, 1 petentium; 44, 9, 9 pugnantium; and perhaps 40, 9, 8 comisantium in vicem *more.*

Some occurrences of the dative will also illustrate: 6, 15, 13 vereor ne abstuleritis observantibus etiam oculos; 9, 17, 1 legentibus; 21, 12, 2 si periculum est apud vos vera referentibus; 22, 22, 11 perfugium novas volentibus res; 22, 38, 9 duas faces novantibus res; 4, 53, 7 detractantibus militiam inhibenti. Such datives are comparatively freely used with adjectives, especially *similis* and *opportunus* the comparison being with persons not mentioned in the narrative, as in 5, 28, 4 ferme regenti similis; 6, 13, 3 fluctuanti similis acies erat; 24, 37, 2 op. insidiantibus; 30, 4, 3; 34, 49, 10; 9, 19, 8 facilis partienti .... facilis iungenti; 9, 16, 18 incommodum ambulantibus; 31, 30, 3 praedas ... agi misera magis quam indigna patienti esse.

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We have indicated in the genitive the occurrences with and without nouns, but the latter for the most part belong with some noun not far away. The one occurrence of the gen. sing. of the perfect alone is in 38, 24, 9 iugulati praecisum caput ipsa involutum veste ferens, where *centurionem* precedes and *caput centurionis* follows. 4, 14, 6 may be similar respersus cruore [obtruncati], though the genitive is not in V, and is bracketed by Weissenborn-Müller. The forms most freely used are the singular of the passive with nouns and the plural of the active without nouns, and though differently distributed the singular of one form equals the plural of the other.

In the dative there are twice as many examples of the present participle as of the perfect passive, and this is a frequency of more than three to one relative to the entire mass. This is but another indication of the personal character of the dative which frequently gives us the person in action. So free is the usage of Livy that there is no clear line of demarcation between the dative and the ablative absolute, and interpretations often differ; see A. J. P. XXIII 296. While the present is especially prominent in some connections, for the most part the syntactical connections of the two participles are the same. The larger part are associated with verbs, or with complex of noun and verb, as in 2, 8, 7 postem iam tenenti consuli foedum . . . nuntium incutiunt; and 8, 33, 8 tibi fugienti exercitus tui, fugienti senatus iudicium, iudicem fero. Datives which have an additional possessive meaning are used with considerable freedom, and most of these are associated with a word indicating some part of the body, e. g. 2, 49, 7 praetereuntibus Capitolium arcemque et alia templa, quidquid deorum oculis, quidquid animo occurrit, precantur; 26, 7, 3 multa secum . . . volventi subiit animum impetus; and 39, 42, 12 loquenti Gallo caput primum percussisse, deinde fugienti fidemque . . . imploranti latus transfodisse. Of the different classes of the dative only two need special mention. 1. The dative with adjectives, and 2. The dative of reference.

1. *Adjectives.*—The perfect occurs 31 times with 23 different adjectives, while we have noticed 94 occurrences of the present with 44 different adjectives, forms of *obvius* (20) occurring most frequently, while *invius* is found 21, 30, 9 nihil

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. . portanti quid invium aut inexsuperabile esse; and *pervius* 26, 39, 14 perviae naves pugnantibus erant. Other adjectives occurring most frequently are *facilis* (6), *difficilis* (4), *similis* (3), *opportunus* (6). With the exception of ten others (26 examples) there are only single occurrences of the remaining twenty-seven.

2. *Reference.*—This construction is apparently Grecian in its origin, and is used now and then by Livy to indicate either the local or the mental point of view: 1, 8, 5 nunc saeptus descendentibus inter duos lucos; 42, 15, 5 ascendentibus maceria erat; 26, 24, 11 ab Aetolia incipientibus . . . essent; 32, 4, 3 eunti loco alto siti sunt; and similar to these 32, 4, 4 transeunti . . . panditur. In other passages an adjective is used: 26, 26, 2 sita Anticyra est in Locride laeva parte sinum Corinthiacum intranti; 28, 5, 18 petenti ad laevam . . . prima posita est. The mental view is indicated in the following: 7, 10, 6 nequiquam visu specie aestimantibus pares; 37, 58, 8 vere aestimantibus Aetolicum magis . . . quam regium fuit; 10, 30, 4 magna fama vero stanti. The Greek is imitated 21, 50, 10 quibusdam volentibus novas res fuere.

The following table giving the occurrences of the nominative of the future participle shows that in the expression of mere futurity the greatest freedom was in the first Decade in which it is used the least in the expression of real or apparent design.

	Dec I.	III.	IV.	V.	Total.
Futurity	19	14	14	3	50
Design	5	14	8	8	35
Apparent design with *ut*, etc.	1	4	7	2	14
	25	32	29	13	99

The participles expressing mere futurity are one-half the entire number, *futurus* occurring some half a dozen times. Into most of the occurrences after verbs of motion we read design, though there are a few exceptions, e. g. 6, 22, 9 extemplo in aciem procedunt nihil dilaturi quin periculum summae rerum facerent; 30, 32, 4 procedunt . . . multa ante parta decora aut cumulaturi eo die aut aversuri; and 34, 37, 6 in stationes non ultra quieturi discurrunt. The normal statement for mere futurity can be seen from 26, 38, 8 cum . . . ageret mox de Blattio cogniturus . . . Blattius appellabat; 30, 11, 2 se continebat

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regno neutiquam quieturus; and 31, 24, 8 conquiescere agmen iussit vi aperta propalam usurus.

The future activity is sometimes conditioned on the performance of some other activity giving the basis for coming operations: 9, 29, 4 quieturus haud dubie, nisi ultro arma Etrusci inferrent; 22, 12, 2; 31, 46, 8; 35, 39 4; 9, 38, 7 Sabinos petituri, si Marcius dimicandi potestatem non faciat. There is in a few instances a similar usage after verbs of motion: 21, 17, 6 missus in Siciliam ita in Africam transmissurus, si ad arcendum . . . alter satis esset; 23, 14, 6; 29, 35, 6 convertit eam deinde, si cepisset, sedem ad cetera exsequenda habiturus; 3, 60, 8 egreditur castris Romanus vallum invasurus, ni copia pugnae fieret. In the expression of ostensible design *ut* and *tamquam* occur oftener than *velut*, though in other connections the latter is the particle most freely used.[1]

Distinctions of time are inherent in the different participles, and for this reason time is the most important element involved. Yet this, especially with the present, is often subordinated to personality which may be emphasized with other participles also. But as either element may be emphasized at will no definite limits can be fixed for either. With some prepositions we have a substituted temporal element, and with others a causal, while the frequency of some others with participles is dependent on the expression of progressive or perfected actions. Of the future it may be said that though relatively not important it is used with more freedom by Livy than by Cicero. We do not have the material for other comparisons of participles except for the Epistles, yet all the elements combined—nominatives of deponents, ablatives absolute, and those considered in this paper are as worthy of attention as the strictly nominal or verbal elements of Livy's syntax.

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[1] See Steele, Conditional Statements in Livy, p. 46 seqq.

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IV.—DER APOKALYPSE TEXT IN DEM KOMMENTAR-CODEX MESSINA 99.

In No. 135 (Vol. XXXIV, 3) dieser Zeitschrift hat Herr Hoskier eine im Jahr 1901 von Diekamp den Forschern vorgeführte und eingehend gewürdigte Handschrift, jetzt in Messina in der Biblioteca dell' Università als No. 99 liegend, die unter anderem den Text der Apokalypse Johannis mit einem Oekumenius zugeschriebenen Kommentar enthält, auf den Charakter und Wert des Textes der Apokalypse untersucht und, da er ihren Wert hoch einschätzt, mich vor den Lesern dieser Zeitschrift unter schweren Vorwürfen getadelt, dass ich die Varianten dieser Handschrift nicht in den Apparat meines Werkes aufgenommen habe.

So bitte ich um die Erlaubnis, vor den Lesern dieses Journals, dessen Artikel mit gutem Grund für sie massgebend zu sein pflegen, die Ergebnisse Hoskiers nachprüfen zu dürfen. Die Handschrift ist in der Hauptsache ein Zeuge der im Mittelalter herrschenden Textform; doch finden sich gelegentlich Lesarten, die dieser fremd sind, dagegen zum Teil bald da, bald dort in anderen Handschriften auch begegnen. Hoskier richtet nun, und mit Recht, sein Augenmerk auf die Lesarten, welche sich in alten Versionen oder in den ältesten uns erhaltenen Codices wiederfinden.

Im Interesse der Kürze und der Uebersichtlichkeit meiner Nachprüfung seiner Ergebnisse bitte ich mir zu erlauben, die in meinem Werk gebrauchten Sigla für die dort nachgewiesenen Texttypen und für die sie repräsentierenden Handschriften einzusetzen. Mit H bezeichne ich den ägyptischen Text, weil ich Hesychius als seinen Redactor vermute. Seine drei Hauptzeugen, die bisher als ℵ C A siglierten Unzialcodices, bezeichne ich mit δ2 δ3 δ4. Die im Mittelalter zur Herrschaft gelangte, aber zweifellos viel ältere Textform, als deren Heimat ich mit Hoskier Syrien ansehe, bezeichne ich mit K (=Κοινή). Die unter sich näher verwandten von H und K stark abweichenden Typen vereinige ich unter dem Siglum I, da ich sie sämmtlich

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als Abkömmlinge eines in Jerusalem oder Caesarea von Pamphilus und Eusebius redigierten Archetypus nachweisen zu können glaube. Die verschiedenen diesen Archetyp abwandelnden Typen unterscheide ich durch dem Generalsiglum I als Exponenten beigegebene Buchstaben und Zahlen. Die von Hoskier untersuchte Messina-Handschrift sei mit 31 bezeichnet. Die gelegentlich zu erwähnenden Handschriften zitiere ich mit den Nummern, die sie in meinem Werke führen. Die lateinische Handschrift, deren Verwandtschaft mit 31 Hoskier nachweisen will, den sogenannten Gigas, bezeichne ich mit g.

An die Spitze stellt H. die Berührungen mit g. Er findet deren nicht ganz wenige. Einige sind zu streichen, die aus 15, 8. 19, 4. 3, 3. 6, 7. 4, 6. 18, 16 angeführten. 15, 8 repräsentiert das consummaretur, in g τελεσθῶσιν, den auch von 31 festgehaltenen Text. Denn das im Kommentar an die Stelle gesetzte, aus Luk. 21, 4 eingedrungene πληρωθῶσιν übersetzt g, wie 6, 11 zeigt, mit implere; g und der Text von 31 weichen also nicht vom herrschenden Text ab. 19, 4 schreibt 31 nach 3, 21 ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ statt ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ. (H. sagt: statt ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου; so muss in dem von ihm benützten Druckexemplar, das unverkennbar ein Abdruck der Regia des Stephanus ist, stehen; aber diese Lesart hat nur wenige Zeugen und kann für den herrschenden Text nicht irgend in Frage kommen.) g schreibt nun allerdings in sede. Aber wie anders sollte er ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ übersetzen? Auch 21, 5, wo ἐπὶ τῷ θρόνῳ unbestritten steht, schreibt er in sede. Hoskiers Schluss, dass g hier ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ voraussetze, ist also unberechtigt. 3, 3 kann g ἐπί σε nur mit ad te übersetzen. Wenn nun 31, wie hier auch andere, und sonst im Neuen Testament ungezählte Codices es tun, ἐπί durch das geläufigere πρός ersetzt, wer beweist, dass dies auch bei g zu Grunde liegt? 6, 7, wo, wie später zu berücksichtigen sein wird, 31 und g φωνῆς auslassen, schreibt 31 (ebenso δ 3) statt τοῦ τετάρτου ζώου (nach ἤκουσα) τὸ τέταρτον ζῶον, den in der Apokalypse bei ἀκούειν herrschenden Casus. g aber kann nur den Accusativ wählen bei audire, wie er v 3 und v 5, wo 31 τοῦ δευτέρου, τοῦ τρίτου ζώου festhält, secundum und tertium animal schreibt. Von einer Berührung von 31 und g kann also hier nicht gesprochen werden. 4, 6 ist die Omission, die beide teilen, durch einen Sprung von καί zu καί verschuldet. Bei den ungezählten Sprüngen in beiden, wie in allen Apokalypsen-Codices, zu

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denen der Stil der Apokalypse besonders viel Anlass giebt, kann das Zusammentreffen beider in demselben Sprung ein reiner Zufall sein, darf also nicht als Berührung gewertet werden. 18, 16 endlich gehen g und 31 in der Addition von ἐν vor χρυσῷ mit K, wie 31 meist, g sehr häufig, in Folge dessen noch zahllose Male wie hier, gemeinsam. Da Hoskier nicht alle g und 31 gemeinsamen K-Lesarten als Beweis dieser Verwandtschaft aufzuführen wagt, muss er auch auf 18, 16 verzichten. Er führt es nur auf, weil hier ausnahmsweise sein Drucktext nicht mit K geht.

Aber auch die durch Reminiszenzen entstandenen Lesarten, in denen g und 31 zusammentreffen, sind mindestens nicht beweiskräftig. Denn beide Codices, wiederum wie alle anderen, erliegen oft Reminiszenzen. Sollte es da nicht ebensogut Zufall wie Berührung sein können, wenn sie, selten genug, einmal dieselbe Reminiszenz walten lassen? So sind aus Hoskiers Listen mindestens als unsichere Beweise für eine Berührung zurückzustellen: 1, 7. 6, 7. 7, 2. 1, 7 ist besonders lehrreich. g und 31 schreiben ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ statt μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν. Sie wählen die berühmte solemne Formel des Herrenworts in Matth. 24, 30. 26, 40. Kann nicht die Formel der Evangelien direkt auf beide Urkunden eingewirkt haben? Zumal sie in δ 3 nur ἐπί statt μετά, in einem Minuskelcodex nur die Addition von τοῦ οὐρανοῦ bewirkt hat. 6, 7 omittieren beide nach v 3 und v 5 φωνήν, 7, 2 addieren beide nach v 1 καὶ τὰ δένδρα. Muss da eine Beziehung zwischen den beiden Urkunden g und 31 vorliegen? Volle Zurückhaltung erfordert auch der Fall, dass nur der Kommentar mit g sich berührt, wie 1, 14 in der Addition von καί vor ὡσεί, was sich auch in 1073 findet wie sehr häufig dieselbe Addition vor dem unmittelbar vorhergehenden ὡς. Was nun übrig bleibt, ist immer noch von problematischem Gewicht, zumal da es so verschwindend wenig ist. 9, 2 bietet K, das von Reminiszenzen wimmelt, nach 1, 15. 8, 8 καιομένης statt μεγάλης. 31 und g, aber ebenso $I^{b1}Sy^{s}$ schreiben nun μεγάλης καιομένης. Da sind drei Möglichkeiten, für deren jede die Textgeschichte des Neuen Testaments Analogien bietet: in der Vorlage war aus der Parallelstelle oder als Variante aus K καιομένης über μεγάλης geschrieben, die Schreiber zogen es als Addition in den Text; oder sie haben aus eigener Initiative die sich aufdrängende Reminiszenz in die Feder laufen

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lassen; oder sie haben die ihnen geläufige K-Lesart auf diese Weise zu ihrem Recht kommen lassen neben dem ihnen fremden Text, den sie abzuschreiben hatten. Ein literarischer Zusammenhang unter den Zeugen, die *μεγάλης καιομένης* bieten, ist also nicht zu beweisen. 22, 5 schreiben 31 und g *οὐχ ἕξουσιν* statt *οὐκ ἔχουσιν*. Genügt dazu nicht für jede von beiden der Context mit seinem *οὐκ ἔσται*? Nun bleibt nur noch eine einzige Berührung. 12, 13 schreiben beide *ἐδίωκεν* statt *ἐδίωξεν*. δ 2* tritt mit dem verschriebenen *ἔδωκεν* dazu. Aber wie häufig vertauschen Schreiber Imperfect und Aorist! Ueberdies lag den Schreibern *ἐδίωκεν* von Joh. 8, 16. Act. 26, 11. Gal. 1, 13. 4, 29 im Ohr, hier noch besonders herangelockt durch den Anklang an *ἔτεκεν*.

Selbst wenn man nun einige dieser Gemeinsamkeiten auf gemeinsame Quellen, nicht nur auf beiderseitig wirkende Ursachen zurückführt, wozu die mehrfache Wiederholung Anlass geben mag, wer weiss, durch welche Mittelglieder beiden diese Varianten zuflossen! Kann man da von literarischer Berührung reden und darauf bestimmte Schlüsse bauen?

Ebenso ist zu urteilen über die von Hoskier behaupteten Berührungen seines Codex 31 mit den beiden anderen alten Versionen, falls sie so alt sind, der von Gwynn herausgegebenen syrischen und der bohairischen. Mit der ersteren hat er nur gemeinsam an Sonderlesarten 1, 15 die Omission von *ὡς*[1] — zwischen *ω* und *ε* — und 19, 14 die Addition von *καί* vor *ἐνδεδυμένοι*. Da kann ein Kirchenvater oder ein Kommentar durch allerlei Mittelglieder auf beiden Linien die Gemeinsamkeit veranlasst haben. Irgend einen Schluss auf Berührungen von 31 mit der syrischen Version oder deren Quellen gestattet dieses Zusammentreffen nicht. Nicht anders steht es bei der bohairischen Version. Sie und 31 schreiben 1, 13 (nicht "1, 16") *ἐν τοῖς* statt *πρὸς τοῖς*. Das ungewöhnliche *πρός* mit Dativ hat aber bei den Schreibern immer einen schweren Stand; auch hier schreiben *ἐν* ausser 31 der Typ I^{o1} und die Codices 53* 1073. 18, 6 fehlt in boh und 31 *κεράσατε* nach *ἐκέρασαν*; da die Auslassung sinnlos ist, als Schreibfehler aber sehr nahe liegt, ist dies überhaupt nicht als "Lesart" zu bewerten.

So ist es eine trügerische Hoffnung Hoskier's, dass der Schreiber dieses Textes "sheds additional light on the interrelation of the versions at an early date and shows to us his sources without being aware of the fact".

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Auch Hippolyt wird ausscheiden müssen. Denn von seinen zahlreichen und teilweise interessanten Sonderlesarten weiss H. keine in 31 nachzuweisen. Wenn sie aber beide 18, 22 σαλπιγκτῶν schreiben, während das für den Urtext gesicherte σαλπιστῶν nicht selten, auch von δ 2, durch σαλπίγγων nach 8, 6 ersetzt wird, so sind sie beide einer Halbkorrektur unterlegen. Die einzige weitere Gemeinsamkeit aber, βρέξῃ statt βρέχῃ 11, 6, ist eine naheliegende Einwirkung von Jak 5, 17, die ebenfalls auch in anderen Codices sich findet $I^{a1\ 41}$ 1073, 1573 (falsch ist also H.'s "with Hippolytus alone").

Aber Hoskier glaubt nun, und das ist ihm offenbar das Wertvollste an dem Codex 31, vermittelst δ 2 δ 3 δ 4 nahe Beziehungen zu dem alten ägyptischen Text in ihm nachweisen zu können. Die Nachweise für δ 3 und δ 4 lösen sich ähnlich auf, wie beim Gigas. Dass 14, 18 δ 3 φωνῇ statt κραυγῇ schreibe, beruht auf einem Irrtum, scheidet also aus; δ 3 schreibt κραυγῇ. Dass δ 3 1, 7 mit Mt 24, 30. 26, 40 ἐπί statt μετά und 6, 7 τὸ τέταρτον ζῶον nach ἤκουσα schreibt, ist schon bei g oben gewürdigt worden. 14, 8 schreibt zwar Hoskiers Druckexemplar, wie die Regia so oft mit I-Typen gehend, ὅτι, aber der wirkliche Text (H sy vulg, dazu $I^{b1\ 01}$) schreibt ᾗ; K omittiert dies ᾗ. 31 geht nun, wie manchesmal, hier nicht mit K; dass δ 3 ᾗ bietet, ist selbstverständlich, von einer Berührung zwischen δ 3 und 31 kann also nicht geredet werden. Wenn die beiden Schreiber, wie an anderen Stellen manche anderen, 12, 4 ἄστρων statt ἀστέρων oder 8, 1 wie δ 4 und manche anderen ἡμίωρον statt ἡμιώριον schreiben, so wird H. selbst zugeben, dass dies nichts beweisen kann. Ebensowenig der von H. nicht für δ 3 notierte Sprung von τοῦ zu τοῦ in 18, 3. Zufall kann auch 13, 8 die gemeinsame Addition von αὐτοῦ nach ὄνομα, bei beiden aus v 6 geflossen, und 6, 8 die gemeinsame Omission von καί (31 nur im Text entgegen dem Kommentar) sein. Da K καὶ εἶδον auslässt, kann letzteres beidemal eine Halbkorrektur nach K sein; als Lesart kann es ja überhaupt nicht bestehen, also auch keine Ueberlieferung hinter sich haben. So bleiben als bedeutsamer nur zwei Varianten. Erstens 11, 18 κλῆρος statt καιρός; aber gerade hier geht nur der Kommentar, nicht der Text von 31 mit δ 3. Da aber in δ 3 Buchstabenversehen und Itacismen nicht selten sind, kann einfach die Verwechslung von Α und Λ, und die

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Gleichstellung von η und ι im Klang die Lesart veranlasst haben. Sodann 3, 17 οὐδέν statt οὐδενός mit δ 4 I^{a1} u. a. Da 31 sonst keinerlei charakteristische Varianten mit δ 3 teilt, kann von einer gemeinsamen Vorlage keine Rede sein.

Und wie steht es mit δ 4? Auszuschalten ist 13, 10, wo δ 4 ἀποκτανθῆναι für ἀποκτενεῖ, dagegen 31 ἀποκτενεῖν schreibt; ersteres ist aus v 10^{b} eingedrungen, letzteres ein Augenfehler, da ein Fleck in der Vorlage für den ν ersetzenden Strich über ει angesehen wurde. Dann sind zunächst nicht weniger als drei der von H. angeführten Gemeinsamkeiten naheliegende Sprünge, die mehrfach auch sonst sich finden: 18, 3 von τοῦ zu τοῦ, 21, 11 von θεοῦ zu θεοῦ (καί, was H. dazustellt und dadurch den Sprung sich verhüllt, steht nicht im Text, sondern nur in seinem Druck), 22, 11 von καί zu καί. Auch die Omission von οὐρανοῦ nach ναοῦ 16, 17 kann durch Homoioteleuton, ebenso aber durch Reminiszenz an 14, 15 veranlasst sein. Auch die Omission von ἐξῆλθεν vor ἐκ 14, 18 kann ein Sprung sein, wie sie sich denn noch mehrfach in von einander unabhängigen Codices findet (übrigens auch im Gigas). Durch Reminiszenzen können unabhängig von einander veranlasst sein die δ 4 und 31 gemeinsamen Lesarten: 7, 16 οὐδὲ μή statt οὐδέ nach v 16^{b} (noch andere Codices), 17, 8 ὑπάγει statt ὑπάγειν nach v 11 (auch bei Irenaeus, Hippolytus und in 4 I-Codices ist ὑπάγει überliefert), 18, 10 μίαν ὥραν statt μιᾷ ὥρᾳ nach Matth 26, 40 (noch mehrfach nachgewiesen), 13, 8 addit αὐτοῦ post ὄνομα nach v 6, 14, 18 φωνή statt κραυγή nach v 15 u. ö. Einwirkungen des unmittelbaren Contextes können, unabhängig von einander, bei beiden sein: 5, 6 ἀπεσταλμένοι statt -μένα nach οἵ, 17, 3 γέμοντα statt γέμον nach ὀνόματα (nur γέμοντα, nicht ἔχοντα schreiben wie 31 δ 4 auch 1073; γέμοντα und ἔχοντα δ 2 3), wenn es nicht aus 4, 6 eindrang. Lassen wir dies alles ausser Rechnung, da es auch anders erklärt werden kann, als durch Berührungen der Texte in ihrer Vergangenheit, so bleiben nur 5 ernster zu erwägende Gemeinsamkeiten in der ganzen Apokalypse. Am wenigsten Gewicht käme, wenn es allein stünde, 22, 8 dem gemeinsamen ἔβλεπον statt ἔβλεψα zu. Hier legte sich die Parallele des Erlebnisses des Paulus mit dem des Johannes aus Act. 22, 11 (ἐνέβλεπον), 9, 8 (ἔβλεπεν) doch nahe genug, auch Joh. 13, 22 könnte mitklingen, und Mk 8, 25 (wo H. wieder fälschlich

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nach seinem Drucktext das nur durch K vertretene ἐνέβλεψεν als Text annimmt und daraus schliesst, dass man in Ägypten das Imperfect liebte). Nun kommen aber dazu 18, 21 μύλινον statt μύλον (δ 3 μυλικόν nach Lk 17, 2), 3, 17 οὐδέν statt οὐδενός (ebenso δ 3 I^{a1} u. a.), 19, 6 omisit $ὡς^2$, was nach $ὡς^1$ entbehrlich schien, 22, 5 οὐχ ἕξουσιν statt οὐκ ἔχουσιν mit gig. sy^s, entsprechend dem vorangehenden οὐκ ἔσται, mit $sy^c g$. Jedes einzelne Zusammentreffen ist erklärbar aus bei beiden gleichartig wirkenden Ursachen. Das wiederholte Zusammentreffen fordert eine andere Erklärung.

Und diese Forderung unterstützt die unleugbare Berührung mit δ 2. Auch hier ist freilich manches, was H. anführt, ausser Rechnung zu stellen. Die Omission 9, 2f ist ein Sprung von καπνοῦ zu καπνοῦ, in δ 2 korrigiert, für 31 durch den Kommentar widerlegt. 6, 15 steht ἰσχυροί, das 31 und δ 2 bieten, im Text, δυνατοί in H.'s Drucktext schreibt nur I^{a2}, ein nur von 6 Handschriften repräsentierter Untertyp. 5, 5 schreibt wieder nur H.'s Text mit I^{a2} und I^{a6} ὁ ὤν. Sonst ist nur ὁ überliefert. Aber der Verzicht auf ὁ, wenn dadurch die Phrase ὁ λέων ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα entsteht, lag doch nahe, wenn nicht O vor ε vom Auge übersprungen wurde, findet sich denn auch noch mindestens dreimal. 21, 18 omittiert nur 31 und zwar mit H I^{a} g ἦν, während δ 2* wie auch I^{a5} nach v 18^b ἡ schreiben. 16, 14 ist die Omission von ἐκείνης nach ἡμέρας sicher Urtext, den beide mit H $I^{b1\ o1}$ 1073, 1573 g vulg arm vertreten, da die Addition von ἐκείνης den bekannten Terminus einführte. 9, 6 φυγή statt φεύγει (so, nicht φεύξεται, was wieder nur in H.'s Druckvorlage steht, lautet der Text) ist eine itacistische Verschreibung, für die es ungezählte Analogien, insbesondere bei δ 2 giebt. 21, 20 schreibt H I ἀμέθυστος, K ἀμέθυσος, δ 2* ἀμεθύστινος, 31 ἀμεθυντίνως. Beides kann einer missverstandenen interlinearen Eintragung von τ die Entstehung verdanken, indem das τ als Abkürzung von τιν-, der Adjectivform, angesehen wurde. Dass der Schreiber von 31 nicht ganz bei der Sache war, verrät sein ν statt σ. 14, 13 lässt δ 2* ναί weg, καί schreiben wie 31 auch noch andere Minuskeln, ebenso der Corrector von δ 2. Nun finden sich wieder eine ganze Anzahl Reminiszenzen. 1, 17 εἰς l πρός nach Joh. 11, 32 (ebenso 1073 u. a.), ebenda om μὴ φοβοῦ nach 22, 13 (ebenso I^{a5}), 9, 13 om τεσσάρων nach Ex. 19, 12 Ps. 118, 27 Lev. sechsmal, 1 Reg.

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dreimal u. s. w. (übrigens ganz H, ebenso $I^{a46}I^{b1}$ g vulg, kann also als Beweis für eine Berührung mit δ 2 gar nicht in Frage kommen), 10, 9 *βιβλίον* statt *βιβλαρίδιον*, der in K herrschende Ausdruck, in v 10 ausser von δ 2 von ganz K eingesetzt, 14, 18 *φωνή* statt *κραυγή* (von H. irrtümlich δ 3 zugeschrieben) nach v 15 und sonst (hier ebenso δ 4 I^{b1} 1573 lat sy!), 18, 19 *τῆς κεφαλῆς* statt *τὰς κεφαλάς* nach 10, 1, 19, 17 *ἄλλον* statt *ἕνα* nach 18, 1 u. ö. (auch $I^{a1\ 501}$ sy sa bo), 19, 20 *τὴν εἰκόνα* statt *τῇ εἰκόνι* (H. *εἰκόνῃ*) nach 14, 9. 20, 4 (ebenso $I^{b1\ 41}$ K^{c} g vulg; Latinismus), 20, 2 add ὁ vor *διάβολος* nach v 10 (I^{b1} 1573 u. a.), 22, 6 add ὁ vor *κύριος* nach v 5 (übrigens ganz H ebenso 1073 u. a.). Bei den zahlreichen Reminiszenzen in δ 2 und fast in jeder späteren Handschrift kann selbst die relativ grosse Zahl dieser δ 2 mit 31 gemeinsamen Anklänge an andere Stellen eine Beziehung zwischen beiden nicht beweisen. Beweisend für eine Beziehung sind auch nicht folgende Gemeinsamkeiten: 8, 13 om *ἐν* (31 nur der Text, nicht der Kommentar), da 14, 6 I^{a3} dasselbe tut, 9, 12 om ἡ vor *οὐαί* (ebenso $I^{b1\ 41}$), da *οὐαί* ja meist ohne Artikel steht, 11, 16 om *οἱ* nach *καί* (vgl. 4, 4), wie auch δ 4 und andere von einander ganz unabhängige Handschriften schreiben, 15, 3 *ᾄδοντας* statt *ᾄδουσιν* (nach Eph. 5, 19) wie auch Prim und vulg, 17, 3 *γέμοντα* und *ἔχοντα* nach *ὀνόματα*, 14, 19 *τὴν μεγάλην* statt *τὸν μέγαν* nach *λίμνην* (übrigens ganz I). Wie vorsichtig man mit Schlüssen sein muss bei solchen Zusammentreffen—es handelt sich hier um noch lange nicht 5 Prozent der Sonderlesarten von δ 2 in Apk—, dafür bringt H. selbst zwei treffende Belege, die er freilich eher für das Gegenteil zu verwerten geneigt ist. Erstens: 13, 8 schreibt 31, 2, 27 schreibt δ 2 *οὐρανοῦ* statt *ἀρνίου*, in Erinnerung an die Vorstellung von *βίβλοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, an die Luk. 10, 20 anspielt mit *τὰ ὀνόματα ὑμῶν ἐγγέγραπται ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*. Zweitens: 13, 9 schreibt 31 im Kommentar (nicht im Text) *νοῦν* statt *οὖς* nach v 18, v 18 schreibt δ 2* *οὖς* statt *νοῦν* nach v 9. Kaum ernst dürfte auch H. das Zusammentreffen beider Schreiber (31 wieder nur im Text, nicht im Kommentar) in der Sinnlosigkeit *ἐξουσιν* statt *ἐξουσίαν* 17, 12 nehmen. Nicht richtig ist, was H. (p. 312 Anm.) über die Zählung der Tore 21, 12 schreibt. δ 2 zählt mit dem Urtext deren 12, nur hat er, für den Schreiber von δ 2 ganz charakteristisch, die Himmelsgegenden

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confundiert, indem er *βορρᾶ* zweimal nennt und dafür *δυσμῶν* weglässt. In 31 dagegen war, wiederum ein ganz charakteristischer Fehler, in der Vorlage interlinear (aus Act. 8, 26. 22, 6?) *ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας* über *ἀπὸ βορρᾶ* eingetragen, wie $I^{a2\ 20t}$ I^{a5} statt *βορρᾶ* schreiben, und der Schreiber hatte die interlineare Variante des Ausdrucks in den Text als Addition eingerückt, ganz ähnlich, wie es I^{a45} macht, wo *καὶ ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας πυλῶνες τρεῖς* nach *τρεῖς*[4] eingestellt ist. Darnach zählte er oder schon seine Vorlage nun 15 Tore (nur der Text, nicht der Kommentar). Aber als er nun v 13 schrieb, passierten ihm zwei Sprünge von *τρεῖς* zu *τρεῖς*, so gehen die drei Tore *ἀπὸ τῆς μεσημβρίας* und die drei *ἀπὸ δυσμῶν* in seinem Text verloren. Das Zusammentreffen von δ 2 und 31 in der Omission von *καὶ τρεῖς ἀπὸ δυσμῶν* ist also reiner Zufall, da sie bei beiden ganz verschieden veranlasst ist. So bleibt zuletzt nur ein einziges wirklich bedeutsames Zusammentreffen übrig. Das ist 22, 14 der Ersatz von *ποιοῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ* durch *πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν* in einer Reminiszenz an 7, 14. Nur dass δ 2 und 31 darin nicht allein stehen, sondern ganz H I^{b2} 1573 vulg ihre Lesart teilen! Damit ist die Liste Hoskiers aufgearbeitet. Was bleibt davon zurück? Ganz verlorene Berührungen, verschwindend neben den Differenzen.

Beweist nun der gesamte Befund gegenüber den drei Zeugen des ägyptischen Textes δ 2 δ 3 δ 4, dass 31 in irgend welchem Sinn ein Zeuge dieses Textes ist? Da er nahezu keine der zahlreichen für H (d. h. den ägyptischen Text) charakteristischen Lesarten bietet, so muss für die verlorenen, schwerlich auf blossen Zufall beruhenden Gemeinsamkeiten eine andere Erklärung versucht werden. Nun ist 31 ein Kommentar-Codex. Sicher hat dem Verfasser dieses Kommentars noch der des Origenes oder eine Abart desselben vorgelegen, deren Lesarten er gelegentlich übernahm: Origenes hat aber ebenso, wie zahlreiche Belege beweisen, auf die eigentümlichen Abwandlungen des H-Textes in δ 2 eingewirkt. So beweist weder das Eindringen der erwogenen Lesarten in 31, soweit sie überhaupt nicht Zufallsprodukte der Ueberlieferung sind, noch der Umstand, dass sie sich auch in δ 2 finden, irgend etwas für den ägyptischen Charakter des Textes oder des "Oekumenius"-Kommentars, der uns in 31 aufbehalten ist. Statt dessen wagt nun H. die methodische Regel, dass sein

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Codex 31 feststellen helfen soll, wo die drei ägyptischen Unzialcodices falsche Lesarten bieten. Was müsste da nicht alles falsch sein! Man kann viel eher sagen, dass das Zusammentreffen eines der drei Unzialcodices mit dem mit seltenen Ausnahmen den K-Text bietenden Codex 31 den Verdacht steigert, dass dort der betreffende Unzialcodex nicht den ägyptischen Text bewahrt hat. Und was H. um den Wert dieses Maasstabs zu beweisen anführt, zeigt nur, dass er von einfacheren Entscheidungsmomenten ablenkt. So erweist sich 14, 12 *τῶν τηρούντων*, was δ 2 und einige andere Codices statt *οἱ τηροῦντες* schreiben, als secundär einfach dadurch, dass es eine Reminiszenz aus 12, 17, 21, 9 ist. *δέ* statt *γάρ* 14, 13 ist aber eine in δ 2 (hier wie sonst so oft) eingedrungene K-Lesart, daraus entstanden, dass man den Sinn von *γάρ* nicht mehr verstand. *πέπτωκαν* 14, 8, was übrigens nicht "ℵ C", sondern ℵ^{c} bietet (ℵ* hiat), ist nichts als eine gedankenlose sinnwidrige Reminiszenz an 18, 3. Wieder nimmt in einem der gleichwertigen weiteren Beispiele H. nach seinem Druckexemplar *λέγοντα* statt *λέγων* als Text an, während es nur von I^{a2} vertreten ist. Aber Hoskier sieht im Geist noch mehr Fäden. Er vermutet, dass auch Lesarten, die nur in seinem Codex 31 erhalten sind, uralt sein und in den verlorenen Kommentaren von Iustin (?), Irenaeus oder Origenes ihre Belege finden könnten. Aber um welche Sonderlesarten handelt es sich dabei nach Hoskiers eigener Liste? Er nennt zunächst solche, die den bekannten Charakter von Schreiberfehlern, an sich tragen: 21, 2 *ἀποκοσμημένην* statt *κεκοσμημένην*, 4, 5 *ἐκπέμπονται* statt *ἐκπορεύονται*, 3, 17 *ταπεινός* statt *ταλαίπωρος*, 22, 12 Dittographie von *ταχύ*; wohl auch das sinnlose *ἀκούοντι* statt *νικῶντι* 2, 7. Sodann erscheinen eine Anzahl von Reminiszenzen oder Contexteinwirkungen: 5, 4 *βλέψαι* statt *βλέπειν* nach *ἀνοῖξαι*, 11, 1 *μέτρησαι* statt *μέτρησον* nach *ἔγειρε* des Gleichklangs wegen, 8, 5 *ἔλαβεν* statt *εἴληφεν* nach 5, 8, wo v 7 *εἴληφεν* voranging, 10, 9 *φάγε* statt *κατάφαγε* nach v 10 und Mt 26, 26 (*λάβετε φάγετε*; hier *λάβε καὶ φάγε*), 13, 3 *ἐθαμβήθη* statt *ἐθαύμασεν* oder *ἐθαυμάσθη* (mit oder ohne *ἐν*) nach Mk 1, 27, 13, 12 *ἐνοικοῦντας* statt *κατοικοῦντας* nach 2 Tim 1, 14, 22, 7 *ἐρχόμεθα* statt *ἔρχομαι* nach Joh 14, 23, *μακάριοι οἱ τηροῦντες* statt *μακάριος ὁ τηρῶν* nach v 14. In 11, 8 ist ein Verbum oft vermisst worden; so ergänzen denn einige Codices *ἐάσει*, I^{a5} *ἔσονται*,

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δ 2c ἔσται, gig jacebunt, 503 ῥίψηται, und 31, nur 31, ψήσει. Eine exegetische Variante ist 8, 4 addit ἐν vor ταῖς προσευχαῖς. Ein Eindringling aus der Liturgie 1, 8 ὁ κύριος τῆς κτίσεως nach παντοκράτωρ. Eine unwillkürliche Analogie zu ἱερεῖς kann 1, 6 προφήτας statt πατρί sein. Ein erkennbarer Anlass fehlt nur für den Ersatz von καπνόν durch πόνον, (δ 4 τόπον wohl nach Lk 16, 28) in 18, 18 (nicht "v 14"). Gewiss können diese Anlässe zu den Textänderungen schon bei Origenes oder sonst wo gewirkt haben; aber ebensogut erst beim Schreiber von 31 oder bei einem der Schreiber der Vorfahren von 31 oder bei dem Verfasser des Kommentars. Irgend einen Anhalt, die Lesarten auf alte Urkunden oder auf Aegypten zurückzuführen, gibt Hoskier nicht an. Es gibt auch keinen. Dagegen weisen viele Texteigentümlichkeiten des Codex neben der Gruppe $I^{0\ 2}$, zu der er gehört, auf den Typ I^{b1}, auch auf die unter einander verwandten Codices 1073 und 1573, das heisst in spätere Entwicklungsphasen des Textes.

Das Endergebnis dieser Nachprüfung ist, dass der Apokalypsetext des Codex 31 kein irgend nennenswertes Interesse für sich in Anspruch nehmen kann. Er unterscheidet sich kaum mehr von K, als zahlreiche Zeugen des K Textes in allen neutestamentlichen Schriften es tun. Die Abweichungen sind grösstenteils entweder die üblichen Schreiberleistungen oder Reminiszenzen. Der kleine Rest, auch einige der eben genannten, mögen aus dem Original oder den Entwicklungsphasen des "Oekumenius"-Kommentars oder der Vorgeschichte dieses Zeugen desselben stammen, andere auf unkontrollierbaren Wegen—es gibt deren unübersehbar viele—von weit her ihm zugewandert sein. Hoskier hätte seine Schlüsse aus diesen Varianten und deren gelegentlicher Wiederkehr in anderen Codices nicht gewagt, hätte er nicht, der hergebrachten Methode folgend, die Varianten und deren Mitzeugen einfach auf einer Fläche an einander gereiht, ohne 1. deren Charakter und damit mögliche Entstehung in Betracht zu ziehen, 2. die Verhältniszahl derselben zu den Differenzen festzustellen, 3. die 1000 Wege, auf denen einzelne Varianten sich durch die Länder und Jahrhunderte durchfristen können, zu erwägen. Ich wage zu sagen, eine solche Behandlung eines Textes, wie sie hier durch Hoskier dem Codex 31 zuteil wurde, ist nicht nur wertlos, indem man nur disjecta membra zu gruppieren sucht, sondern eher geeig-

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net, den Knäuel so zu verwirren, dass er unentwirrbar wird, als zur Entwirrung zu helfen, und darum geeignet, ernste Forscher von der Textkritik eher abzuschrecken, als sie auf das so interessante und vielversprechende Feld zu locken, das so dringend nach Arbeitern verlangt.

Doch von Hoskiers Methode nun abgesehen gestehe ich gegenüber den Vorwürfen gegen mich, mit denen er seinem Artikel einen so überraschenden Schluss gibt, zu, dass dieser Messina-Codex so gut wie manch einer von denen, denen ich nach langem Schwanken doch noch die Aufnahme in meinen Apparat gewährt habe, der Aufnahme würdig gewesen wäre. Der Typ I^{o2} hätte dann noch einen Zeugen mehr erhalten. Aber da dieser Typ unter allen der uninteressanteste ist, schien mir eine Vertretung desselben durch drei bis vier Zeugen zu genügen, zumal meine Kollation des Codex ihn als eine sehr nahe Dublette von O^{a30} (Rom Vat. Gr. 1426) bestätigte. Zugeben muss ich, dass mir, als ich darum auf eine wörtliche Kollation verzichtete, nicht gegenwärtig war, dass O^{a30} eine grosse Lücke hat, die er glücklich ergänzt hätte. Das ist wohl ein verzeihliches Versehen, wenn man über eine so unübersehbare Zahl von Codices in jedem Augenblick Entscheidung zu treffen bereit sein muss. Wenn aber Hoskier behauptet, dass ich den Codex nicht kollationiert hätte und daraus verletzende Anklagen erhebt, so kann er seinerseits nicht gelesen haben, was ich S. 2051f schrieb, dass ich ihn zurückgestellt hätte, nachdem er sich mir als nahe Dublette zu O^{a30} ergeben hatte, wofür ich dort detaillierten Nachweis geführt habe. Und wenn er weiter schreibt, dass ich beanspruche, mit meiner Arbeit "to represent the dernier cri of criticism", so kann er mein Buch überhaupt nicht gelesen haben, nicht einmal die Einleitung zu meinem Textband, wo ich S. XII f. erkläre, dass ich in den Apparat meine Kollationen nur aufgenommen habe, "wenn sie nicht auf wenige Kapitel beschränkt oder allzu cursorisch gemacht waren", und beifüge: "Zuzugestehen ist, dass dabei manche Zeugen nicht zu ihrer verdienten Verwertung gekommen sein mögen", und bekenne: "Eine systematische Nachlese wird darum noch manche wertvolle Ergänzung zu meinem Apparat zu Tage fördern". Das ganze Buch ist aber durchdrungen von dem Bewusstsein, dass nun erst die Einzelarbeit einzusetzen habe und auf wirkliche

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Ergebnisse hoffen könne, nachdem der Verlauf der Textgeschichte in groben Linien aufgedeckt sei. Es ist nicht mehr als ein Rohbau, bei dem noch manche Einzeldisposition der Berichtigung bedürfen und nicht weniger als alles nachzuprüfen und allmählich ins Feine auszuarbeiten sein wird. Das alles ist ungefähr das Gegenteil eines "dernier cri". Ich muss darum diese Charakterisierung meiner Arbeit als eine mit allen meinen Erklärungen in offenem Widerspruch stehende Imputation und das angefügte Urteil "is worthy of the strongest condemnation, for it misleads the public" als actenwidriges Urteil und ein wirkliches misleading the public aufs schärfste zurückweisen.

HERMANN VON SODEN †.

BERLIN, *November*, 1913.

NOTE.—Der vorstehende Artikel war von der Redaktion des American Journal of Philology angenommen, aber im Druck noch nicht vollendet, als sein Verfasser durch einen Unglücksfall dem Leben entrissen wurde. Ich fühlte mich verpflichtet, den Herausgeber dennoch um die Veröffentlichung zu bitten. Einmal darf der Gegenstand bei den Fachgenossen allgemeineres Interesse in Anspruch nehmen; handelt es sich dabei doch nicht um die letztlich irrelevante Beurteilung einer einzelnen Handschrift des Neuen Testaments, sondern um die daran zu illustrierende Methode der Handschriftenvergleichung und der Variantenbewertung überhaupt. Sodann erschien es ebenso geboten, den Verstorbenen und sein Lebenswerk gegen die ehrverletzenden Vorwürfe von Herrn Hoskier am Schluss seines Artikels zu schützen, wie sich der Lebende ihrer Zurückweisung nicht hatte entziehen dürfen.

HANS VON SODEN.

BERLIN-STEGLITZ, *April*, 1914.

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V.—LODOWICK BRYSKET AND BERNARDO TASSO.

Some years ago I had occasion to mention Lodowick Brysket's poem 'The Mourning Muse of Thestylis' where "various portents which, Virgil tells us, attended the death of Julius Caesar are rather naively borrowed and made to attend the death of Sir Philip Sidney" (A. J. P. XXIX 4). I have lately happened on an explanation of this passage, namely, that Brysket, after the manner of his day, is paraphrasing the work of an Italian poet. For his whole poem is a paraphrase of Bernardo Tasso's 'Selva nella morte del Signor Aluigi da Gonzaga'. Even the arrangement of rhyme is borrowed with the rest.

The relation between the two poems can be seen only by reading them side by side; but they are too long to quote, and only specimen passages can be printed here. I take the English text from 'Spenser's Minor Poems', edited by Ernest de Sélincourt, Oxford, 1910, pp. 347–352; the Italian, from 'I tre libri de gli Amori di M. Bernardo Tasso', Venice, 1555, pp. 189–196.

Each poem begins by invoking the Nymphs of a stream, and then goes on with a complaint to Mars:

Come forth ye Nymphes come forth, forsake your watry bowres,
Forsake your mossy caues, and help me to lament:
Help me to tune my dolefull notes to gurgling sound
Of *Liffies* tumbling streames: etc.

Voi meco fuor de l'acque fresche e uiue,
De uostri christallini antri e muscosi,
Nimphe del picciol Rhen; uoi meco a paro
De gli usati diletti al tutto schiue
Piangete il gran Luigi; etc.

Each poem sets forth the grief of Nature at the hero's death:

Thou shouldst haue seen the trees refuse to yeeld their shade,
And wailing to let fall the honor of their head,
And birds in mournfull tunes lamenting in their kinde:
Vp from his tombe the mightie *Corineus* rose,
Who cursing oft the fates that this mishap had bred,

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His hoary locks he tare, calling the heauens vnkinde.
The *Thames* was heard to roare, the *Reyne* and eke the *Mose*,
The *Schald*, the *Danow* selfe this great mischance did rue,
With torment and with grief; their fountains pure and cleere
Were troubled, and with swelling flouds declar'd their woes.

Lui piansero le piante; e d'ogn' intorno
Spogliar d'ombre il terren, lui dolcemente
Pianser gli augelli; e'l gran padre Appennino
Vscendo fuor del cauernoso monte
Si uolse contra il cielo, e feramente
Accusò i fati, e'l suo crudel destino;
Et fece a i bianchi uelli oltraggi e onte:
S' udi il Mincio lagnar pien di tormento,
Et spogliato di gioia e di diletto
Turbar il puro suo lucido fonte.

The Nymphs cry out against his cruel fate, but "old father Neptune", or "il gran Benaco", checks their "vaine requests" (B. 38–53; T. 30–48).

The dying Sidney's prayer is the dying prayer of the young Gonzaga (B. 56–71; T. 49–67):

O Lord if ought this fraile
And earthly carcasse haue thy seruice sought t' aduaunce,
If my desire haue bene still to relieue th' opprest:
If Iustice to maintaine that valour I haue spent
Which thou me gau'st; or if henceforth I might aduaunce
Thy name, thy truth, then spare me (Lord) if thou think best;
Forbeare these vnripe yeares.

s'unqua giouai con quel ualore,
Che tu mi desti, altrui; se mai sospinto
Dal zelo del tuo amore, honeste parti
Difendendo, saluai ragione, e'l uero
Lasciando del mio sangue il terren tinto:
Et s'io posso giouar, tu che comparti
I giorni nostri, e uedi ogni pensiero,
Deh non uoler de l'immatura etate
Coglier il fior.

Only, the English poem has a conventional substitute for the "hope to see his Pilot face to face when he has crossed the bar":

e se di morte il mare
Pur solcar mi conuien; tu mio nocchiero,
Tu Tiphi, a le tue riue alme e beate
Conduci il legno, e nol lasciar errare
Lungamente lontan dal uero porto.

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The simile in the English poem, 74–75:

> or like in field to purple flowre,
> Which languisheth being shred by culter as it past,

is not taken from Tasso. It comes from Virgil, Aen. ix 435–6:

> purpureus veluti cum flos succisus aratro
> languescit moriens.

Then we have the grief of those that stood by:

> A trembling chilly cold ran throgh their veines, which were
> With eies brimfull of teares to see his fatall howre,
> Whose blustring sighes at first their sorrow did declare,
> Next, murmuring ensude; at last they not forbeare
> Plaine outcries, all against the heau'ns that enuiously
> Depriv'd vs of a spright so perfect and so rare.
>
> Cosi detto, un tremor freddo e gelato
> Ne l'ossa entro de circonstanti; e alzare
> S'udir le gride al ciel, ch'a si gran torto
> Noi di spirto si degno hauea priuato.

And this is followed by a list of portents (B. 82–92; T. 72–97) which should be compared with Virgil, Geor. i 466–488.

The lament of Sidney's 'Stella' (93–127) is the lament of Gonzaga's 'sister' (98–101; 112–140):

> Ah that thou hadst but heard his louely *Stella* plaine
> Her greeuous losse, or seene her heauie mourning cheere,
> While she with woe opprest, her sorrowes did vnfold.
> Her hair hung lose neglect, about her shoulders twaine,
> And from those two bright starres, to him sometime so deere,
> Her heart sent drops of pearle, etc.
>
> Allhor ueduto hauresti la sorella
> Co i crini sparsi, e senza leggiadria
> In uesta uedouil chiari christalli
> Versar dal cor per l'una e l'altra stella; etc.

But Brysket has another mourner to bring in, and the most complimentary part of his borrowed fancy is reserved for Sidney's 'noble sister' (B. 128–144; T. 102–112).

The world is darkened, and seafaring is made dangerous (B. 145–156; T. 143–147, 168–183):

> The aire did help them mourne, with dark clouds, raine and mist,
> Forbearing many a day to cleare it selfe againe,
> Which made them eftsoones feare the daies of *Pirrha* shold,
> Of creatures spoile the earth, etc.

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Pianse del suo dolor piu giorni il cielo
Senza mostrarsi mai chiaro, o sereno
Tal, che teme del secol nostro il fine
La terra, e i di di Pirrha, etc.

The lamenting of the Medway and of its Nymphs and shepherds is taken from the Italian poem, but it is brought in in a different order (B. 157–170; T. 148–167):

The Medwaies siluer streames, that wont so still to slide,
Were troubled now and wrothe: whose hidden hollow caues
Along his banks with fog then shrowded from mans eye,
Ay *Phillip* did resownd, aie *Phillip* they did crie, etc.

L'ollio[1] piu puro che l'elettro, l'onde
Turbò, l'onde lucenti; e d'atro uelo,
D'atra nebbia si cinse, e a le genti
Per piu giorni s'ascose; le sue sponde
Luigi risonar, Luigi intorno, etc.

In the remainder of the English poem the paraphrase is carried on in more regular fashion (B. 171–195; T. 184–212):

But thou (O blessed soule) doest haply not respect,
These teares we shead, though full of louing pure affect,
Hauing affixt thine eyes on that most glorious throne,
Where full of maiestie the high creator reignes. . . .
All haile therefore O worthie *Phillip* immortall,
The flowre of *Sydneyes* race, the honour of thy name,
Whose worthie praise to sing, my *Muses* not aspire,
But sorrowfull and sad these teares to thee let fall,
Yet with their verses might so farre and wide thy fame
Extend, that enuies rage, nor time might end the same.

Ma tu spirto gentil forse non degni,
Forse non curi le lagrime uiue
Sparse con puro affetto; e ad altro intese
Hai le tue luci; ne la chiara fronte
Di quel Motor eterno de le stelle; . . .
Salue dunque Luigi illustre e diuo,
Io, benche sprezzi il don basso e humile
De le lagrime mie, mesto ti spargo
Narcisso, caltha, nardo, e sempreuiuo,
Sempre uerde amarantho; e eterno Aprile
Prego a la gloria tua si, che lethargo
Non spenga del tuo honor la chiara tromba.

Another of the group of poems which were called forth by the death of Sidney is "A Pastorall Aeglogue upon the Death

[1] The River Oglio.

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of Sir Phillip Sidney, Knight, etc." This was signed 'L. B.', and it is usually attributed to Lodowick Brysket, the author of 'The Mourning Muse of Thestylis'. Some editors have insisted that it was very unlikely that one of Sidney's friends would write two dirges for him; others have found the two poems so much alike in tone that they have not hesitated to attribute them to the same writer.

The reason of this resemblance in tone is that they were both taken from Bernardo Tasso. The 'Pastorall Aeglogue' is a paraphrase of Tasso's first eclogue, 'Alcippo'. A certain amount of conventional matter is added, and the Italian dirge is divided between two singers. The amount of actual translation appears even greater than in the 'Mourning Muse'—a result of the use of a shorter line.

Hear'st thou the *Orown*? how with hollow sownd
He slides away, and murmuring doth plaine,
And seemes to say vnto the fading flowres,
Along his bankes, vnto the bared trees;
Phillisides is dead. . . . . .
But if my plaints annoy thee where thou sit
In secret shade or cave; vouchsafe (O *Pan*)
To pardon me, and here this hard[1] constraint
With patience while I sing, and pittie it.
And eke ye rurall *Muses*, that do dwell
In these wilde woods; If euer piteous plaint
We[2] did endite, or taught a wofull minde
With words of pure affect, his griefe to tell,
Instruct me now. . . . . .
Colin. *Phillisides* is dead. O harmfull death,
O deadly harme. Vnhappie *Albion*
When shalt thou see emong thy shepheards all,
Any so sage, so perfect? . . . . . .
Behold the sacred *Pales*, where with haire
Vntrust she sitts, in shade of yonder hill.
And her faire face bent sadly downe, doth send
A floud of teares to bathe the earth; and there
Doth call the heau'ns despightfull, enuious,
Cruell his fate . . . . . .
The Nymphs and *Oreades* her round about
Do sit lamenting on the grassie grene;
And with shrill cries, beating their whitest brests,

[1] One or two editors read 'sad', probably because of a misprint. The Italian original has 'duro caso'.

[2] Misprinted in all the editions, for 'Ye'. The Italian original has 'dettaste'.

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Accuse the direfull dart that death sent out
To giue the fatall stroke. The starres they blame,
That deafe or carelesse seeme at their request.
The pleasant shade of stately groues they shun;
They leaue their cristall springs, where they wont frame
Sweet bowres of Myrtel twigs and Lawrel faire,
To sport themselues free from the scorching Sun.
And now the hollow caues where horror darke
Doth dwell, whence banisht is the gladsome aire
They seeke . . . . . .
Loe father *Neptune*, with sad countenance,
How he sitts mourning on the strond now bare.
. . . . . His sacred skirt about
The sea-gods all are set; from their moist caues
All for his comfort gathered there they be.
The *Thamis* rich, the *Humber* rough and stout,
The fruitful *Seuerne*, with the rest are come
To helpe their Lord to mourne . . . . . .
Eke wailful *Eccho*, forgetting her deare
Narcissus, their last accents, doth resownd.
Col. Phillisides is dead. O lucklesse age;
O widow world; O brookes and fountains cleere;
O hills, O dales, O woods that oft haue rong
With his sweet caroling . . . . . .
When shall you heare againe like harmonie?
So sweet a sownd, who to you now imparts?
Loe where engraued by his hand yet liues
The name of *Stella*, in yonder bay tree.
Happie name, happie tree; faire may you grow,
And spred your sacred branch . . . . . .
Lyc. Phillisides is dead. O happie sprite,
That now in heau'n with blessed soules doest bide:
Looke down a while from where thou sitst aboue,
And see how busie shepheards be to endite
Sad songs of grief, their sorrowes to declare,
And gratefull memory of their kynd loue.
Behold my selfe with *Colin*, gentle swaine
(Whose lerned *Muse* thou cherisht most whyleare)
Where we thy name recording, seeke to ease
The inward torment and tormenting paine,
That thy departure to vs both hath bred;
Ne can each others sorrow yet appease.

Odi quel rio, che mormorando piagne;
Et par che dica con dogliosi accenti,
Alcippo è morto, ...
Perdona mi Iddio Pan, se caldo e stanco,
Hor che da mezzo 'l ciel ne scorge il Sole
Forse ti dormi in qualche ombra soaue:

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Et con pietate ascolta il duro caso:
Et uoi Muse siluestri, se parole
Ad angoscioso cor dettaste un quanto
Piene di puro e di dolente effetto;[1]
Queste sian quelle; hor cominciate homai,
Mentre taccion le diue di Parnasso.
Alcippo è morto, o smisurato affanno.
Adria infelice, quando unque uedrai,
Fra tuoi figli un si saggio e si perfetto?
Vedi la sacra e honorata Pale
Col crine sciolto, e col bel uolto chino
L'herbe bagnar di lachrime, e auaro
Chiamar il ciel; e maligno il suo fato;
E intorno a lei con uoci alte e dogliose
L'Oreadi gridar; e'l fero strale
Biasmar di morte, e la parca superba;
Ne piu tornar ne l'alte selue ombrose
De cari monti, o al lor soggiorno usato:
Ma disprezzando i lor lucidi fonti
Cercar il piu riposto oscuro horrore.
Vedi il padre Netunno; e seco insieme
Tutti i Dei d'Adria del lor salso fuore
Seder nel lido con le meste fronti;
Per cui conforto al sacro lembo intorno
Stanno il uecchio Benaco, e'l suo bel figlio,
Quel, che d'Antenor ne le riue freme,
L'Adige, il Po, il Tesin, l'Adda, el Metauro
Cinti di fronda di cupresso il ciglio.
Odi la dolente Echo, che in oblio
Posto Narcisso suo caro thesauro,
Ripiglia il fin de lor pietosi gridi.
Alcippo morto, hor meco piagni ahi mondo,
Pouero mondo, eta uile e negletta;
Quando ne le tue schole o Pale hauesti
Pastor a lui simile, ne secondo?
Quando l'haurai? e (sia detto con pace
D'ogn' altro) o selue, o piagge apriche, o riue,
Que solea con sua greggia talhora
Cantar errando dolci rime agresti,
Quando udirete mai si chiaro suono?
Si soaue armonia? ecco, ch'anchora
Impresso di sua man nel tronco uiue
Di quel Mirtho Aretusa, o lieta pianta,
O ben nato arbuscel, cresca il bel nome
Col tronco insieme, e le sue frondi dono
Primo d'Apollo, e de l'alte sorelle,
Cingano ogn'hor le piu famose chiome.

[1] Apparently a misprint for 'affetto'.

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Alcippo è morto, o chiara anima santa,
Che nel piu degno e honorato loco
Del cielo scorgi il suo ricco lauoro,
Et sotto a i piedi tuoi uagar le stelle:
Mira da quel celeste altero albergo
D'altra corona ornata, che d'alloro
Ogni pastor per te di pianger roco,
Sparger di frondi l'arido terreno;
E ombrar le fonti di frondoso ramo;
Vedi me, che di pianto il uolto aspergo,
Et con Icasto, e col dotto Palemo,
Soura la tomba il tuo bel nome chiamo;
Odi Mirtilla; che si batte il seno.

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VI.—EURIPIDES HERACLIDAE 223.

The commentators have failed to see that Iolaus is here replying to the arguments made by Kopreus in verse 110 to induce Demophon to give up the Heraclidae without a struggle: *καλὸν δέ γ' ἔξω πραγμάτων ἔχειν πόδα | εὐβουλίας τυχόντα τῆς ἀμείνονος.* He has also in mind the warning which the Argive had given to the Athenian ruler in verses 165–168: *ἢ κακὸν λόγον | κτήσῃ πρὸς ἀστῶν, εἰ γέροντος εἵνεκα . . . παίδων τε τῶνδ' ἐς ἄντλον ἐμβήσῃ πόδα.* As soon as these facts are recognized the restoration of the passage becomes easy:

> *σοὶ γὰρ τόδ' αἰσχρόν, χωρὶς ἔντι πόδα κακῶν,*
> *ἱκέτας ἀλήτας συγγενεῖς . . . ἑλκεσθαι βίᾳ.*

Not only did the scribe who was responsible for the corruption mistake ENTI for ENTE, but he also mistook ΠΟΔΑ for ΠΟΛΑ, which was forthwith changed to ΠΟΛΕΙ, since he thought it was governed by the preposition EN; and he was strengthened in this conviction by the fact that he had just written *χωρίς*, *without*, and, like many an editor since, fancied that a contrast was intended with *ἐν*, with*in*—"both individually and before the state, i. e. in your civic position as chief magistrate" (Pearson).

For the phrase *ἔντι πόδα* compare Hec. 163 *ποῖ δ' ἥσω πόδα*, 977 *ἐπέμψω τὸν ἐμὸν ἐκ δόμων πόδα*, Aesch. Fr. 244 *ὦ πούς, ἀφήσω σε* (where, of course, the connection is not clear); and for the proverbial expression compare Aesch. Prom. 263 *πημάτων ἔξω πόδα | ἔχει*, Cho. 697 *ἔξω κομίζων ὀλεθρίου πηλοῦ πόδα*, Soph. Phil. 1260 *ἴσως ἂν ἐκτὸς κλαυμάτων ἔχοις πόδα.* Cp. also *πόδα κλίνειν* (Soph. O. C. 193), *ὑπεκτρέπειν* (Tr. 549), *ἐκνέμειν* (Ai. 369), *ὑποστρέφειν* (Eur. Fr. 495), *ἐκβάλλειν* (1010). By *χωρὶς . . . κακῶν* the poet means *χωρὶς θορύβου καὶ φόβου ζήσεις καλῶς* (Ar. Fr. 498).

The current of thought is interrupted by the exclamation *οἴμοι κακῶν . . . βλέψον.* If the sentence had continued as originally planned, doubtless *ἐᾶν* would have appeared in the

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text. Demophon himself later uses *παρήσω*. Indeed, the phrase *χωρὶς ἔντι πόδα κακῶν* implies a *παριέναι ἕλκεσθαι βίᾳ*. The picture which Iolaus desires to portray vividly in order to move Demophon to compassion is similar to that depicted by Aeschines in 2. 157: *ἕλκοιμι τῶν τριχῶν . . . αἰχμάλωτον γυναῖκα.*

Most scholars consider the last word in 223 as an interloper. But it was almost certainly in the original text. When *ἔντι πόδα* was transformed into *ἔν τε πόλει*, the genitive *κακῶν* became *κακόν* perforce. Moreover, in the earliest characters the genitive plural and the neuter singular had identity of form.

Many editors accept Erfurdt's emendation *ἔν τε τῇ πόλει*. There are several reasons why this should be rejected, chief of which is the liberty taken with the reading of the MSS. The more I study the tragic poets the greater my conviction that we should not do violence to the sacred texts, should not change arbitrarily what has been handed down to us in order to secure a collocation of words which seem to express a thought born in our own inner consciousness. The scribe copied mechanically: he did not pick up a word like *κακόν* at the end of a verse and throw it out bodily, and then pick up another and throw it bodily in, like *τῇ* before *πόλει*. The trouble lies, not before and after, but *in πόλει* itself. There are almost a score of conjectures recorded; but in all of them *πόλει* is retained. Even the position of *χωρίς*—after the caesura—shows that it is to be associated with the words in the remainder of the verse, not with the preceding *σοὶ αἰσχρόν*, as most editors imagine. In fact, this post-caesural position of the adverb furnishes an additional argument for the correctness of the emendation *ἔντι πόδα κακῶν*.

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REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Athens and its Monuments. By CHARLES HEALD WELLER. Macmillan, New York, 1913.

This book is the work of a former student of the American School at Athens, who while connected with the School made investigations on the Acropolis which have added materially to our knowledge of the ancient Propylon built by Peisistratus, a full account of which is given in the American Journal of Archaeology, Vol. VIII, Second Series.

In his Preface the author says that his book "is designed to provide a brief and untechnical account of the topography and monuments of ancient Athens for the general reader and the traveler, as well as an introduction to the subject for the student of archaeology and history".

What the author has done chiefly is to translate, illustrate and bring up to date the description of Pausanias for the benefit of the student of archaeology, but "the general reader and the traveler", it is greatly to be feared, will soon begin to yawn over the details and content himself with the perusal of his Baedeker or Murray.

What interest can he be expected to take, e. g. in the passage quoted from Pausanias, page 342, on which the comment runs thus: "This is a considerable list [i. e. of statues], but of them all we know little or nothing more than Pausanias tells us". This is cold comfort even for a student. For the benefit of the general reader the author avoids technical terms and discussions and references, but this is at the expense of the student who will frequently desire to know whose view on a disputed point the author has adopted, and just where to find further information. The meagre and general bibliography at the end of the volume, to which the student is referred, does not atone for this lack.

The book is written in a prosaic style. Perhaps this was to some degree inevitable with the plan the writer has adopted. Pausanias himself has no style, and his translator and commentator is easily made a follower.

Occasionally we find an awkward and obscure expression. Thus on page 29 the sentence beginning "A considerable admixture of Oriental influence" should be exactly reversed. It is not clear in the context what statue is meant in the statement on p. 101 "This statue in the agora was set up &c"

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On page 231 the statement concerning the extent of the Propylaea would be more easily understood if the word *breadth* were substituted for *end*.

The second aim of the author has been fully achieved. Indeed the book is more than an introduction to the study of the topography and monuments of Athens. The first chapter gives a good account of the situation, the environment and the demes of the ancient city. The statement on p. 24 that the so-called Prison of Socrates was "doubtless the site of a pretentious dwelling" is too strong, most scholars holding it to be a tomb. The historical sketch in Chapter II might well have been fuller in view of the interest and importance of the matter. The next chapter deals with the walls and gates in a fairly satisfactory way, but the accompanying maps are inadequate. This must be said also of all the maps, notably of the map of Athens (fig. 262), which is wholly unworthy of the book.

Professor Weller argues for a pre-Themistoclean wall, contrary to the view of Dörpfeld, an opinion in which most scholars will agree with our author. While the questions connected with the Pelargicum cannot be examined at length, the student might reasonably expect a brief statement of the opinions held concerning the extent of this fortress at the south and north sides of the Acropolis. Weller follows Judeich in accepting a third, i. e. "the Phaleric" wall between Athens and its port, and in placing Phalerum not at "old Phaleron", but at a point nearer to Peiraeus, possibly near the chapel of St. Savior.

With the fourth chapter and extending through the ninth the author takes up the route of Pausanias, which he follows with pains, trying so far as possible to locate and identify every monument. Many nice points of scholarly research are interwoven with the prosaic account of the old traveler, and the latest researches and discoveries are fully utilized. The ground is well covered; only one or two omissions of any note have occurred to the reviewer. The Lenaeum, the old wine-press, is not mentioned, possibly to steer clear of the vexed question of its location, though it might easily have been named in connection with the Enneacrunus. The sanctuary of Gê Olympia, mentioned by Thucydides (2, 15, 3) and grouped with the Olympieum and Pythium (cf. Judeich, p. 55), should not be omitted.

The author accepts the theory of Dörpfeld in regard to the location of the Enneacrunus, dismissing "the episode" with few words. The account of the Pnyx, not mentioned in Pausanias, is too brief, occupying little more than a page of text. That the Eucleia mentioned by Pausanias is to be identified with the Artemis Eucleia (p. 115), who is a market goddess,

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is improbable. According to Dörpfeld the temple here spoken of is the same as the temple dedicated by Themistocles to Artemis Aristobule. Cf. Judeich, p. 356.

The account of the "Theseum", which the author perhaps rightly identifies as the Hephaesteum, is good. The reader would be glad to have more said about the later history of the temple, and the student would like to know who has identified the statue (fig. 65) in the Museo Chiaramonti as a copy of the Athena Hephaestia by Alcamenes, and on what grounds.

One of the best chapters in the book is the next which deals with the Hellenistic and Roman Agora and adjacent sites. But we cannot agree with Weller in locating the Aglaurium at the northwest foot of the Acropolis. The statement of Herodotus, 8, 53, is best explained by Frazer, Paus. II, 167. What Herodotus calls the "front side" is the north side of the Acropolis. The west end of the Acropolis, the only place that is not precipitous, cannot be the part where the Persians clambered up by the Sanctuary of Aglaurus "though the place was precipitous". With the statement of a Scholiast on Demosthenes, that the precinct of Aglaurus was *παρὰ τὰ προπύλαια τῆς πόλεως* "kann man nichts anfangen", says Judeich (footnote, p. 272). We prefer to locate this sanctuary east of the cave of Pan, nearly opposite the modern chapel of the Seraphim. This view is rejected by Wachsmuth (cf. Pauly-Wissowa I, 829), but further discussion is here impossible. Weller is doubtless correct in holding that the Prytaneum of Pausanias is of Roman date and that an earlier establishment was situated by the ancient Agora. Curtius (Stadtgeschichte, 51, 244) believes, what is most probable, that the earliest Prytaneum of all was on the Acropolis. The *axones* on which the laws of Solon were recorded and preserved in the Prytaneum, are generally supposed to be wooden not "stone tablets" (p. 158).

Passing to Southeast Athens in the next chapter, Mr. Weller first gives an account of the Olympieum. Had he followed his guide at this point scrupulously, the author would next have come to the library and other buildings of Hadrian, but he has grouped these with other monuments in the chapter on the Hellenistic and Roman agora, since Pausanias does not follow a topographical order at this point.

Next we come to the Pythium, the location of which Weller thinks is made certain by the discovery of a part of the altar dedicated to Pythian Apollo, but he leaves us to infer where it was to be found. On p. 363 he places it "southwest of the Olympieum", but on p. 61 "south". In this connection the difficulty arises of interpreting the statement of Philostratus that the ship in the Panathenaic procession was moored by the Pythium. On p. 364 the author

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discusses Strabo's statement that the priest watched the lightning on Parnes "from a wall between the Pythium and the Olympieum". The theory of the existence of two Pythiums and two Olympieums, which would explain these apparent contradictions (cf. Jane Harrison, Primitive Athens, pp. 67–78), deserved a fuller treatment.

The site of the Cynosarges must be largely a matter of personal opinion. We cannot think Weller is right in locating it near the modern Zappeion; it must have lain farther east, but not so far north as Carroll (Paus., p. 101) thinks.

Chapter VII deals with the south slope of the Acropolis. The author adopts the views of Dörpfeld on the construction of the theatre. The cave above, in front of which stood the Choregic monument of Thrasyllus, is, according to Milchhoefer and Frazer, about 50 deep, not "30", probably a misprint (p. 201). The correct site of the Choregic monument of Nicias recently made certain by the investigations of Dinsmoor, is given in a plan drawn by him, fig. 126. While it is true that the Odeum of Herodes Atticus is a building that "needs a careful re-examination and study" the author could have told us more that is reasonably certain in regard to this structure than the brief account on p. 219. The Delphic oracle (p. 220) "better for the Pelargicum to be idle" does not mean "without buildings", but, as the inscription (Dittenberger, Syll. 20) shows, prohibits quarrying stone out of the walls and digging up and carting away stones and earth from this precinct.

The Chapter on the Acropolis, as was to be expected, is the longest in the book. Our space will not permit any discussion of the difficult problems relating to the approach and ascent. Weller rejects the theory held by many, that a regular zigzag footpath was laid out up the western slope. Nor can we enter here upon the debatable question of the relative age of the Propylaea and the temple of Wingless Victory. The author's statement on p. 242 of his reason for believing that the temple is prior to the Propylaea is not convincing. The author believes that there was a temple (not merely a precinct) of Athena the Worker, and that it stood on the terrace east of the Brauronium and in front of the Chalkotheke (which he writes Chalcotheca), but makes no reference to the view of Dörpfeld that the temple referred to in the famous lacuna passage of Pausanias was the "Old Temple".

In the account of the various stages of the building of the Parthenon Weller has incorporated the results of the investigations of the Director of the School at Athens now accepted by archaeologists as well established. The Opisthodomos question is perhaps wisely dismissed with a few words. The student, however, even in a book that professes to be only an

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"Introduction" might well expect to find some mention of the theory which makes the Opisthodomos a part of the "Old Temple" or a separate building. More might well be said also about the refinements of the architecture of the Parthenon, even at the expense of naming and trying to locate unimportant statues and monuments of which no trace remains. Weller dissents from the well-known views of Dörpfeld on the "Old Temple" and seems to favor the hypothesis that this building may have been the Cecropium. But this is hardly consistent with his statement (p. 317) that the east chamber of the temple was dedicated to Athena, unless he means that the Cecropium was a chamber or part of the "Old Temple", but that the name Cecropium was applied to the whole building. That this is his meaning is made more clear on p. 335.

In the account of the Erechtheum the author has availed himself of the important discoveries and restorations made by members of the School at Athens. The relief (fig. 222) which probably represents the old Erechtheum is a helpful piece of evidence for the belief that the present Erechtheum had a predecessor built on the same site.

In the footnote explaining figure 233 the Clepsydra is to be found on the lower *right*-hand corner of the plan as one would naturally read its legend.

In Chapter IX, which treats of the Courts and the Suburbs of Athens, especially to be commended is the account of the Cemeteries and of Colonus Hippius, where the author points out how closely the topography of the region is followed by Sophocles in his drama.

The translation of Pausanias is accurate. Only one mistake has been noticed. On p. 379 it should read: "this is the first spot in Attica to which they say Oedipus came", instead of "to this spot Oedipus is said to come".

The closing chapter of the book gives a fairly satisfactory account of Peiraeus and the other ports. The statement, p. 383, that Asty was often employed to designate Athens proper "in contradistinction to the joint city, the Polis", takes no account of the official use of Polis for the Acropolis, though this is implied in the quotation from Pausanias on p. 30, nor of the use of the same term to designate the city and its demes.

Consistency in transliterating Greek proper names is always a rare jewel. Why Dexileos and then Carpophorus, Androgeos and then Herceius, etc.?

The proof-reading has been careful, the only misprints or errors we have found are, Callipus (p. 95) for Callippus, Anchiomolius (p. 172) for Anchimolius, Shrader (p. 404) for Schrader.

The expression "rarely beautiful" (p. 325) meaning "of

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rare beauty" is doubtless defensible, but in the context misleading.

The book is fully illustrated, containing 262 cuts, including plans and maps, but these latter are, as was said before, quite unsatisfactory.

The plan adopted by Prof. Weller in writing his book gave him too little freedom to make it interesting to the general reader, but to the student of the topography of Athens he has rendered valuable service.

MARTIN L. D'OOGE.

P. Ovidi Nasonis Metamorphoseon Libri XV, Lactanti Placidi qui dicitur Narrationes Fabularum Ovidianarum recensuit, apparatu critico instruxit HUGO MAGNUS. Accedunt Index Nominum et tres Tabulae Photographicae. Berolini, apud Weidmannos, MDCCCCXIV. 8vo., 766 pp. 30 M.

Those who for the last twenty years have had occasion to follow the work of Professor Magnus will welcome with open arms this careful and complete critical edition of the Metamorphoses of Ovid. Without meaning in the least to detract from the work of his predecessors we may safely assert that this is the first critical edition of Ovid's great narrative poem really worthy of the name. And besides being important in itself, the work was also sorely needed. The textual tradition is peculiarly difficult, and the greatest formal artist in Roman poetry, the greatest story-teller of Rome, one of the greatest of all the world, has waited quite too long for his share of editorial attention. Here for the first time, the reader when in doubt, can consult a complete and comprehensive critical apparatus at the foot of the page. He may not be able to resolve his doubt, but—and this is more than hitherto has been possible—he will at least have the complete history of the problem before him.

The contents of the book are,—The Praefatio (pp. I–XXXIV), in which the editor discusses the MSS, critical subsidia, and similar matters concerned with the textual tradition; a Conspectus Siglorum (pp. 1–4); the Text and Critical Apparatus (pp. 5–624); the text of the Narrationes of Lactantius Placidus (pp. 625–721); and Index Nominum compiled by Paul Klink (pp. 722–766); three facsimiles of one page respectively of the Marcianus, 225=M, the Neapolitanus, IV F 3=N, and the Marcianus, 223=F.

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As this must be a brief notice rather than an extended review, I cannot do better than to summarize briefly the editor's discussion of the textual tradition.

Ovid himself says (Trist. 1, 7, 37; 3, 14, 21) that at the time he was banished the poem was still unfinished, and not yet published. Pohlenz (Hermes, 28, l. ff.) contends that he completed the Metamorphoses in exile, and made some changes which he hoped might influence Augustus to remit his punishment. If so, we might guess that two such passages, for example, as 3, 141–2 and 15, 822 ff., go back to the copy which the poet appears to have sent to Augustus (Trist. 2, 557), and the question arises whether certain other readings in our MSS are due to copies of the poem made before Ovid left Rome—he says himself that he destroyed one copy—or to the usual carelessness of later times. Magnus, and apparently with good reason, concludes that up to the poet's death and for some time afterwards, the poem was kept alive by being copied privately, and that the text thus propagated, and for that very reason steadily becoming more and more corrupt, was the only one known to Seneca and to everyone else until nearly the end of Antiquity. At about that time there appears to have arisen an editor of considerable ability who emended the text and published it with a commentary. This may be gathered from occasional references in the Narrationes of Placidus which were attached to this particular edition. There are also references to it in the Mythographi Vaticani, Probus (Verg. G. 1, 399), Servius, and Vibius Sequester. Some copies of this class (M = Codex Marcianus Florentinus, 225, saec. XI, containing Books I to XIV, 830, and N = Codex Neapolitanus, IV F 3, saec. XI, containing I to XIV, 838) accompanied by the Narrationes lasted until the Middle Ages. Magnus designates it by O (i. e., the consensus of M and N). Meanwhile, the text of the old vulgate also continued to live, in fact, it is to the vulgate that we owe the preservation of the last 13 lines of the 14th and the whole of the 15th Book. This class Magnus designates by X (i. e., the consensus of F = Codex Marcianus Florentinus, 223, saec. XI ex. and all or nearly all the later MSS collated by the editor himself and by others).

Further it is clear that there never was a time when the Metamorphoses was reduced to a single copy. We cannot speak of an archetype in the ordinary sense of the word. This, of course, has an important bearing on the constitution of the text. How far, after the Carolingian period, classes O and X were affected by collation of one with the other it is impossible to determine, but Magnus concludes that this is not an important factor in the problem, inasmuch as before the habit assumed serious proportions, i. e., before the 12th cen-

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tury, the O class as such had ceased to live. Hence, his principles for constituting the text are:

1. Whenever O and X disagree, O has the greater authority. If we follow X, we must support our choice with proofs drawn from every possible source—the sense demanded by the passage, a thorough-going examination and comparison of Ovidian usage in language, metrical form, etc.

2. Whenever M and N, i. e., the representatives of the O class, disagree in such a way that one or the other follows the reading of X, we must attempt to discover why this is the case, and to determine whether the reading is due to a scribal error or has crept in from some other source by way of a correction, a gloss, an interpolation, or the like.

3. Where the reading of O appears to be false or corrupt or interpolated, X is to be preferred, but not unless the reading of X is supported by F, the best MS of the class. Readings of X unsupported by F are apt to be later interpolations of the 12th century and after.

4. Verses or parts of verses omitted by O—the reasons for it are generally evident—should never be bracketed unless it can be demonstrated that as they stand they are certainly not Ovidian.

5. There is no great opportunity or reason for conjectural emendation in the Metamorphoses. It should be indulged in sparingly and with great caution. To change the text of A (i. e., the general consensus of O and X) is tantamount to changing the text read by the ancients themselves and by them transmitted to the Middle Ages.

6. The text of the Metamorphoses as we now have it is practically the same as that of the Carolingian period. There is no foundation for undertaking another recension unless we find—as perhaps we may, the possibilities, so far as Ovid is concerned, are not yet exhausted—some MS of the family now represented only by the unique Fragmentum Bernense (about the middle of the 9th century) or some copy of the O class containing XIV, 838 to the end of the poem, the portion now found only in X.

In the matter of orthography Magnus has followed the usual standard of later times except in cases where manuscript authority plainly supports the old norm of the Augustan Age. The result, of course, is a certain amount of inconsistency, but I for one am in entire sympathy with his conservative attitude, at all events, so far as an edition like this is concerned. One would like to see a classic spelled as the author himself spelled it, and, as a rule textual tradition is notoriously untrustworthy in this respect, but the path of any man who undertakes to restore contemporary orthography is beset with pitfalls of every sort.

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A notable and valuable feature of this edition is the fact that here for the first time a critical apparatus of the Metamorphoses is accompanied by a complete collection of the Testimonia Veterum. And a comparison of the testimonia taken from the Carmina Epigraphica with those listed in the index of Buecheler's text suggests that Magnus' collection of testimonia has been carefully sifted. Naturally, the range of actual quotation and verbal reminiscence is in no way comparable with that which characterized the later tradition of Vergil. For one thing, Ovid did not receive the same tonic of pedagogical recognition. At the same time quotation and verbal reminiscence are undeniably less extensive than at first thought many of us would have guessed, indeed, some curious results were derived from statistics which, as a matter of curiosity, I myself made on the basis of Magnus' material. Testimonia increase as we approach the Middle Ages, but they were never as numerous as the undoubted eminence of the author would lead us to expect. For example, careful readers of Seneca the Philosopher get the impression that he had a fondness, I had almost said a sneaking fondness, for Ovid. To be sure, he does make fun of him at the close of the Apocolocyntosis. This, however, does not militate against the impression. On the contrary, for that very reason we might well suspect that Seneca was as careful and sympathetic a reader of the Metamorphoses as, for example, was Cervantes of the romances of chivalry. It now appears that Seneca is the largest individual contributor to the testimonia collected by Magnus. No less than 37 cases are found, and, what is also significant, they are taken from all parts of the poem, not from the first few pages or from some given episode. We all know what that means. Of course, the testimonia of Magnus apply only to the Metamorphoses, but it is more than likely that if we had a similar collection of testimonia for all the works of Ovid we should still find that Seneca was at or near the head of the line. Indeed, by way of his father he had a sort of inherited association with the great poet of the later Augustan Age.

But Seneca is an exception. The very first line of his nephew's epic is clearly an echo of Metamorphoses, 12, 583, but unless I am mistaken this is the only case recorded by Magnus for the entire Pharsalia, and he finds but one each in Petronius, Valerius Flaccus, and Silius Italicus, and but two each in Statius and Juvenal. Six are found in Quintilian and eight in Martial. Even the epitaphs yield only a few undoubted cases. The nearest approach to Seneca is Lactantius (19 cases). But Lactantius belongs to the type who read the classics only 'to contradict and confute'. Testimonia, however, increase as we approach the Middle Ages, but they are

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never so numerous as the undoubted eminence of the author would appear to demand.

The fact is, however, that Ovid's commanding position in the literature of the world is largely due to at least two aspects of his genius the influence of which is not revealed by such indicia. One of these is his command of metrical technique, the other, his ability to tell a story. The former is his greatest gift to Antiquity, the latter is the basis of his supreme importance in the aesthetic evolution of the Modern World. But in both cases what he really did passed into the communal fund of acquired ability, and the author of it became, as it were, 'depersonalized'. Hence the ancients forgot their debt to Ovid, just as we for the most part have finally forgotten ours. As a metrical artist, however, Ovid takes his place among the great poets of the world. In this respect he did for Roman poetry what Cicero had already done for Roman prose; he found it more or less local, and left it capable of universal use for an indefinite period. And when at the Renaissance we moderns at last outgrew the *Chanson de Gestes*, which babbled on like a brook through an entire pedigree, and the *Roman d'Aventures*, the incidents of which could be predicted in advance, and the *Fabliau* which, to say the least, was nothing new, we turned, with rare discrimination, to the greatest story-teller of the Roman world, we sat at the feet of the man who, as Mackail well says, 'fixed a certain ideal of civilized manners for the Latin Empire and for Modern Europe', and learned from him as best we could what it is that makes a story immortal and always young.

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

The Guipuscoan Verb of the Year 1713, found in the Catechism of J. Ochoa de Arin; An Analytical and Quotational Index made by E. S. DODGSON, M. A. An Offprint of 83 Pages from Numbers 36, 37, 38 and 39 of Hermathena. At the University Press, Trinity College, Dublin, November 19, 1913.

Well known is the exceptional interest which belongs to Bascological investigation. The Baskish tung, isolated in classification, is the last specimen of the languages spoken in Europe before the Aryan invasion; and is by general consent set down as one of the most difficult languages in the world, if not the most difficult. And, whilst the theory of the

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Baskish noun is mainly the same as that of another linguistic family represented in Europe, I mean the Ural-Altaic (i. e. Hungarian, Finnish, Esthonian, Lapp, and Turkish), the theory of its verb is peculiar to itself, and is not to be found, we believe, in any other known language. Indeed, the Baskish verb is a monument of so complicated a structure that one has some difficulty at first in forming any idea of it. Yet in the long run, when we have sounded its mysteries, its vigorous architecture cannot fail to make its charms felt by us, no less for its mathematical regularity than by its philological profundity. But the difficulty abides, and to meet and overcome this difficulty is the task to which Mr. Dodgson, the only Bascologue of the Anglo-Saxon race now living, has consecrated himself.

His great work, The Analysis of the Baskish Verb, as it occurs in the New Testament of Leiçarraga (printed at La Rochelle, in 1571, by order of Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre, and mother of Henri IV) has appeared in numerous instalments, and is already nearly completed. The author possesses the last volume in manuscript, and would already have published it, if the want of material resources had not hindered him. May we be permitted to express publicly the hope which he records among the final notes contained in the work which we are considering: "that it may win the favour of any wealthy patron of Linguistic Research, of any Academy, Society, or University, having at heart the Advancement of Learning and Science, and lead them to provide the cost of finishing his work, as a reward for the great sacrifice of time which it has asked from him".

But besides this *opus maius*, Mr. Dodgson has busied himself with other philological works, such as reimpressions of old texts, and the like; forty-two separate works already standing to his credit on the catalog. That which concerns us now is a Synopsis of the Verb, conceived on the same plan as that devoted to Leiçarraga. It is indeed a small Guipuscoan—English word-book, dealing with the Catechism of Don José Ochoa de Arin, printed at San Sebastián, in 1713. This catechism is the oldest existing work printed in the Baskish dialect of Guipúscoa, one of the two literary dialects of the Spanish Basks, the other being the Biscayan. It will be seen at once how interesting this work must be, through its venerable antiquity; and how important the study of it made by Mr. Dodgson must be for the purpose of comparing Guipuscoan with the other dialects. For it is a point to be noted that the Baskish language is not unitarian, but subdivided into a certain number of dialects, with forms varying in their turn according to the time. In order to find ones way through this labyrinth, it is indispensable to lay hold of

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an Ariadne clew, and one cannot conceive of a better one than the publications of our author.

Let us hope that the works of Mr. Dodgson will contribute to popularise a study no less interesting than unjustly neglected, and that he will find in the sympathy of the learned world a compensation for the pecuniary and moral sacrifice which he has felt obliged to make to his Bascological Ideal.

H. BOURGEOIS.

BRUSSELS, BELGIUM, *December* 1, 1913.

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REPORTS.

PHILOLOGUS, Band LXXI (1912).

I, pp. 1–23. R. Herzog, Auf den Spuren der Telesilla. The inscription found in 1904 in a wall of the temenos of Apollo Pythaeus or Deiradiotes in Argos was published in 1908 by Vollgraff (Bull. Corr. Hell. XXXII, 236–258) but incorrectly deciphered and interpreted. The main part in hexameters is a mixture of epic and epichoric dialect. By a combination of passages from Pausanias, Plutarch and Herodotus, Herzog proves (a) that a double chorus of men and women by divine command offered to Leto a sculptured group of Apollo and Artemis; (b) that on the seventeenth of every month, after the time when Apollo by night drove away Pleistarchos, they celebrated festal offering. The literary fragments of the Argive poetess Telesilla deal with the myth of the founding at Argos of the cult of Apollo, whose chorus she led. But her fame rested more upon her saving the city from Sparta by the aid of the god. She was a Jeanne d'Argos! After Argos had been miraculously saved a second time from Pleistarchos by a panic at night in the battle of Oinoa (betw. 462 and 459 B. C.) the festal offering was changed from the seventh to the seventeenth of each month. The inscription itself is of the 4th century, erected by the chorus of which in the early 5th century Telesilla had been a leader.

II, pp. 24–29. S. Eitrem, Drei neue griechische Papyri. These papyri belonging to the writer consist of (1) a census declaration from Philadelphia in the district of Arsinoe, the only one of its kind definitely dated—the twentieth year of Tiberius; (2) a beautifully written list of names; (3) a magistrate's summons to be served by the local police upon two thieves; (4) an ostrakon in beautiful cursive, probably from ancient Thebes.

III, pp. 30–100. H. Pomtow, Die Kultstätten der 'anderen Götter' von Delphi. An attempt to use the new topographical data (some in Berl. Phil. Wochenschr. 1912, sp. 61 ff.) to locate the seats of worship of 50 gods and heroes besides Apollo. 12 were in the temenos, 12 in the temple, 12 in the outlying Castalian district, 2 in the gymnasium, 12 west of the temenos. Appended are a discussion of the goddess Homonoia and the so-called altar of the Eretrians; a plan of the

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temple cella, showing the location of the 12 divinities; and a conspectus of the cult-sites.

IV, pp. 101–138. A. Müller, Das Heer Justinians. (According to Procopios and Agathias.) A. The troops belonging to the empire. (1) The *κατάλογοι*; also *στρατιῶται*, *τάξεις*, *Ῥωμαϊκὰ τάγματα* etc. Subdivisions were *λόχοι*, *συμμορίαι*. The *κατάλογοι* were commanded by *ἄρχοντες* (often barbarians). An infantry *κ.* had 1000; a cavalry *κ.*, 250–300 men. Larger armies were commanded by magistri militum; the commander-in-chief was *στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ*. (2) There were besides bodies of separate national troops. (3) Deserters and (4) captives of war could serve in the Roman army. B. The paid barbarian auxiliary troops (Huns, Langobardi) formed a considerable force. C. Private soldiers: (1) foederati led by condottieri; (2) *δορυφόροι καὶ ὑπασπισταί* in the retinue of a dux. D. The fleet is seldom mentioned—swift dromons and privately owned transports. II. Armor, tactics, commissariat, abuses in administration, etc.

V, pp. 139–158. K. Borinski, Antike Versharmonik im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance. In antiquity rhythmic belonged to music, occupying a middle ground between harmonic (melody) and metric (quantitative value of words) and dominated both. But later in the singing of church-hymns music came to be regarded as the real ars rhythmica. Hence in mediaeval text-books we find rhythmic dealing with "musical intervals". According to the mediaeval doctrine, the syllables between rhymes were counted (not less than 4 or 5, nor more than 8), e. g. totus conticuit grex atque crucis siluit grex, a "diapason" of 8; spiritualia iam quasi vilia dona trahuntur, a "diapente". Such rhymes occur in classical writers. Later, what was once naive experiment, assumed the appearance of a "secret rhythmic law". It was believed that the rhythmic verse was a scale of vowels which could differ to the 4th syllable, and from 5th to 8th; but the 4th, 5th and 8th must rhyme, "consonare", diatessaron, diapente, diapason. That was rhythmical consonance! It has nothing to do with the accentuation of these syllables by melodic pitch. A Jesuit, Mario Bettini in 1645 applied this mediaeval theory of rhythm as a metrica arcana harmonia to ancient Latin verse, substituting "grammatical concord" for rhyme, and including the third and the sixth (ditonus, hexachordum), e. g. cunctane lethaeis mersa feruntur aquis; cuncta—mersa, a "ditonus", lethaeis—aquis, a "diatessaron". It would seem that we have here a rediscovery of the principles of the connection between music and verse, mentioned by Aristotle, Metaph., p. 1093, a 27 sq., or at least a recurrence of a similar notion.

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Miscellen.

I, pp. 159–160. G. Schmid, De Ciceronis ad Atticum epistula, l. IIII 8. Read: nihil quietius, nihil alsius, nihil amoenius—*εἰ μὴ ἄριστος φίλος οἶκος* (sc. *ἦν*, i. e. nisi Tusculanum meum mihi prae ceteris placeret locis, villis, oppidis).

VI, pp. 161–172. W. Fröhner, Kleinigkeiten. 6 emendations to Callimachus; 4 to Babrius; Aristoph. Pax 603 γ' *ἀϋτῆς*; Laberius (Ribb. fr. com. II² 361) lanx for laus; Plin. N. H. 35, 115, in the epigram on M. Plautius, dignis digna locor (i. e. loquor); and cluet Lasa alata; 14 emendations to Petronius; Buech. carm. epigr. 1519; 21 to Martial; the text of an inscription on a Herakles-cup.

VII, pp. 173–210. H. Jurenka, Pindaros neugefundener Paean für Abdera. An attempt to reconstruct the more fragmentary verses (1) by a closer analysis of the myth of Herakles, Abderos, and the mares of Diomedes, and its significance as a *κτίσις* legend, blending elements which concern an early Greek invasion of a Phoenician trading-post; (2) by an interpretation of the fragmentary scholia.

VIII, pp. 211–237. A. Mayer, Die Chronologie des Zenon und Kleanthes. A reëxamination of the data found in the Herculanian fragments of Philodemos, Pap. 339 col. IV–VI. As the letter of Zeno to Antigonos Gonatas was spurious, we must believe Persaios (Diog L. VII, 28) that Zeno died aged 72. But if he died in the year of Klearchos 262/1, he was born in 334/3. Kleanthes was born in 331/0 and died in 233/2. He succeeded Zeno as head of the school for 30 years (by inclusive reckoning).

IX, pp. 238–266. W. Bannier, Die römischen Rechtsquellen und die sogenannten Cyrillglossen. These glosses (Goetz, CGL II 213–483) are for the most part based on such Greek and Latin law-texts as the Novels of Justinian, the Institutiones and their translation by Theophilus Antecessor, the Basilica, and perhaps the lost translation of the Digests by Dorotheus. In many cases it is difficult to determine upon which text the gloss is based.

X, pp. 267–271. W. Soltau, Bot Diodors annalistische Quelle die Namen der ältesten Volkstribunen? Diodorus XI, 68 (cf. Livy II, 58 [Piso]) betrays a list of Fasti written in Greek. Diodorus' annalistic source never gives the names of the officials for the year, but mentions them only when they take part in the action or conduct of the war.

XI, pp. 272–277. E. v. Druffel, Papyrus Magdola 38+6. These fragments belong together, although originally found in different mummy-cases.

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XII, pp. 278–299. P. Lehmann, Cassiodorstudien, I. The Chronica are mentioned also by Sigebert of Gembloux in the 11th century, by Ranulph Higden (†1363) and others. II. The Institutiones were finished after 551 A. D. and not later than 562, the date of the Computus paschalis. III. A critical text of the Computus is given on pp. 297–299.

XIII, pp. 300–306. E. Stemplinger, Die Études latines von Leconte de Lisle. His imitations of the odes of Horace show a deliberate excision of all elements in Horace which are not Greek.

Miscellen.

2, pp. 307–308. W. H. Roscher, Der Artemiskult von Cumae. Vergil Aen. VI, 35 ff., shows a double cult of Apollo and Artemis at Cumae, a colony from Chalkis where Artemis was worshipped.

3, pp. 308–310. W. H. Roscher, *Φθορεῖα* oder *Φθορείa*? Read the latter in Ditt. Syll.² 567, line 4.

4, pp. 310–311. A. Laudien, Handschriftliches zu den Viten Plutarchs. I. The life of Sulla, as printed in the Juntina editio 1519, was taken entire from Cod. Laur. 69. 31, not Florent. 169. II. On the classifying of Cod. Matrit. N 55.

5, pp. 312–313. A. E. Schöne, Zu Tacitus Agricola 27, 5. Reads: at Britanni non virtute se, sed occasione et arte victos rati. *ducis* is to be taken as a gloss on the preceding *uni*: duci s. = duci scilicet.

6, pp. 313–314. M. Manitius, Zu Sallusts Jugurtha. Variants for Jug. 13, 9–15, 2 from cod. Rotomagensis 1470, saec. X–XI. The MS resembles P or C.

7, pp. 314–317. Eb. Nestle, Lateinische Bibelstudien in Wittenberg 1529. A revision of the Vulgate, based on the original text with use of Luther's translation. Examples are given to illustrate the ways in which the Latinity was revised.

8, pp. 317–319. W. Soltau, Roms Gründungsjahr bei Ennius. Liv. V 40, 2 is based on Ennius' Annales, but the chronology has been corrected. Ennius thought of Rome as founded in the time of the third generation from the fall of Troy, by Romulus the grandson of Aeneas, i. e. in 1100. The 700 years of Ennius (fr. 501 Vahl.; Varro RR III 1, 2) would approximate the date of the Gallic invasion.

9, p. 320. E. Schweder, Plinius Nat. Hist. III 95. Read: tenuere. Primus patet.

10, p. 320. A. v. Domaszewski, Hadrianos-Heraklios. On Ditt. Insc. Gr. Or. 340. The correct reading is given in Bull. Corr. Hell. 12, 204, 19.

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XIV, pp. 321–331. W. A. Oldfather, Die Ausgrabungen zu Lokroi. Notes on the religious cults. Based on the ex-voto offerings as published by Orsi.

XV, pp. 332–352. P. Corssen, Die Sprengung des pythagoreischen Bundes. The outbreak of the persecution of the Pythagoreans by Kylon occurred not before the last decade of the fifth century B. C.

XVI, pp. 353–360. R. Mollweide, Zu Homer und Aristarch. Oxyr. Pap. Pt. VIII nr. 1086, Scholia on Il. II. The scholiast appears to be one of the 40 pupils of Aristarchus. The date of the papyrus is earlier than our other sources for Aristarchus. The reasons given for A.'s athetesis of Il. II 791–5 are important for estimating A.'s critical activities, for this instance is discreditable to his method of critical procedure. Even if we had A.'s editions of Homer we should find ourselves facing the same critical problems as we do to-day. A. used an eclectic criticism from which, in individual cases, we should have to dissent.

XVII, pp. 361–375. J. Mesk, Senecas Apocolocyntosis und Hercules Furens. The tragedy was written later than the satire, and the analysis of the parallel passages leads to the same results as the conclusions of Peiper and Birt. Seneca borrowed from the satire, which had been favorably received in court-circles, certain turns of expression which he used in the tragedy.

XVIII, pp. 376–389. R. Asmus, Zur Kritik und Erklärung von Julian. Ep. 59 ed. Hertl. I. Ep. 59 is really composed of parts of two different letters addressed to the same opponent. II. Critical notes. III. Julian imitates in Ep. 59 Demosthenes, De Cor. 126–130.

XIX, pp. 390–413. E. Drerup, Eine alte Blattversetzung bei Alexander Numeniu. The disarrangement of pages is to be placed in the 4th century of our era or even in the 3d. In this work passing under Alexander's name we have not an epitome but the genuine text of Alexander in a garbled form.

XX, pp. 414–448. W. Capelle, *Μετέωρος—μετεωρολογία.* The meanings and uses of these words and their derivatives are traced through the classical literature. Aristotle was the founder of scientific meteorology. The terms before his time were applied to all superterrestrial things, clouds, fixed stars and atmospheric phenomena. After the decline of ancient culture 1500 years elapsed before scientific interest for its own sake was devoted to the planets. The renaissance in this field also meant a rediscovery of the eternal values of antiquity.

XXI, pp. 449–456. W. Capelle, *Πεδάρσιος—μετάρσιος.* A

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later word than μετέωρος and not so rich in derivatives. It was not altogether put out of the running, as Theophrastus, followed by Poseidonios, had a predilection for it.

XXII, pp. 457–478. W. Aly, Ursprung und Entwicklung der Kretischen Zeusreligion. Conformably to the twofold nature of the Cretan-Mycenaean civilization, we must distinguish sharply between the Hellenic character of Zeus and the un-Hellenic forms of the Zeus-cult. The idea of the Olympian Zeus, his birth, youth, and self-renewal, the Greeks brought with them to Crete. The different Cretan localities worshipped Zeus variously, as sun-god, fire-god, storm-god, or god of vegetation, or of the sea. The god of Ida is a new creation, which from the peculiar mingling of Greek and Cretan elements was enabled to spread in the form of a mystery from 600 B. C.—200 A. D., and gather around it a numerous congregation, being in fact the first attempt at an organized Greek church. Its chief attraction was its mysticism.

XXIII, pp. 479–490. F. H. Weissbach, Zu Herodots persischer Steuerliste. (Herodot. III 89). An attempt to solve the metrological difficulties in the account of Darius' revenues. 19 districts returned 7600 Babylonian talents of silver; the 20th, 360 talents of gold = 4800 Bab. tal. silver; anonymous returns = 80 Bab. tal. Total 12480 Bab. tal. of silver = 14560 Euboean tal. silver = 78, 201, 612. 10 marks. 1 Bab. tal. = 70 Euboean minae. The ratio of silver to gold must be reckoned as 13⅓ to 1, necessitating a change in either 360 or 4680 of the text; and Herodotus must have omitted a small sum belonging to the ἐπέτειος φόρος of Darius.

XXIV, pp. 491–517. L. Jeep, Priscianus. Contributions to the history of the transmission of Latin literature. On citations from ancient authorities which Priscian and Diomedes derive in common from Fl. Caper.

XXV, pp. 518–526. H. Georgii, Zur Bestimmung der Zeit des Servius. The commentary was written after the Saturnalia of Macrobius, i. e. before 399, probably ca. 398, but before 410.

XXVI, pp. 527–562. C. E. Gleye, Die Moskauer Sammlung mittelgriechischer Sprichwörter. Discussion of the ancient sources of many of the proverbs in Cod. 239 (Vladimir 449) of the Moscow Synodal Library, as publ. by Krumbacher in Sitzungsber. d. bayr. Akad. 1900, S. 339 f.

Miscellen.

11, pp. 563–566. O. Immisch, De Eubio. The Eubius of Ovid, Trist. II 415 f. is perhaps a didactic poet, who, posing

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as a physician, used the didactic form for narrating prurient tales; hence he is called "impurae historiae conditor".

12, pp. 566–567. W. Nestle, Zu Od. ζ 185. Read: *μάλιστα δὲ κάλλιμον αὐτοῖς.*

13, pp. 567–568. B. Warnecke, Ad Naevium et Bacchylidem. The *ἐν χιτῶνι μούνῳ* of Bacchyl. Bergk, PLG III[4], p. 578 N. 26 [25] is probably the source of Naevius' cum pallio uno (fr. in Aul. Gell. VI. 8, § 5).

14, pp. 568–576. H. Stich und O. Crusius, Extra oleas latus und Verwandtes. The original of this phrase of the neo-Latinists is Erasmus, Adag. Chil. I. 2, 10 (p. 311 ed. 1574) and is translated from Aristoph. Frogs 995.

Pp. 572–576. Indices.

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HERMES XLV.

Fascicle 1.

Die Herkunft der Officiere und Beamten des römischen Kaiserreichs während der ersten zwei Jahrhunderte seines Bestehens. (1–26) H. Dessau pays high tribute to Domaszewski's 'Rangordnung des röm. Heeres', in which (p. 82 ff., p. 122 ff.) is shown that in the beginning of the Empire the officers of the Roman army were mainly born Italians or chosen from the thoroughly Romanized western colonies: Spain and Gallia Narbonensis; but later from Illyria, Asia, the Orient and Africa. Dessau, however, does not think that individual emperors and especially Septimius Severus influenced this change, nor that since the latter's reign Italians and west Romans were absolutely excluded from the militia equestris. D. reviews the inscriptional evidence for Gaul, Britain, Noricum, Dalmatia, the Balkan peninsula, Greece, etc., and discusses interestingly famous names, with the result that the change was a gradual evolution.

Das Diktyszeugnis des Arethas. (27–36) O. Schissel von Fleschenberg shows that the scholion of Arethas to Dio Chrys. or. XI, 92 (A. Sonny Byz. Zs. I 590), which states that Dictys inscribed his Trojan War on *χαλκοῖ πίνακες* does not warrant in Septimius, p. 2, 8. Meist. the change of tilias to tabulas; for Septimius himself in his letter to Q. Aradius p. 1, 7. substitutes the Greek word philyra for tilia, and moreover adds (p. 2, 10) that the perishable linden tablets were enclosed in a stannea arcula (cf. Malalas, p. 250 *ἐν κασσι-*

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τερίνῳ κιβωτίῳ). The fiction of linden bark was evidently due to the popular notion, mentioned as early as Galen, that its use as writing material was archaic, so that this feature of the story is in accordance with other sophistic romances: Antonius Diogenes lets Erasinides inscribe the memoirs of Dinias on cyprus wood, which are placed in the wall of a tomb; in Heliodorus' Aethiopica a silk bandage with woven letters serves as a means of recognition (cf. Rohde d. gr. Roman², p. 292, 2). Further evidence is the choice of cyprus wood in the Barnabas legend (Suidas s. v. θύινα), which was modeled in the V Century A. D. on the Dictys legend; and the Arethas scholion itself, for the idea of bronze tablets must have arisen from a confusion with the receptacle. The fiction of the tablet form, supposedly older than Homer (cf. Pliny, N. H. XIII 69), is in imitation of the βασιλικαὶ ἐφημερίδες, and justified the brief and careless style of the journalistic notes.

Ad Senecae Naturales Quaestiones. (37-42) C. Brakman conjectures: I, I, 10 <ac> magnitudo; I, 16, 5. q<uid>, eum for quem; II 12,.5 <citatius> for ut latius; II 35, 1 <excutiunt> for excipiunt; II 59, 4. <fors sine ordine> for fortitudine; II 59, 5 et <salvi> sumus; III 16, 4 <speluncae amplae> for locis amplis; III 18, 3. ipse oportet <mercatus>for i. o. me credas; III 29, 9. <ig> nobilia; IV a praef. 10 <lividos> for illos; IVa 2, 3. <centies> for gentibus; IVa 2, 7 vis <undae>; IVa 2, 9 fluminis <seges>; IVa 2, 11. <aeque> for aquae; IVb 13, 1. iubes<ne> me cum luxuria l. for iubes mentem cum l. l.; VI 8, 3 <quin> aiebant for quidem a. VII, 11, 2 forma <sola> for f. eius; VII 24, 2. <incitetur> for hinc et.

Zum Text des Persius und Juvenal. (43-56) F. Leo does not believe, in opposition to O. Jahn and Bücheler (cf. A. J. P. X 241), in the purity of the MS tradition of Persius, and to this end discusses the circumstances of the posthumous publication. An examination of the last lines of Sat. 6, proves the correctness of the vita: versus aliqui dempti sunt ultimo libro, ut quasi finitus esset. Likewise the two incongruous halves of the prologue (cf. Casaubon) indicate the work of the original editors. However L. offers only two emendations: Sat. 5, 110 <ut> stringas, and 2, 56 <patres> for fratres, as on p. 320 he retracts <et ovo> at 2, 55; but thinks that auro-ovato, in the sense of aurum quo ovasti, needs further examination (cf. carmen vigilatum). As regards the text of Juvenal, it is generally conceded that emendation is necessary, and yet conservatism, at one time so useful here, is tending to become rigid. Leo regards Sat. 10, 54: ergo supervacua etc. to be an interpolation, methodically an important fact, and thinks v. 55: propter quae fas est etc.,

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an exclamation, injected between vv. 53 and 56; in 14, 269 'ac vilis' (Pithoeanus and Urbinas) and 'a siculis' (ω) point to axiculis, which gives habitas (v. 268) a needed definition; in 11, 58. we may read: vita et tibi moribus, or better, vita ipse et moribus; in 11. 148: <id magnum> (= τοῦτο μέγα): cum posces, posce latine; in 12, 61: aspice, sumendast in tempestate securis; in 6, 148. he punctuates: exi | ocius' et 'propera, sicco venit altera naso'; and in 10, 326: erubuit; nempe haec ceu fastidita, repulsa, etc.

Eine mittelalterliche Uebersetzung der Syntaxis des Ptolemaios. (57–66) J. L. Heiberg describes, with illustrative passages a south Italian Latin translation of a Greek original of the Syntaxis of Ptolemy, made in the XIII Century (cf. Festschrift, Moritz Cantor, Leipzig, 1909, p. 100). It is a literal word for word translation, with the retention of numerous Greek words, showing the modern Greek pronunciation: limatia (λημμάτια), stithi (στήθει), etc. It is probably a translation of Marc. 311, s. XIII–XIV (itself a copy of C. s. X., made in southern Italy), which furnished the Greek text to the Occident in the XIII Century.

Aeolische Doppelconsonanz. Zur Sprache und Verstechnik des homerischen Epos I. (67–124) H. Jacobsohn discusses Aeolic double consonants in Homer with the aid of his rule (cf. Philol. 67, 335, n. 10): that every Aeolic double consonant that lacked an Ionic equivalent was placed in arsis or in the thesis of the first foot. This appears to be true of ἐσσί, of the Aeolic dat. pl. in -εσσι, formed by analogy like πάντεσσι, of dissyllabic vowel stems like ἐκάλεσσα, also in the case of ὅττι, ὁππότερος, ὅππως, etc. The latter originated from ὅδ (Sansk. yad or σϝοδ) +τι (resp. πως, etc.), and by analogy the genitives and datives οὗτεο, ὥτεῳ, etc., were displaced by ὅττεο, ὅττεῳ, etc. The fact that the indeclinable prefix is joined to the accusative only in Homer and Aeolic proves the Aeolic origin of these forms. The simplification in Homer (cf. ὅτινα, ὅτινας) is due to the Ionic ὅτι, ὅτεο, etc., which probably started from ὅτις=ὅστις. J. discusses the peculiarity of the various theses and especially the pause after the first foot; treats a number of words and criticizes the views of Sommer (Glotta 1, 145) and of others.

Hippokratische Forschungen I. (125–150) H. Diels points to Plato Phaedrus 270 C, which would classify Hippocrates with the methodic school; but this passage has not yet been connected with any particular treatise, such as περὶ ἀέρων, ὑδάτων, τόπων, etc. The work περὶ διαίτης, largely a compilation, which aims to combine the nature philosophy of the V Century with dietetics, depends on περὶ ἀέρων. It has been clearly analysed and its sources pointed out by Fredrich (cf. Philol. Unters. v. Kiessling u. Wilam. XV), and D. merely

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offers a supplement. Clearly arranged without book divisions (a discovery of the IV Century B. C.), we have it divided into four books, although our best MSS show three divisions, as it was known to Galen. The latter cites it frequently; but some of the citations are confused with *περὶ διαίτης ὑγιεινῆς*, etc. In de facult. alim. A 1 (VI 473 K.) Euryphon, Philistion and others are mentioned as variously alleged authors. Its date must have been about 400 B. C. as it was soon after criticised by the empiricist Diocles of Carystus. Insight into the MS tradition is afforded by the crowding out of the archaic *ὀτρύγη* at Hipp. II 43 by the un-Ionic glosses *τίφη* (Gal. de fac. alim. A 3) and (l. c.) *τίφη, ζειὰ κουφότερα πυρῶν*. The connection of the Hippocratic writings with the sophistic rhetoric has been shown in some particulars by Ilberg and Gomperz; but there is still lacking a connected account of the development of Ionic prose. *Περὶ διαίτης* shows the influence of Heraclitus, and rhetorical figures occur that appear in Herodotus or are Gorgianic, hence it is not strange to find that the proemium to Book III imitates Protagoras: *περὶ μὲν θεῶν οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι κτλ.* This being so, Book IV 86: *ὅστις οὖν ἐπίσταται κρίνειν ταῦτα ὀρθῶς μέγα μέρος ἐπίσταται σοφίης* may be from the same source (cf. Plat. Protag. 339 A) or, at least, is sophistic. Finally D. gives several pages of text based on Θ and M and an exactly copied specimen of the Latin translation: Paris. lat. 7027 (cf. A. J. P. 26, 229; 27, 346), in order to warn against the overrating of this independent source, as is often done in the case of such Latin translations.

Miscellen: (151–155) Th. Reinach admits enharmonic composition in tragedy; but shows that Plut. de rect. rat. aud. 46 B cannot be adduced as proof as Crönert does (Hermes 44, p. 508; cf. A. J. P. 34, p. 483); for *ἐφ' ἁρμονίας* here clearly refers to a mode (i. e. mixolydian), and not to enharmonic intervals; hence we should read: *ᾠδήν [τινα] πεποιημένην ἐφ' ἁρμονίας <τινός>*, or, . . . *ἐφ' ἁρμονίας <τῆς μιξολυδιστὶ καλουμένης>*.—K. Praechter (155–156) emends Thuc. 5, 22, 2: *νομίσαντες <ἥκιστα ἂν σφίσι>*; this phrase, having been skipped, was then written on the margin, and subsequently introduced with the catchword *νομίζοντες* (for *νομίσαντες*) at the wrong place (cf. Brinkmann, A. J. P. 24, 350).—F. Bechtel (156–158) infers from Plat. Cratyl. 408 B.: *Ἶρις ἀπὸ τοῦ εἴρειν*, from IG. II 2, no. 793, etc., that *Ἶρις* should be connected with *ϝειτέα* (*εἰτέα*) meaning 'bow', 'circle'.—P. Jacobsthal (158–159) proposes *Εὐρώπεια ταῦρος <ἀναιδής>* for Panofkas *[τ]α[ῦ]ρος Ἀνιάδης* (Bullet. dell' Instituto, 1848, p. 159) as the reading intended on the black-figured amphora in Würzburg (cf. Gerhard Ausgew. Vasenb. XC), which yields an antithesis to the *Εὐρώπεια ταῦρος φορβάς* of the opposite side [cf. the Vaphio cups].—Karl Meiser (160) would substitute *ὑπὸ πειθοῦς* for *ὑπὸ ἔθους* in

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Epictet. IV 7, 6.; the ψιλὴ παράταξις, obstinatio mera (cf. Marc. Aurel. 11, 3), of the Christians in facing death being due to the persuasion of the founder of the sect, rather than to custom (cf. Lucian de morte Peregrini c. 13).

Fascicle 2.

Aeolische Doppelconsonanz. II (see above). (161–219) Jacobsohn continues with a discussion of ϝϝ. Where αϝ and εϝ would develop from a preceding α or ε, the matter is obscure; but Homeric δῖος can be traced to *διϝϝος. From the stem διϝ came δίϝιος (Sansk. divyás), and δίϝιος (cf. inscr. Διϝί<α>). Bechtel's view (cf. Vocalcontract. in Homer) that δῖος came from δίϝιος, and that δίϝιος became δῖϝος, is rejected, as vowels separated by ϝ remained uncontracted in Homer (cf. Solmsen Stud. z. lat. Lautg. 110). Δίϝιος in Aeolic became δίϝϝος (cf. κρίννω from κρίνιω), and if substituted for δῖος explains the position in arsis. The meaning 'magnificent, etc.' comes from the stem διϝ; the supposed interchange with θεῖος (θέῖος), placed respectively in arsis and thesis (cf. Nauck Mél. II 401), is impossible, owing to the difference in meaning. In tragedy δῖος refers to Ζεύς; but this must be from δίϝιος, or otherwise developed. Nothing can be determined metrically about forms resulting from Aeolic apocope (cf. κάππεσε), nor concerning double liquid forms. The contiguity of Ionic and Aeolic territory may account for much, although the identity of the mixed dialect in Homer with the spoken language is not proved.

Zur Glaubwürdigkeit Theopomps. (220–249) G. Busolt takes issue with Ed. Meyer (Theopomps Hellenika, Halle, 1909) as to the reliability of Theopompus as an historian. Both accept the conclusion of the editors of the Oxyrhyncus papyrus, that this contains a fragment of his Hellenica (cf. Schwartz, Hermes 44 (1909), p. 496); also that Diodorus is useful in supplying lacunae, besides containing additional matter from Theopompus through the medium of Ephorus. They also agree in believing that Theopompus aimed to outdo Xenophon by giving more details, by supplying omissions and, in general, by making his account different in a more or less reckless manner. But, while Meyer believes that he used sources that were at times better than those that Xenophon had access to, Busolt concludes from an examination of their respective accounts, that the divergent accounts of Theopompus, full of details and stratagems, are largely fictitious, showing the evident purpose of saying 'black' where Xenophon says 'white' (cf. A. J. P. 32, p. 466).

Plancus, Lepidus und Laterensis im Mai 43. (250–300) W. Sternkopf discusses the letters of Plancus to Cicero, ad

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fam. X 9. 11. 15. 17. 18. 21. 23., written after the battle of Mutina (Apr. 26–June 6, 43 B. C.), in which he tells of his movements and, particularly, of his negotiations with Lepidus until the latter had joined his forces with those of Antony. S. in agreement with Stähelin, Ruete and others against Jullien, Groebe and Bardt, interchanges the chronological order of X 17 and X 21, and thus is able to show that the changes in Plancus' actions were determined by the changing phases of the negotiations with Lepidus. The results throw light on minor details, especially on X 21, and on the actions of Laterensis. The article, together with that of Bardt's (cf. A. J. P. 34, p. 484), is valuable for an understanding of this chapter of history.

Varia. (301–309) I. Vahlen continues his textual discussions and emendations (cf. A. J. P. XXXIII 349). In Plato Phaedr. 236 A he defends the older accepted reading *τῶν Λυσίου* against Burnet's *τῶνδε* [Λυσίου], also *στάθητι* against Cobet's conjecture *ἔσταθι* (cf. A. J. P. IV, p. 371). In Livy 42, 11, 5 he proposes iamiam <proximum> for i. primum; in Livy 41, 11, 6 Cuius capti <tumultum ubi>. In Horace Od. I 8 he defends Lydia, dic, per omnis | te deos oro, against F. Vollmers emendation: Lydia, dic per omnis | hoc deos vere, which R. Heinze adopted in the new edition of Kiessling's Horace. Horace's usage supports here the inferior MS tradition, just as it supports levat rather than juvat in Ep. II 2, 212.

Miscellen: F. Jacoby (310–311) suggests the identity of the Gorgon who wrote *περὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥόδωι θυσιῶν* (cf. Athenaeus XV 696 F, Hesych. s. v. *Ἐπιπολιαῖος* and *Καταραπίτης*, Pind. schol.) and *Γόργων Γόργωνος Βρυγινδάριος*, who was priest of *Ἀπόλλων Ἐριθίμιος* 83/2 B. C. (cf. I. G. XII, 1, p. 106).— Deubner (311–314) discusses Lucilius, v. 338 f. and modifies (independently of L. Müller) Lachmann's proposal: quidve hoc inter siet illud to q. h. inter sit et illud. For postpositive inter see Neue-Wagener Forml. II 947, for sĭt Lucil. v. 1329 M.; verse 53: serpere uti gangrena malo (conject. mala, malum) atque herpestica posset, was imitated by Varro (cf. Nonius, p. 117), who wrote hanc mali gangrenam; hence for malo read mali; uti would be a conjunction. He, further, contrasts Lucilius' (Book 29) treatment of the three kinds of illicit love, with Horace, Sat. I, 2, 37 ff. (pointed out by Cichorius), and shows that this was a *τόπος* of the Cynics (cf. Diog. Laert. Crates VI 88), on whom the Epicureans depend (cf. Kiessling-Heinze).—J. Heeg (315–319) publishes an unedited fragment of the astrological hexameter poem of Dorotheus of Sidon (II Cent. B. C.) and shows that this was the main source of the Anonymus *περὶ ἐπεμβάσεων* (Kroll Catal.

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Cod. Astrol. Graec. II, p. 160–180), although this cites also Vettius Valens' *Ἀνθολογίαι* and the Tetrabiblos of Ptolemy. The lack of agreement of the Anonymus with a paraphrase of Dorotheus (cf. Kroll, l. c., p. 195–198) is explained by another unpublished fragment of D. (Vaticanus, 1056) from another poem on the same subject. That Firmicus Maternus (IV Century A. D.) depended largely on Dorotheus becomes plain (cf. Pauly-Wissowa Firmicus).—Karl Meiser (319–320) cites passages from Libanius, Vergil, Ovid, etc., describing how the head of the dismembered Orpheus continued to sing, which illustrates a similar legend concerning Marsyas in Libanius (V, p. 142, 4 Förster), which passage he emends: *αὐλητοῦ δὲ Φρυγὸς Μαρσύου κεκολασμένου αὐλεῖν δορὰ βούλεται καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἀδυνατεῖ, αὐλοῦ δὲ αὐλοῦντος ἀκούει καὶ ἀναβιώσκεται τῷ μέλει.*

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BRIEF MENTION.

Professor DAVID M. ROBINSON's elaborate review, in the *Classical Weekly* of April 4, of Mr. MOONEY's *Apollonius of Rhodes* reminds me of a passage in the Introduction to that work. In a footnote on p. 29 Mr. MOONEY tells us that there are seventy-six developed similes in the Argonautica (5833 lines): in the Iliad, 15600 lines (why not 15693?), there are about 200 (why not 196?), so that the proportion is nearly the same. I have not been at the pains to count after Mr. MOONEY or his authority. So much juggling is done with figures, and there is so much current abuse of the statistical method, in which I myself was one of the pioneers, that I am not impressed by Mr. MOONEY's handling of his facts. Homer repeats his similes so often—the lion alone ramping through the poems as does his heraldic brother on mediaeval coats of arms—that the proportion for Apollonius is very much enhanced; and then the character of the similes, the spheres from which they are drawn, ought to be taken into account. Nothing seems to be plainer than that Apollonius deliberately set himself to outdo Homer in this domain as in others; and so to triumph over his *μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν* adversary, whose Hekale was misspelled sometime ago as Hekate, at which the shade of Apollonius must have rejoiced.

The subject of Apollonius' similes deserves closer study than it seems to have received, and I should like to turn loose upon it the author of a book that has just come to the editor's table—*Συγκριτικὴ τροπικὴ τῆς ποιήσεως τῶν ἐγκρίτων χρόνων τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς λογοτεχνίας*, Budapest, 1913. The work embraces the tropes of Iliad and Odyssey, of Pindar, Aischylos, Sophokles, Euripides and Aristophanes. It is provided with a bibliography of more than ninety titles, and the author, WILHELM PECZ, whose name refuses to submit wholly to the Greek alphabet and appears in the hybrid form Γουλιέλμου PECZ, has appended a list of his own writings, which shew that he has been working on this line for many years. Most of his books and articles have been published in Hungarian, but some of his work is accessible in German; and his name will be recognized by the readers of that most readable of philological

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journals, the Neue Jahrbücher. It is a pleasure to note that he has not overlooked J. T. Lees on the Metaphor in Aeschylus (Studies in Honor of Gildersleeve), though J. T. Lees appears as I. T. Less. We Americans must be content to have our names misspelled, as happened also to J. W. Kern, who figures as J. W. Kun in the new Brugmann-Thumb, p. 427. PECZ's material is sorted under three great heads—Synecdoche, Metonymy, and Analogy—the last name comprising, after Gerber, Metaphor, Comparison, and Allegory. The great differences naturally lie in the third class. Poetry, theatre, song, music, gymnastics, dance, athletics, architecture, statuary, painting, mensuration, political life, very rarely form terms of comparison in the Iliad and Odyssey, while they occur about fifty times as often in Pindar, ten times as often in the four dramatic poets. Whilst hunting, fishing, horse-breeding, horse-racing, cattle-raising, bee-keeping, gardening, vine-dressing, husbandry, merchandise, navigation, do occur in Iliad and Odyssey, they occur eight times as often in Pindar and four times as often in the four dramatists. Cooking, rather frequent in Aristophanes, occurs in Iliad and Odyssey, but is lacking in Pindar and the tragic poets. The minor handicrafts—working in gold, silver, and wax, carpentry, pottery, tanning—abound in the Iliad and Odyssey and Aristophanes, are favoured to some extent in Pindar, but are seldom employed in tragedy. The primacy of religious life in Iliad and Odyssey is shewn by the tropes taken from mythology and ritual, not so much in comparison with the two devout men—Pindar and Aischylos—as in comparison with Sophokles, Euripides, and Aristophanes, who all three together furnish only a few more than Pindar, and not so many as Aischylos alone. Nature supplies more figures to the Iliad and Odyssey than to Pindar and the four dramatic poets, forming as they do one-half of all the tropes employed in the Iliad and Odyssey, whereas in Pindar and the four dramatists they constitute only a fourth, shewing to PECZ's mind that the civilization of the period of the Iliad and Odyssey is more primitive than that of the Periklean period. That there are so few tropes taken from war in the Iliad and Odyssey is due to the fact that they reflect in the main Ionic and not Achaeo-Aeolic civilization, thanks to the Ionic refashioning—a point made by Platt on Homer's Similes (E. J. P. 1906), who, according to PECZ, ought to have acknowledged his obligations to his forerunner. The figures taken from war are left over from the Achaeo-Aeolic original, like the Aeolic glosses and the ghastly anatomical descriptions of wounds. In Sophokles, who lived for the most part in the peaceful epoch of Perikles, figures from war are in the main lacking. They are more numerous in Euripides and Aristophanes, witnesses of the

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Peloponnesian War, whilst they abound in Pindar and Aischylos, so that the tropes reflect the spirit of the age.

In proportion to the figures of analogy, says Herr PECZ, synecdoche and metonymy play a very small part. In Pindar they yield one-ninth, in Sophokles one-third, in Euripides one-half, whereas there is a perceptible decline in Aristophanes. Now, according to PECZ, synecdoche and metonymy are the fruit of ratiocination; analogy, of imagination and fancy. From this it follows that there is a gradual decline in the power of the imagination, which mounts again in Aristophanes, whereas ratiocination, which we hardly encounter in the Iliad and Odyssey, gradually gains strength in Pindar, Aischylos, and Sophokles, culminating in Euripides, and noticeably declining in Aristophanes. Finally, of the figures of analogy the most highly developed is the comparison or simile. There are four times as many comparisons in the Iliad as metaphors, only twice as many in the Odyssey. On the contrary, in Pindar and the four dramatists the metaphor forges ahead. The Iliad leads not only in the number, but also in the development of the comparison, the detailed comparisons or similes being more than twice as many as the brief comparisons, whereas the Odyssey holds the balance; and in Pindar and the four dramatists the short form leads. In the Iliad there is only one allegory. In Pindar the allegories are many and detailed. Here as elsewhere Homer is the natural, Pindar the conscious, master artist of the language.

I have not undertaken to count after PECZ any more than I have counted after MOONEY, and have forborne to interrupt PECZ's demonstration by comments. So I might have remarked that Sophokles actually outlived Euripides, and could not have been insensible of the atmosphere of the Peloponnesian War; and the question whether metaphor is an abridged comparison or comparison an expanded metaphor is one about which much might be said. Language is nearly all metaphor, and the large use of comparison in Homer is the sign of an advanced stage of poetic art, hardly consistent with primitive conditions (A. J. P. II 108; R. M. Mayer, NJB., 1908, S. 63).

Of course, PECZ's figures are only approximate, and we have not to deal with the small dust of statistics. Seven thousand

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iambic trimeters fall far short of seven thousand heroic hexameters. And what is one to do with Pindar, Bakchylides, the choruses of the dramatic poets? Tycho Mommsen is content with a rough estimate, but the soul of the true statistician will not rest satisfied with such rude guesses, though there are few who would follow the laborious method of Professor C. W. E. Miller (J. H. U. Circular, August, 1883, p. 142), who many years ago, moved by the spirit of the then dominant school, took into account the metrical value of each foot for the purpose of ascertaining the true proportion of the various elements in the comedies of Aristophanes. The main result was eminently satisfactory, and ἦθος of metre corresponds to ἦθος of play. Alas! for the great Babylon we had built upon the Schmidtian foundation. 'The owls shall dwell there and satyrs shall dance there'—and, moreover, Professor John Williams White shall marshal his militant enoplics there. It is therefore just as well that PECZ did not go into the business of decimals to the fourth place. His time will come.

By the way, in the early days of my Greek seminary, more than thirty years ago, similar investigations were undertaken into the relative frequency of metaphor and comparison in Plato, with the interesting result that metaphors lead in the so-called Socratic and presumably earlier dialogues, whereas similes come to the front in the later dialogues. This is as it should be, and therefore suspicious. Dr. E. G. Sihler's dissertation was never published, and the whole subject was restudied by Dr. George Olaf Berg in a Johns Hopkins University dissertation of 1904. Dr. Berg used Sihler's work for the purpose of verifying and completing his own collection of examples, but whilst he finds that there is a development in the use of metaphorical language, he considers it unwarranted to fix in detail the order in which the dialogues were written solely by this development.

In the April number of the *Classical Quarterly* Professor GOODELL has discussed the meaning and the history of χρή and δεῖ. The subject has interested me for many years, and in order to avoid entangling alliance with Professor GOODELL's paper, I will first state how the matter lay in my own mind before I read his illuminating and suggestive essay. That of the two rivals, χρή and δεῖ, χρή is nearer to προσήκει, δεῖ to ἀναγκαῖον, is an old story. It is formulated, for instance, in a

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little manual of Greek synonyms by Voemel, publised in 1822, in which he cites the gloss of Hesychios *χρή· πρέπει, καθήκει,* and tells us that the personal equivalent is *ὀφείλω*. In Plato's Phaedrus 233 D, *χρή* and *προσήκει* are treated as equivalents: *εἰ χ ρ ὴ τοῖς δεομένοις μάλιστα χαρίζεσθαι, π ρ ο σ ή κ ε ι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μὴ τοὺς βελτίστους ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀπορωτάτους εὖ ποιεῖν.* Whether the speech is by Lysias or a clever pastiche, it is faithful to Lysias' preference for *χρή*. *δεῖ* comes in at the close of the speech (234 C). *δεῖ δὲ βλάβην μὲν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ* (sc. *τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι* not 'love', as Jowett has it) *μηδεμίαν, ὠφελίαν δὲ ἀμφοῖν γίγνεσθαι.* Jowett translates *δεῖ* by 'ought to', as he translates the preceding *χρή*'s; but it would be easy to see in *δεῖ* the *sine qua non* condition of granting favours. But Plato—if it is Plato—is too much a slave to the charms of the great goddess *Ποικιλία* to be a safe guide in the matter of synonyms, which he builds and unbuilds again (cf. A. J. P. XVI 92).

Indeed, the relative frequency of *χρή* and *δεῖ* in different spheres and in different periods cannot have escaped any careful student of the orators, and I have alluded to it (A. J. P. XXVI 249) lightly as a matter of course, as one would allude to *σύν* and *μετά*, as one would allude to *ἐθέλω* and *βούλομαι*—familiar ear-marks all.[1] It has long been observed that there is but one *δεῖ* in Homer,[2] and there is but one *δεῖ* in Pindar, as there is but one *βούλομαι*. A convenient test is furnished by that paraenetic ragbag, the Theognidea. A rapid count reveals nearly a score of 'duty' *χρή*'s, not a solitary *δεῖ*. *χρή* gives way to *δεῖ* in the later Attic orators, and finally *δεῖ* reigns. Eleusis is merged in Athens. *χρή* beats *δεῖ* in Antiphon, *χρή* beats *δεῖ* in Lysias, whereas, not being a professional, Andokides, 'the gentleman orator', as I have nicknamed him, is nearer to the later usage. With Isokrates the break begins. It is not necessary to count. A footrule will serve. The

[1] In the *Περὶ πολιτείας* attributed to Herodes Atticus, Wilamowitz has noted, as who would not, the strong archaic flavour, which he considers characteristic of Herodes, whereas Drerup, largely on the ground of that very same archaic flavour, has surmised in the little document the hand of a political pamphleteer prior to 404. See his edition, Paderborn 1908. In this performance *χρή* beats *δεῖ* five to three, and in the same line of observation *λέξαι* (bis), *λέξει*, *λέξειε* are decidedly old-fashioned (C. W. E. M., A. J. P. XVI 162; XXXI 117). By the way, that Drerup should have retained *ἴσως ἄν τις εἴπῃ* (30) as an Homeric formula seems to me even more absurd than the retention of *ἄν ἐρεῖ* (Pind. N. 7, 68) as an Homeric reminiscence, *ἴσως* would kill any Homeric formula.

[2] The types made J. H. H. Schmidt (Syn. 3, 702) say that there is only one *χρή* in Homer. Of course, he meant *δεῖ*. A. J. P. XXVII 480.

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orators all follow. There are f. i. four times as many δεῖ's as χρή's in Hypereides, and all the χρή's go without much coaxing into the προσήκει category—the category of moral obligation. Heaven bless the indexes! There is no index to Isaios, so that I have had to count. In Isaios δεῖ draws off gradually, but winds up a good third ahead, a warning against averages made on the basis of segmental reading (A. J. P. VIII 221, footn.).

If the etymology of χρή were clear (A. J. P. XXXV 112), there would be comparatively little trouble. But as δεῖ is practically lacking in the earliest time, we must trust to mere indicia, σημεῖα not τεκμήρια, of a later day. There is a large group of related words meaning 'want'. χρή (compare χρήζω) might be defined as a 'felt want', whereas δεῖ means 'lack', which is a want that may or may not be felt. Feeling comes in, as it often comes in, with the middle δέομαι or with the practical preposition ἐν in ἔνδεια. The greater feeling in χρή makes it more poetical. The connexion of χρή with χρῶμαι is insisted on by all who discuss the subject. χρῶμαι means, 'I come into touch with', and χείρ is supposed to mean 'the toucher', 'the feeler'. The practical Greek consulted the oracle about the management of affairs, not about speculative questions. χρησμός is not to be divorced from χρήσιμος. Theologians tell us that our oracles, the Scriptures, teach us what man is to believe concerning God and what duty God requires of man. The duty comes first to the Greek. The sanctity of the oracle lies about both prediction and preachment, but preachment dominates. So a moral character cleaves to the grammatical and rhetorical commonplace called χρεία. χρή being more poetical than δεῖ, is bound to lose in the long run, and δεῖ wins. In the only passage in which Pindar uses δεῖ he uses χρή also, and 'though he was no synonym-monger, he delighted in the play of his own work' (Intro. Essay xliii) and in the passage referred to he uses χρή and δεῖ with all the exactness that any synonymist could desire (O. 6, 28): χρὴ τοίνυν πύλας ὕμνων ἀναπιτνάμεν αὐταῖς· πρὸς Πιτάναν δὲ παρ' Εὐρώτα πόρον δεῖ σάμερον ἐλθεῖν. There was a moral obligation, a προσήκει, resting on the poet to open the gates of songs to the σθένος ἡμιόνων. The *force majeure*, the outside force of the driver, compelled the mules to finish their journey on that very day. But taking a lesson from Pindar, I am content to do my duty by opening the gates to Professor GOODELL—*Ianua patet*: *intrate* (A. J. P. XXV 478)—and recognize the dire necessity of getting out No. 138 in time, which will be impossible, if I keep on this track of synonyms, which is as endless as translation, to which it ultimately belongs.

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Professor GOODELL says that 'in the post-Homeric development the aspect of χρή which persisted, which χρή retained as long as it retained anything, was that which would most easily connect it with the oracle, as the expression of settled religious and moral order', and after discussing the use of χρή and δεῖ in selected passages of poetry and prose, for he does not attempt exhaustive statistics, he concludes with the following survey of the ground covered:

> The circle of development is complete. From the Homeric breadth and simplicity of χρή, through the poetic wealth of the fifth century and the fulness and precision of the earlier half of the fourth, we have reached the comparative poverty of the Hellenistic period, which nevertheless knows, and can use if it will, the resources of the preceding age.

If the lesson can hardly be called a new revelation, any more than Professor GOODELL's article on μή (A. J. P. XXXIII 437), still, as in that article, the detail work is illuminating and suggestive, and well deserves more ample discussion than I can give it here.

That mobile adjective, the participle, had a gradual development, and over-analysis in the early stages is a mistake. But when we begin to analyze, let us analyze correctly. There is an adversative participle that deals with opposing forces. The negative is οὐ, which sometimes holds its own in the face of an imperative. There is a concessive participle, with the negative μή—necessarily post-Homeric. They are often slumped under the head 'concessive'. With his unlovely mania for a nomenclature of his own, Stahl tells us that the participle is used both as a conditional concessive and a causal concessive—causal concessive being what ordinary mortals call adversative—and the whole section S. 668, 2 is a mess. μή with the participle is taboo in the early time and without a negative alternative 'the conditional-concessive' could not attain the development which it was destined to reach in prose. As for Stahl's 'causal concessive' (adversative) even in the pre-Herodotean and pre-Attic time καίπερ is not absolutely necessary, as Stahl maintains. The naked participle can be found by looking for it (e. g. E 433), though, as I have repeatedly urged, analysis is best left alone. In my Pindar (cxi) I say: "The adversative relation is expressed in Greek chiefly by the participle. The language is sometimes kind enough to give warning of this by καίπερ and ὅμως, but often no notice is given, and failure to understand it is charged to stupidity". The adversative relation comes out by contrast. 'Whereas' is causal or adversative as the case may be, and so is *cum*, not to mention ἐπεί, about which an

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unnecessary pother has been made in the commentaries. Statistics as to the proportion of the adversative participle with or without the sign of καίπερ or ὅμως for the classical time are not at hand, but the author of a treatise—*Syntax of the Participle in the Apostolic Fathers*, HENRY B. ROBISON (University of Chicago)—has been at the pains to count the proportion in these later representatives of Greek usage, and finds the concessive force emphasized by καίπερ in seven instances, or in only 25 per cent of the occurrences. It is the only statement in the laborious exhibit of which I can make use.

The arrival of HUGO MAGNUS's elaborate critical edition of *Ovid's Metamorphoses* (Weidmann) reminds me of a superserviceable, finical correspondent, who called the attention of the Editor of the Journal to the fact that there were seven feet in my quotation from Ovid, Met. ix 5. 6, apropos of the Civil War (A. J. P. XXXIV 493). Who but 'a monster of an ass, an ass without an ear', would have needed the lesson, and what reasonable man would expect an inscription to indicate the end of one verse and the beginning of another? Such be the amenities of international criticism. The late Robinson Ellis was much concerned when a leading Hellenist undertook to teach me the difference between χρόνος and καιρός, the difference which Hypereides makes in his Epitaphios: οὔτε ὁ χρόνος ὁ παρὼν ἱκανός, οὔτε ὁ καιρὸς ἁρμόττων τῷ μακρολογεῖν. I bade my good friend not to weep for me. Ordinarily I do not answer such strictures. *Remorsurus petor* is not my motto, but in that case I could not keep from giving some return lessons which were needed but not heeded (A. J. P. XXVII 111). My memory holds many specimens of such criticism. One American friend, who had glanced through my Latin grammar, gently called my attention to the false quantity in 'pālam'—it was not the 'palam' he had in mind—and a critic of my Persius printed in his review of that ill-starred edition as a part of his indictment the list of *errata* I myself had furnished the reader. If the said 'superserviceable, finical' person had known his Ovid and had understood the circumstances in which I quoted 'nec tam turpe fuit vinci, quam contendisse decorum est', he would have stayed his officious hand. Let me give the context:

> Triste petis munus, quis enim sua proelia victus
> commemorare velit? referam tamen ordine, nec tam
> turpe fuit vinci, quam contendisse decorum est.

It was Poseidon that overcame in Ovid, as it was Poseidon that overcame in our Civil War, if we are to believe Charles

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Francis Adams; and this gives additional point to the quotation. However, the last line, which I have not cited, would not have appealed to the thousands and tens of thousands of the Unreconstructed in those far-off days,

magnaque dat nobis tantus solacia victor,

and even now when the question arises as to the imposition of a higher morality and an ordered civilization upon an alien race, he who has imbibed the Greek spirit will say to himself · *φέρει οὐδὲν εὐδαιμονίαν ἄνευ τῆς αὐτονομίας.*

The fertilizing slime of slang that even scholars look upon with generous allowance, brings me no comfort for the passing of the racy English of our colonial grandfathers. I never open a school-edition of Shakespeare without a sickening sense of loss. Here are some of the words and phrases that I find explained in notes and glossary for the benefit of the rising generation: 'prolixity', 'burn daylight', 'the longest liver takes all', 'green sickness', 'spoke him fair', 'cannot choose but', 'living' ('all her living'), 'utter' (bad money), 'chop logic'. But all this helps one to understand the criticisms that are levelled at the survivors of the period to which I belong, and that is something.

The age of literary allusion is past, never to return (A. J. P. XXXII 113). It is better to write things quotable than to quote. Both habits, it is true, are dangerous to the moral tone, but, if one must quote, absolute exactness is a paramount duty; and so I apologize for quoting from memory (A. J. P. XXXV 107) a poem by Armand Renaud on the theme of Dioecious Love—*εὐδαίμονες οἷσιν ἀφῆς ἄγευστος ἐνή*—where l. 3 for 'inconnu' read 'ignoré'.

The completion of the Third Edition of The Golden Bough has seemed to friends and admirers of Dr. Frazer a fitting occasion for offering some token in recognition of his great services to learning; and it is proposed that a Frazer Fund for Social Anthropology be established to make grants to travelling students of either sex, in order to promote a department of Anthropology, which Dr. Frazer has always been eager to advance. Contributions may be made to the Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. F. M. Cornford, Trinity College, Cambridge, England.

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I.—VARRONIANA.

DE LINGUA LATINA.

Part II.

[CONCLUDED FROM A. J. P. XXXV 162.]

BOOK VI.

2. Old form, d/l: ab sodu (ms. *solu*) solum. Varro reckoned with the d/l variation in V. 123, lepestae . . δεπέσταν.

4. Lacunae supplied: mundus. <sub> d<i>uo motus <is> casu ⌊Or is *casu* a gloss for *usu*?⌋ venit. Was *sub* written *sud* before *dio*? Interpretation, punctuation: The relative clause quod . . . inumbravit seems to refer to shading a sun-porch (*solarium*). What precedes is solarium dictum id in quo horae in sole inspiciebantur, wherein *solarium* is certainly a sun dial. There may be a lacuna after *inspiciebantur*, though I would use a colon—unless Varro was playing on the equivoque in *solarium*. Derivation; the hapax *turdelice*: In R. R. 3. 5. 1 sq. Varro describes a breeding house for *turdi*, without ever calling it a *turdarium*, the word he uses in our present section. Describing the door or entrance (3. 5. 3), he says: ostium habere . . potissimum eius generis quod cocliam appellant. With *coclia* cf. ἑλίκη 'the convolution of a spiral shell, as of snails'. Thus it would appear that *turd-elice* is a hybrid compound, describing the door of a *turdarium* as a 'thrush-spiral'.

7. Diction: *inconcubium*, however easy it is to correct to [in]concubium, looks like a confluent from *in concubio* (sc. quasi tempus).

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8. Insertion: aut quod <quom> ad nos versum proximum <s t a t> est solstitium.

9. Punctuation; Varronian footnote (see on v. 20): quod tum multi imbres ⌊hinc (i. e. a hieme) hibernacula, hibernum⌋ vel etc.

10. Lacuna supplied: quartum au<c>tumnus <cum a u c-t u m omne> ab sole, sicut (not sic[ut]) etc. For the general sense cf. Catullus 62, 44: quem <florem> mulcent aurae, f i r m a t sol, educat imber. Punctuation, insertion: dum ab sole profecta rursus redit ad eum [.] luna, <nisi> quod etc.

16. Ductus, t/r: (see VII, 28) flamen potus (not porus). I assume in capitals a confusion of T with P, then of P and R; cf. *t*otius for *p*otius in v. 61, hecralem for h<a>ec *P*alem in v. 74.

21. Excisions: quo di[d]e[o] actum for quod ideo a.

23. Etymology of *quinquatrus*; insertions; T/P/L: publice parentant *e* sexto die (sc. Saturnalium) qui atra dicitur <. eam dicunt> diem *p*arentum (ms. *t*-) Accas *L*arentinas (ms. *t*). I render e sexto die (*-e* added to *parentant* in ms.) by 'the sixth day after', believing the phrase to be like *a. d. VI.* etc. For the combination of *ater* with *dies* all the indispensable information is collected in Thes. II, 1021, 21 sq. Gruppe and Wissowa rightly connect this *ater* with *Quinq-atrus* etc. Cf. supra §14: Quinquatrus: hic dies unus ab nominis errore observatur proinde ut sint quinque dictus . . sic hic, quod erat post diem quintum idus quinquatrus. The day after any of the three division points of Kalends Nones Ides was *ater* (see §29), cf. Afranius, com. 163, Semptembris heri Kalendae, hodie ater dies. Nothing so conforms to sense as to correlate *ăter* (*āter* by popular etymology) with the sept of English *after*, from a startform *áp(o)teros*, whence *a(p)tros* cf. *vi(p)tricus* 'step-father' (see Fay, Prellwitz, Schulze ap. Walde[2] s. v.). In *quinquatrus* we have dissimilation from *quint(um) atrum*, e. g. When the nominative was in the stage *atros*, assimilation in number also to *Idus* took place. But an Italic doublet *-tro-/-tru-* is also found in Lat. *castrum*: Osc.-Umbr. *kastru-*.

24. Syntax; *ut quod* = ὡς ὅτι (Plutarch); punctuation: hoc sacrificium fit in Velabro qu[i]a in novam viam exitur, ut aiunt quidam ad sepulchrum Accae, ut quod ibi[;] prope

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faciunt etc. For the syntax of *ibi prope* cf. *prope alicubi* (Cicero, Fam. 9. 7. 1). Inconcinnity; capitalize: [†] Paganalibus. The nominative Paganalia would better correspond with the foregoing feriae.

26. Ductus, I/E: omnis [†] pagus; pagus is collective as in Horace C. 3. 18. 11; Ovid, F. 1. 669, but here has a plural verb.

29. Insertion: quod tum ut [†] esset popul<o i>us constitutum est etc. Cf. ius non est, infra §53.

31. Ms. defended: ab eo quod eo die rex sacrific[i]ulus [†] dĭcat ad comitium. For *dĭcat* 'proclaims' cf. §61; also Thes. v, 964, 3 sq. Here *ad consilium* = *apud c.*

41. Lacuna supplied: hinc 'agitur pecus pastum', <hinc ambagines>, qu[i]a vix agi potest. Cf. the glosses *ambagines* loca flexuosa, *ambages* incertum iter.

44. Ms. retained: [†] reminisci.

45. Insertion: hinc etiam 'metuo, mentem <teneo> quodam modo motam' ⌊cf. the gloss *mensit* timet⌋ vel 'metuis, te (ms. *metuisti*) amovisti'. The single quotes are mine With *te amovisti* cf. Titinius, com. 45, parasitos amovi, lenonem aedibus absterrui; Donatus on *Ad.* 553, mire 'amovebo' dixit; non 'deterrebo'. In the citation 'metuo . . motam' we have 4 trochees + 1½ of the second phrase of a long verse (septenarius or octonarius).

48. Emendation accepted (GS): cum <pavit cor,> pavit; et ab eo pavor.

49. Emendation accepted (after Conal and others): cum id quod remansit in mente init (ms. in id) <rursus> quod rursus movetur.

50. Compendium: maerere a marcere quo[d] (sc. maerendo) etiam corpus marcesc*it* (ms. °*ere*). The infinitive is due to the previous infinitives. Or read marcescere <dicitur>, the omitted word having been indicated by *dr* (see proleg. p. xviii and on v. 95).

52. Interpretation; insertion: cum hoc vocabulorum a similitudine vocis pueri, <Fatuo> ac Fatu*is* (ms. °*us*) fari id dictum. Here *cum hoc* = besides, cf. the locution cum eo quod (ut etc.) ap. Thes. iv, 1367. 16 sq.; Celsus 7. 27: cum eo tamen, quod non ignoremus, orto cancro saepe affici stomachum. This locution is generally restrictive in sense, but the

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subjunctive, as in Cicero's letters, is not due to the restrictive idea, for Quintilian (v. exx. ap. Thes. l. c.) uses the indicative. The restrictive sense is a connotation, as in English *withal* or *for all that*. As for the rendering 'besides', note Weissenborn's rendering in Livy 8. 12. 16 by "mit dem zusatz". The present passage means:

> "Moreover, from the likeness of <their> calls to the cry of a child, unto <the god> Fatuus and the Fatuae said term *fari* is applied".

The *cum eo* formula is earliest of record in the Poenulus 536, echoed for humorous purposes in 858, where we find q u o m eo q u o m quiqui = "for (a') that and a' that", as Buecheler convincingly showed in Arch. 1, 279–280.[1]

In conclusion, one word on the orthography of q u o m eo q u o m quique: it is quite amiss to transcribe *quom* by *cum* and scarcely enough, with Lindsay, to characterize the spelling of *quom* by the words antiqua forma. Buecheler entitled his note on this formula "Zum Kurialstil". Precisely, and *quom* is a curial orthography; note its use in the laws cited ap. Thes. iv, 1339, 82 sq., and recall that, before its gag-like echo, the formula is first used in the Poenulus by advocati. I have elsewhere shown (AJPh. 33, 397[1]) how the spelling with *qu-* may prove not *k*^{w} - but *kw-*.

[1] This solution of the old puzzle by interpretation instead of emendation is a thing to impress upon pupils in textual criticism. Along with this instance it would be profitable to consider all the wild emendations that even sober scholars—though Robinson Ellis seems to have divined the truth—proposed for Most. 852, quam feta quaevis. Here CD presented every letter intact except the *e* of quaevis, and none of the string of emendations with *agna* or *aqua* ought ever to have been proposed, especially in view of Ennius, Ann. 518 (Vahlen[1]), tantidem quasi feta canes sine dentibus latrat, a parallel passage that seems to have been reserved for my edition first to mention. Similarly the *embaeneticam* of Cicero, Fam. 8. 1. 4 was always right. Another instructive illustration of the value of exhausting the simplest ductus emendations is furnished by Ellis's correction of *erit* to *frit* in Most. 595. Varro's book on agriculture (r. r. 1. 48. 3) had recorded the word *frit* with perfect clarity and all the γρῦ's etc. of the emenders were quite beside the mark. It was worse than gratuitous when von Planta (Osk.-Umbr. Gram. I. 592) qualified *frit* as "angeblich", a statement incautiously echoed in Walde's lexicon[2] by "wohl verderbt".

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52. Old word: *fari* may be an adjective; cf. the gloss *pharii*· eloquentes.

54. Orthography, d/t: for *ad quae* read *adque*, i. e. *atque*. Orthography; definition: the ms. spelling *pollutum* for *polluctum* in the context with profanatum is due to a connection with *polluere*. It is psychologically interesting to observe how from the phrase *pro fano* the confluent *profanare* 'to consecrate' developed on the one hand; and on the other, because *pro fano* was *extra fanum*, the precisely counter sense of 'to desecrate'. If Varro himself spelt *pollutum*, it raises a question of the age of the sense 'to desecrate', and a correlated question of the antiquity of the Italianate assimilation of *ct* to *tt*. Cf. also on vii, 65.

56. Compendium, um/us: is tum (ms. istum) prolocut*us* (ms. °*um*).

57. Ductus, u/n, P/C: for ita <ut>inter se †condeant aliud alii read ita *ute*<i> r<e>s <res>*p*ondeant etc. It is not necessary to correct *aliud* to *alia* (*res*).

61. Ennius correction, o/Q (cf. on vii, 92), *m/ai*: for 'DICO QUI HUNC DICARE' read DICO [Q]VI. HUNC DICARE <METAS>. The reason for supplying *metas* is because Festus (140, 17) gives this citation under the lemma *meta*. In Festus *ait Ennius* follows *dicare*, and the likeness of M/AI (see on v. 166) may account for his skipping over *metas* to *ait*. Ennius may have been describing the promise to dedicate a circus with its six (vi=*sex*) *metae*. Proof that the race course had six *metae* in Ennius' time is hardly necessary, but Livy (41. 27. 6) records their repair in the year 194–193, and it is tantalizing to find in the solitary ms. of that decade *et metas trans* followed by—a gap! The correction of *trans* to T<E>RNAS, referring to the group of metae at each end of the race course, is self-suggesting. The probably contemporary Ennius passage may refer to this restoration of the *metae*. We make a senarius—for his Saturae—by writing dico sex hunc dicare metas circulo (or circuli), though another case of the diminutive is not of record in this sense. If we supply *circulum* as its subject ⌞circum metulas?⌟ *dĭcare* will have the sense δεικνύειν as demanded by our context (see also vi, 31; viii, 65). Then the senarius will have belonged to a comedy of Ennius, and *circulus* have the sense of *circus* in the Plautine citation

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in V. 153. In Miles 991 the oncoming boastful soldier is spoken of, with somewhat less personification, as a 'circus' and the figure lives in English in the turn "a perfect circus" or "a regular show". Supposing the comic endowment of Ennius capable of extending the Plautine figure, our senarius will describe a "circus" of a man so perfect as to exhibit six *metae*. As our citation stands, it is much less complete—it makes no sensible phrase—than the Varronian wont. Possibly the omission of *metas* was euphemistic. See on its meaning AJPh. 34. 30[1].

61. Definition: *indicit* (illum) = 'declared against', reflecting the sense of *indicium*. Lacuna supplied: hinc in manipulis castrensibus <dictata a> ducibus; hinc dictata in ludo. The first *dictata* might be a soldier's name for the commands given in drilling; cf. exx. ap. Thes. v. 1014, 14 of dictata in ludo lanistae. But perhaps *dictata ducibus* should be read referring to testamenta in procinctu. Such verbal declarations would naturally have been made to officers, who may have taken memoranda thereof.

62. Varronian etymology, *doceo/dūco*: . . ductor; <hinc doctor> qui ita inducit ut doceat. ab d*u*cendo (ms. *-o-*) docere . . .. ab eodem principio documenta, quae exempla d*u*cendi (ms. *-o-*) causa dicuntur. The synonymity of *docet* and *edŭcat* could hardly have failed of being noted in some form by Varro.

64. After Mommsen: sic auc<tores i>uris dicunt: si mihi auctor est *et tibi una* (ms. *verbi nam*) manum asserere dic*ei* (ms. °*it*) consortes.

69. Insertions: nam id <idem> valet et a voluntate. . . . . spondeo; <qui de>spondit est sponsor; qui <uti i>dem faciat obligatur etc.

70. Insertion, punctuation: . . 'consponsi'. <si> spondebatur . . . causa, (not;) appellabatur etc. Ductus, a/o: cui desponsa qu*a* (not quo) erat.

71. Insertion: non enim, si volebat, <alii> dabat etc.

72. Insertion: a qu<o quom su>a sponte [†] dicare <'spondere'> *t*um (ms. *cum*) <re>spondere quoque dixerunt, cum a<d> sponte<m> etc. Or is *a sponte* right?

75. Interpretation: omnium enim horum [†] quod a canere. *quod* is indefinite = *aliquid*, in a stricter Latinity than Varro's.

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In his r. r. the forms without *ali-* are of much wider range than our grammar rule admits.

76. Ductus, r/si: cum proportione. Cf. for the general use Festus (332. 9) as here emended: Penatis singulariter Labeo Antistius posse dici putat, quia pluraliter Penates dicuntur, cum patiatur <pro>portio etiam Penas dici ut optimas primas Antias.

78. Lacuna supplied: non esse inficientem. <focillator, faculam> qui adlucet dicitur. GS. suggest <et facere lumen>. I compare Persa, 515:

> . . . nescis
> quam tibi Fortuna faculam lucrifera[m] adlucere volt.

Note the gloss *focillat·* fovet, reficit.

80. Hapax: [†]vigilium. Cf. in general on V. 18, and V. 4. Insertions; C/D; Accius: [†]et *Acci* (ms. *-tt-*) <illud>:

> cum illuc [†] oblivio lavit qui incidit invidendum,

For *illūc* cf. Amph. 270, Eun. 782; *illuc* suggests *facinus* (*factum*), *qui*=si quis (or eius qui).

82. Insertion: di<spicio> des[t] picio.

84. Punctuation: This section should begin thus: sic ab ore< :> edo etc.

85. Lacuna questioned: mantelium, ubi manus terguntur [***]. Varro has been dealing in § 85 with *manus* 'hand, band', and its kin. He abruptly announces in § 86 his intention of citing from the censors' tabulae, and carries the citation on through § 95. The entire passage turns chiefly on proving the sense of *illicium*='embandment'—suggested to him by *manus* 'band' of course. From the beginning of ch. X (§ 96 sq.) Varro's exhaustion with the subject of book VI, viz.: de vocabulis temporum, is evident. The long citation of ch. IX (§§ 86–95) attests the same weariness, which made Varro deliberately—and abruptly—resort to padding from his antiquarian collections.

91. After Mommsen: for auspicio †orande sed read auspicio o<pe>ram des <;> d<um> etc. Here *dum* is one of a pair, each construed with an archaic 2d sg. pres. subj. of command. The double *dum* was correctly analyzed by Quintilian 9. 3. 16; cf. Schmalz, Gram.[4] § 317. The original use of *dum* ⌊ not from *dŏm* perhaps, but from *dowom*, a masculine

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form parallel to Alkman's δοϝᾶν 'die weile', (cf. Osthoff in IF. 5. 280 sq.); from *dovom* we should have **dōm*, but enclitic *-dum*—unless *dum* is rather from **dwom* as δήν from *δ(ϝ)ᾱν⌟ in pairs accounts for the use of the pairing negative *nec* in its compound *dōnec* (cf. Fay, Cl. Quart. 4, 81[2]), whose long *ō* is now genuinely accounted for. On the pairing use of *sic sic* see on X. 41.

91. Definition: *commeatus* 'companion'. Cf. the gloss *commeatum* viaticum aut comitem itineris id est oratione (lege orator) [et gratia], GRATIA being dittographic for ORATIO. The *-ne* of *oratione* will be from a marginal *vel* (also found in *et*) that stood before *gratia*; *oratio* was due to a compendium for the final syllable in *orator*. Old gen. in *-es*: (1st) *praetores*. Punctuation: exquaeras [,] consules praetores tribunosque plebis collegasque tuos <,> [†] et etc.

93. Insertion: quae interea fieri <scripta sunt, fieri> illici-[†]um scriptum est. Or quae interea<fiant>; fieri illici<um> tum etc.

95. Punctuation; insertions: commentariis <.> quod tamen [†]ibidem est <'> quod illicite illexit' <fit> qu<i>a *I* (ms. *quae*) cum E et C cum G magnam habet co<m>munitatem.

96. Greek script: I ab he (lege οἱ) . . . praeterea †ades ψec (lege praeterea <abs ét exs> a*b* ἄψ <et> ἐξ <.>) GS. correct to p. a δεψῆσ<αι depsere>, which would be certain if we could really convince ourselves that Varro did not interject preposition examples between the verbs of the praeterea clause.

Book VII.

1. Insertion: . . . repens <se> ruina operuit <:> is possible. Insertion, punctuation: f/s: inde post aliqua dempta <obscurius, sc. verbum> *fit* (GS. si[†]), obscuri*or* (ms. °*us*) fit voluntas impos<i>t[eri]oris <,> (not.) non reprehendendum etc.

3. Insertion; ductus, E/P, s/r: non modo Epimenides <e s>opo*r*<e> post annos L experrectus. The second <E> was lost by haplography before P in a thin capital ms.; on s/r in our ms. see GS. proleg. XXVI. Ductus, a/i n/ri; DI a compendium (see V. 95): quo (sc. tempore) Romanorum prima verba poetica dicunt <di>latari (ms. latina); cf. the gloss *dilatum* aliquid recens in posterum dimissum.

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4. Lacuna supplied: ut [†] quî a<c> quare <a>r[e]s *m*<agica> (ms. *u* . . . .) ad medendum medicinâ <attineat>.

5. Compendia: for dis read sed ita. Punctuation: grato <.> (not ,).

8. Ancient formula: It was long ago pointed out that in the ancient formula here transcribed *me* and *te* are datives (=μοι σοι, Lat. *mī*; cf. the expanded forms *mi*<*s*> and *ti*<*s*>, functioning as genitives). The inconcinnate *eas* referring grammatically to *templa tescaque* may really refer, in the speaker's mind, to *arbos* later on. The correction of templum tescumquem festo to t. tescumque me esto is inexpugnable: diutius dubitare, id quod equidem minime reverentiae aliorum securus dixerim, est pervicacis non diligentis. Old dative-nominatives in *-e -ei*: conregione conspicione cortumione (see § 9) are used like frugi, see on V. 131. Ellipsis of *loca sunto* might be admitted in the formula. Other archaic forms: *quirquir*. The contention that this is an adverb and not for *quisquis* is not past doubt. In the sing-song formula, *quisquisest* may have given *quisquirest*, and by continued assimilation of its parts *quirquir est.—ullaber arbos . . . ollaner arbos*: A genuine attempt to explain these words seems not to have been made. The difference of *o-* and *u-* is too elementary to call for notice (*olla-* : *ŏllus, ōlim*), and *-ner* is but a copyist's *-uer* (cf. IX, 95) for *-ber* (cf. e. g. Havet, Man. Crit. Verb. § 928). The termination *-ber* is adverbial, from IE *dhra** (cf. on Lat. *-ter*: Skr. *-tra* in KZ, 42, 382; 43, 120), but attached to declinable *ollo-* (here *olla*), cf. ὅδε ἥδε etc. IE *dhra* is established by Goth. *hwa-drē* 'wohin', now explained by Verner's law as containing a *-tr* termination, cf. *hwa-prō* 'woher'. But the assumption of accentual difference in these words, however defended by instancing Skr. *átra* : *satrā́*, does not accord with the identical vocalism of their prius (*hwa-*). That *hwa-drē* has *d* from *dh* is proved by the Vedic hapax *a-kudhrí-ak* 'ziel-los', i. e. 'nequô-(uo)-rsus' ('nicht-wohin-gerichtet'). With *-kudhri-* 'wohin', cf. Vedic *sa-dhrí* (advb.) 'einem ziele (mittelpunkte) zu'. Thus *ollaber* is a sort of 'íllô-versus', a fuller sort of 'illa' (=yon, cf. yon-der, Goth: *jain-drē*).

8. Concinnity: <*in*> *dextrum* would more properly match the previous *in sinistrum*, but is not necessary.

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9. Etymology: *cortumione*=the heart-cutting, with sequel meaning (cf. AJPh. 32, 414, §21) of 'inspecting'; or cf. tueri?

10. Lacuna questioned: sed hoc ut putarent aedem sacram esse templum [*] es[se]<t> factum.

12. Lacuna supplied: <'>bell<a tuerei'> et <'>tueri villam<'>. GS. delete *villam* which leaves them no transition to *aedituum*, a couple of lines later.

14. Accius' emendation: insertions: pervade polum, splendida mundi | sidera, bigis, <signis> continu- | i<s> se<x ex>cep*ti*<s> spoliis. The anapaestic lines (4+4+3½) refer to the waxing of the huntress moon through six successive constellations, which she is to take as her spoil (cf. e. g. excipere aprum). The idea that Accius sought to express may be the idea contained in the following (where the Zodiac had twenty-eight asterisms): In the Brāhmana period they were distinguished as "deva" and "yama", the fourteen lucky asterisms being probably associated with the waxing, the fourteen unlucky with the waning moon (Encyc. Brit. 28. 996).

—. Punctuation; endings confused; a/ud: [†] ali*a*ve[:] qua re <:> (not ,) ut 'signum candens' etc. For the combination cf. e. g. supra V. 95; Varro's Menip. (Buecheler) 374; CIL. I, 206 ap. Thes. III, 326, 58. It is not clear that *signum candens* is a citation; note the recipe for making a 'star' or 'blaze' on cattle in Mulomed. Chironis 795.

16. Ductus, *ni/ut*: for ut[ni] read <a>ut *ut*. Manilius emended; d/al: 'Latona pari<e>t casta complexu Iovis | [†] Deli[a] deos geminos', id est Apollinem et Dianam<.> [†] <;> *a*lii quod etc.

19. Ennius emended, partly after Ribbeck: Areopagitae qui*a* (ms. *quid*) dedere <ae>quam pi*l*am (ms. *-ud-*).

21, end: Insertions; a/ae: ab eo quod Asia<e> et Europa<e> ibi <CŌIV̄CTIS> colludit mare. Cf. Thes. I, 1698, 67 for exx. of alludere in mare, litoribus alludere.

23. Naevius emended (Saturnians):

conferreque <rem> aut ratem aeratam quî per liquidum
mare solcantes eunt atque s<o>*e*dantes.

Ms. has *sudantes* for *solcantes*. Perhaps *sulantes* (:συλεύειν) is to be read. For the exaction of ships from the coast towns cf. Duruy's History of Rome I. 586 (Boston edition): "Appius

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Caudex taking advantage of a dark night to send across twenty thousand men on barks and small boats l e n t by all the cities on the coasts".

25. Interpretation: *cornu<t>â.* This is a collective fem. sg. (abstract in *-ta*) = 'hornage' (of the bulls, taurum).

26. Ennius (Ann. 2 V²) emended: Musas quas memorant, <nos> nosce *ha*s (ms. *nos*) esse <Camenas>. For the sentence type cf. Annales 193–4: qui ante hac invicti fuere vivi, pater optime Olympi | h o s ego in pugna vici . . .; 250–1: prudentem, qui dicta loquive tacereve posset, | h u n c inter pugnas Servilius sic compellat.

27. Carmen Saliorum; definition; form in: *empta*, neut. pl. ptc. from *emo* = capta; *supplicante*, assimilated in the singsong to the foregoing *can(i)te*,—or the *n* is introduced from 3d. plur. impv. supplicanto.

28. (Carmen Priami) Ductus, t/r (see vi. 16): 'veteres Casmenas cascam rem volo profarier (ms. *profari et*). Papinius emended (hexameter), P/R, t/s.:

dic[it] pu*t*am (ms. *-su-*) <eam> [puellam] *r*usum (ms. *pusam*): sic fiet 'mutua muli':

puellam was a gloss either on original *putam* or *pusam*.

29. Capitalize: Forum Vetus.

30. Lucilius (1281 M) emended (hexameter), b/d:

quid tibi ego ambages <t>am *dio* scribere coner.

Ms. am*bi*u. Syntax of *tam dio* as of tam matulam e. g. in Plautus; cf. Brix-Niemeyer Miles³ 741, making special note of tam pro nota nominat me, *ib.* 901. Cf. also on IX. 73, 77. The crystallization of *sub di(v)o* hardly prevents our supposing Lucilius to have gone beyond that range. In fact *tam diu* might here mean 'so by day' and *sub diu* meant 'in broad day-light'. The copyist's change of *d* to *b*, if not purely graphic, may have been suggested by the pair *adagio/ambagio* in the next section. On B/D see Havet, Man. Crit. Verb. § 600.

38. Etymological query: Does *Epeum fumificum, cocum* furnish a clue to the etymology of Lat. *epulae* 'cena'? Epeus was the m a k e r of the Trojan horse, and Eng. m a k e s may be cognate with μάγειρος 'cook'. Epeus was the son of Πανοπεύς (or should we divide Παν-ο-πευς?). Relation with the *opus*-sept is thinkable, cf. *operatur* 'sacrifices'. A sacrifice

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was a feast, cf. voveram dulcis epulas (Horace, C. 3. 8. 6), and on 107, infra. Is it a root EP- 'facere' that has furnished the causative type of Skr. *sthāpayati* 'stare facit'? This root ultimately =*ǝp* 'vincire'.

39. Deletion; d/t: [†]idem [non item]. The deleted words originally constituted a scribe's marginal warning.

40. Transposition: neque ursi potius Luc[an]i quam Lu<ca>ni.

48. Ennius (Ann. 459) emended (with Vahlen, after Müller and Turnebus): read for

quaeque in corpore causa ceruleo cęlo cortina receptat,
quae cava corpore caeruleo cortina receptat.

In some prior ms. *quę* was glossed by both *quae* and by *quem* (*-que in*), and the interlinear ossias extended in part over *cava*. In the next copy *cava* was omitted in favor of this *quem* but reinstated as *causa* after corpore; *cęlo* represents some compendium for *caeruleo*.

50. Insertion: a quo eam Opillus scribit <vesper> vesperum ita *ut* (for ita[q]*ue*) dicitur <alter> alterum<.> 'Vesper adest', quem Graeci dicunt di<vum> Ἑσπέριον. Or did Opillus call the star *Vesperum* (neuter)? Cf. Ennius ap. Censor. 24. 4.

52. Lacuna filled; interpretation: ab eo—poetae—milites appellant latrones, <aut> quod item ut milites <sunt, GS.> cum ferro, aut quod latent etc. In deriving *latrones* from *sunt cum ferro* Varro has in mind *latores* i. e. qui ferunt ferrum.

54. Etymology of Oscan *asta* (= 'pile, nap'): quod in ea (sc. lana) h<a>eret neque est lana, quae . . Naevius appellat asta ab Oscis. With *asta* (n. plur.) cf. its Greek synonym ἔξ-αστις. The startform may have been *adsthŏ—/adsthis* 'adstans' (cf. *ad* 'up' in *ad-surgit*?); or *an(a)sthŏ-* etc. cf. Osc. *a(n)stintu*. The Oscan word annihilates the division ἑξα-στις that I proposed in AJPh. 33. 388.

58. Compendium of *dicunt* (see on V. 95): nam <eu>*m di*<cunt> (ms. *inde*) ad arbitrium etc.

60. Emend, with change of order, after GS.: eadem<vi> hoc est in Corollaria N<a>evius <usus>.

63. Plautus, fr. 90; after others:

age, <a té>rgo specta víde vivices quantas :: iam inspexí,
quid[em] es[se]t.

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Ductus, a/ci; punctuation: vivices <:> *a vi* (ms. alii) <v>ex-*a*[ta]tum verberibus corpus, or read vivices *habet* (for alii)? Varro is explaining *vivic*es by *vī vex*atum.

65. Derivation of *s<t>rittabillae; ct/tt*: either from *strictâ*+*tibillâ* (dimin. of *tibia*) = 'with drawn shanks'; or the posterius *-billae* is an obscene diminutive: Skr. *bíla-m* 'hole'. Gellius (3. 3. 6) cites the line (but with sordidae instead of tantulae) with the characterization "verborum vitia atque deformitates significantium". Italianate *tt* for *ct* may have been of very early usage with some class of the population (see on VI. 54). Ductus, a/ae: ex eo Acci positum curi-osa<e>. Accius (430) emended:

reicis abs te religionem <? ::> scruppeam imponas <tibi?>

Insertion: strittare ab eo qui <se>sistit aegre.

66. Plautus (fr. 116), ms. defended:

mulieres uxor culavit:: ego novi, scio axitiosa quam sit.

Here *culavit* = herded, see Fay, Class. Quart. 7, 203.

68. Insertion; ɑ (Lombardic a) = ci/ei etc.: lima enim materia<riei> fabrilis est. Here *fabrilis* is gen. of *fabrile* ('shop'), glossed by χαλκευτήριον. But *materia<e> fabrilis* may be right.

69. Definition of *gralator*: in the gloss *gralatores*· Πανικὰ φοροῦντες have we a popular interpretation, from omens, as *gravia latores*?

70. Ductus, c/d: mulier ab lu*d*o (*c*) quae conduceretur. As a question of fact was a praefica hired *ab luco* or from the music school, *e ludo*?

—. Compendium, re/er, -tum/-tur: quod fertur esse (ms. *fretum est*) Naevii.

73. Interpretation: [†] culturae. Here = agriculturae. In this context there is no unclearness.

74. Interpretation: dicerentur [†]de tritu. The interpretation (? correction) of dicerentur by dice<i vide>rentur renders all clear. Final d/t: ut ternae trigona faciant [†] aliquo*t*.

83. Definition: et inde[†]enim. Here *enim* = *enimvero*.

85. Text defended: [†]alius aliquotiens. No good reason exists to question this as an additional instance of repeated *ali-* words in sweeping inclusions.

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87. Compendium, ut/inter; ductus, as/od: <lympha> a nympha, <i>*nt*<er> qua*s* (ms. *quod*) apud Graecos *Θέτις*.

88. Syntax of suum cuique group: ut suo qui[s]que ritu sacrificium faciat. With *quique* (=*quicque*) here and in IX, 102 cf. suo quique loco, Most. 254 (see my note).

91. Plautus emended:

quod volt <id> densum, ciccum non interduo.

The sense is: "as he wants it (i. e. *mălum* 'a beating', punning on *mālum* sc. Punicum = 'pomegranate') thick, I'll interpose no severant', i. e. *ciccum*, expressly defined by Varro as the dividing membrane that separates the seeds of the pomegranate into compartments. The word is specifically Plautine. It will perhaps be from *cidco-* quasi 'shaving': *caedit* 'cuts'.

93. Ennius (trag. 402) interpreted: heu, mea puella,<i>pse (ms. s*p*e) quidem id succenset tibi? Here *ipse*=dominus cf. ipsa=domina in Catullus, 3. 7, and Friedrich's note.

94. Lucilius (1118) emended; O/Q (cf. on VI. 61):

atque aliquos <s>ib<e>i <ei> abreptos (ms. *ab rebus*) clepsere foro [q]vi.

aliquas (or aliquot) abreptas is also possible. For the final *vi* cf. v i a b r e p t o mancipio (Justin. 8. 13. 26), abreptae per vim (Rudens, 690). Prudentius perist. 10, 816 is cited for foro a b r i p e r e. In c l e p s e r e the note of carrying off is clear. Note Varro's definition by 'corripere', and cf. agnum a regia c l e p e r e (Accius, trag. 212). A parallel group in Eng. *steals* : Lat. *tollit* 'lifts' (see Fay, JEGPh. 6, 244 sq.).

95. Ductus, *et/-er* (see on VI, 16): unde manducari*er* (ms. *manducari et*) <.> a quo etc. Insertion: a quo in Atellanis ad obscenum (sc. omen) <Dorssenum> vocant manducum. For the connotation of *omen* cf. Matius in the next line of the Varro text, obsceni interpres funestique ominis auctor; also Ennius, Ann. 563, contra carinantes verba atque obscena profatus. Festus (212. 31) defines *obscena* by verba impudentiâ elata.

96. Insertion (transposition): eam <haut> ut Graeci [aut] Accius scribit sc<a>ena.

97. Insertions: a quo dicitur comitia aliudve quid <quod> sit, <ut> dixi, avi (ms. *aut*) sinistra, <scaeva; sinistra> quae (sc. quasi *vox*) nunc est.

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99. Plautus (Ci. 8) emended, t/p:

pol isto quidem nos pretio [p] tanti ést frequentare <infrequentes>,

followed by an incomplete trochaic octonarius.

101. Ennius (trag. 393) emended, after others:

vocíbus concid<it>e :: fácimus <mus>set óbrutus.

104. Ennius emended after Vahlen, e/o :: pausam facere <ore> fremendi. 'ore' inserere recusare est pervicacis non diligentis. For the usage cf. Conington's note to Aen. 6. 76. On the confusion of *o* with *e* v. exx. ap. proleg. p. xxvi.

—. Sueius emended, after others; *a/ei*: Sueiei (ms. *sueta*) <a merula>: frendi *ec* (ms. *frendice*) frunde et fritinni suaviter. For †sues avoluerat read sue*ii* a volu*crib*<us> <:>

ita tradede<i>

q<u>in*que* neque iudici*o* Aesopi nec theatri tritiles.

Ms. has ita tradedeq. inreneq. in iudicium etc. We know of Sueius from the third book of Varro's R. R. He was a curule aedile and gave games; by avocation, he was a bird fancier and breeder. He wrote an annalistic work in prose. Lines of his composition are cited by Macrobius in 6. 5. 15; 6. 1. 37, and by Nonius in 72. 25; 132. 27, the last being in trochaic septenarii, as here. The title from which Varro here cites would seem to have been Volucres.—Why not read Maccius instead of Macci[us]?

105. Insertion: in Colace <'nexum'>: 'nexum' etc. Capitalize: Bonam Copiam.

106. Insertion: quod <ad> deliquandum non sunt. For the construction, cf. Poen. 597: verum ad hanc rem agundam Philippum est. Ductus, b/d: a *d*eliquato not a*b* eliquato.

107. Etymology of *vitulantes*: I derive from *vī*[*ti*]-*tulor*. Walde[2] has already suspected a compound with *-tulor*, cf. *gra*[*ti*]- *tulor*. In the earliest texts (Ennius reflected in Virgil) *vitulor*='I keep holiday' (diem festum ago), modified to 'I bring a thank-offering'. An offering was often a feast (cf. on 38, supra). The prius of *vi*[*ti*]-*tulor*=the posterius in Vedic *devá-vīti-* 'götter-mahl'. Definition of *continuitas*: protinam a protinus, c o n t i n u i t a t e m significans. Here *continuitatem* is the abstract to *continuo* 'forthwith, immediately,

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without interruption'. Cf. *difficultas* in Cicero, Mur. 19, where it means 'exigency, moroseness', from the very special secondary sense 'morose' found for *difficilis*.

108. Insertion: 'conficiant' <ut> a conficto convenire dictum. After Schoell: 'pecu *i*<uci>dum' for *.pacui dum*.

Book VIII.

3. Punctuation, insertion: propagatum <.> <lego> legi <c>um declinatum est etc.

7. Insertion; t/b (cf. on vi. 16): voluisse enim puta-<ba>nt. Or read putant<ur> (lost compendium).

9. Ductus, T/E; insertion: causa, inquam, cur *t*am . . . quam ostendi <est>; sequitur etc. Ductus, t/s (cf. *l/s*, proleg. p. xxvi;? *monitra/monstra*, Most. 505): vix cra*s* for *vixerat*.

10. Ductus, ta/bi: read *ita* for ibi (change not necessary). Definition: *fulmentum* 'prop' = 'qualifier'. Here Varro makes *fulmentum* do duty for *adminiculum* (cf. infra §44), and perhaps he comprises both the other parts of speech save noun and verb; cf. Priscian, ap. Thes. I, 228, 76–77: nomen et verbum solas esse partes orationum, cetera vero adminicula vel iuncturas eorum. A 'prop' (*fulmentum*) is often a brace (quasi *iunctura*). Or did Varro write *iugumentum*? Compendious ending, m'; m/nt: siquae (not †*si quae*) . . putare*m*<us> (ms. °*nt*). But see on IX, 40, 94. The correcter tense were *putemus*, but there has been attraction from imposita essent.

11. Ductus, a/o; insertion: qu*o*rum generum <rerum> etc.

14. Ms. Terenti is right; the emendation Terenti<a> is wide of the sense. Punctuation: discrimina <:> [†] aut etc. Insertion: <aut> propter multitudinem. Insertion: ab eo <abeo> quod alii dicunt cervices. Here <abeo> = I pass over; cf. Cicero, Orator 112 (ap. Thes. I. 70. 68), ab hoc parumper abeamus. Or read <ab hoc> abeo.

16. Emend after others: sine controversia sunt qui<n>-qu[a]e <ex his> : quis etc. [The case in controversy may have been the vocative. Cf. Muller, de Vet. Imp. Rom. Studiis Etym., p. 50.]

21. Compendium(?); p/f, rt/m: in qua<m> sit *partem* (ms. *fama*). This reading requires us to take *quô* in § 2 as "to what end?"

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22. Inconcinnity: Artemidori is for Artemae, if we go by § 21. Does the slip go back to Varro?

27. Interpretation: si ex ea quis (sc. utilitas) id sit consecutus (sc. *es*, or read *consecutu's*).

28. Compendium, non/nostrumst: in his no[n]<strumst> utilitatem quaerere.

31. Lacuna supplied: sed etiam figurâ bellâ atque ab artifice <ficta, or picta>.

32. Lacuna supplied: supellectile distincta quae esset ex ebore <aliisve> [rebus] disparibus figuris. *rebus* was an interlinear gloss over *aliisve*, which it afterwards ousted.

33. Read quaeremus: ut[quis]que <usus>, though a certain sense can be got from *ut quisque*.

35. Compendia(?) omitted: eo iam magis, <non modo contra> analogias etc.

36. Technical brachylogy: for et absolvendo [ab]luo [ab]luam read et <ab luo> 'absolvendi' [abluo ab]luam. Here '*absolvendi*' is the definition of *luo*, cf. Cicero, Tusc. 1. 87 triste est nomen ipsum 'carendi' (v. Kühner, Gram. II, § 132, anm. 1). For the technical ellipsis of a word like vox here cf. the ellipsis with appellandi in § 44. The temptation to brachylogy in the technique of grammar was great, cf. e. g. tertia enim praeteriti (sc. quasi forma) in § 51, infra, multitudinis, X. 56. Insertions: Plautus et Plautius <Marcius> . . . huius Plauti et <Plauti> Marci.

45. Ductus, EI/EF: tertium VTEI F<E>INITVM, ms. *ut effinitum*.

46. Old nom. Iovis: If Ennius had not used this old nominative *ut Iovis* might here easily be changed to *ut* [*I*]*ovis*.

51. False analogical forms: Varro notes at the end of this paragraph that the liability of the scribes to error made him restrain himself from positing a greater number of "analogical" forms of the pronouns. The scribes may have erred in *es mulieribus* where *e<ae>s* would rather seem to meet the demands of a purely putative analogy.

56. Insertion: Roma, <ut> Parmenses <sic Albenses Romenses>.

59. Insertion: locuturus <et venaturus, locutus et venatus> etc. What follows in the paragraph demands the citation of a past participle.

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60. Ductus, T/I, ct/tt (cf. on VI. 54): cantitantes [se] deictitantes (ms. *sed etti*°). If this reading is right Varro, or a copyist, has spelt the ĭ of *dĭctito* after the *ei* of *deico*.

61. Haplology: the *pisci<cu>pem* of GS. may have been to Varro the haplologic word *piscipem*.

65. Celtic forms: For *alacco alaucus* we should perhaps read *Alacco(s) Alaucu[s]* as the partially Latinized Celtic nominative and dative. Cf. d'Arbois de Jubainville, Élém. de la gram. Celt. p. 2 sq. Insertions, interpretation: sin quod scribunt *dĭcent* (quasi *ostendant*, see on VI. 61) quod Poenicum (sc. verbum) sit (not si<n>t) singulis casibus, ideo eas litteras graecas <singulis casibus> nominari, sic Graeci nostra . . . debe[b]ant.

73. Ductus, a/ae: cum dicatur da patri familia<e>[s] si analogias etc. Transposition: non debuerunt dicere [da] hic pater familias quod est ut <da> Atiniae . . . sic una Atinia.

74. Construct analogy forms: pro b<o>u<i>s bos pro struu<i>s strues. Cf. navis: ναῦς.

75. Compendium; punctuation: in quo id<em,> analogias non servari<,> apparet.

76. Inconcinnity: for caesior caesius caesissumus Varro probably wrote caesus caesior caesissumus, to reject *caesior* as non-existent.

79. Inconcinnity: ut cista cistula cistella, <alia> in mediis non sunt, not concinnate with the following item minima in quibusdam non sunt. Still alia in mediis non sunt seems intelligible for alia mediis carent (=the second term lacks in some).

80. Lacuna supplied: debuit esse <Roma, ita Perpennia, quae debuit esse> Perpenni filia, non Perpennae.

84, end: Lacuna partially supplied: nominum <proportionem>. * * * *

Book IX.

1. Lacuna supplied, in part by Vahlen: qui reliquit περὶ ἀνωμαλίας<* (some numerals omitted) libros> iei<s> (ms. *lei*) libris etc. Ductus T/I: eide<m> for *et de*.

2. Insertion; paragraph number moved: et ex hac <consuetudo (end of Par. 2).> consuetudo etc.

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4. Ductus, s/D: quae <*se*> (ms. quod) <*d*>*e*rigunt. Cf. Lindsay, Introd. p. 88 (Uncial s/D). Insertion: finis, <interest> utrum . . . analogia an usus [an] etc.

6. Compendia; dittography; a/re: for ubi †oporteret redigeretur dici etc. read ubi oporte*at* redigere t*ibi* dici id in populum aliter ac ⌊ inde omnibus dici, corruption of a marginal gloss on *dici in populum*, viz: *id est de omnibus dici*⌋ in eum qui sit in populo. For *redigere* (*tibi*) = to conclude for yourself cf. animum redigere in Accius ap. Non. 174, 12: ut credam . . . argumenta *redigunt animum* et commovent.

10. Brachylogy: perperam <declinatum> receptum est. The insertion correctly interprets the text but there may have been a brachylogy in the original text.

20. Brachylogy: the subject of *traducit* is *ratio* but it is hardly to be inserted just before it.

24. Insertions: septemtrionali circ*o* e*t* (ms. *circumit*) cum h<inc e>is etc.

26. Copyist mistook case: alii (ms. *alios*) motus sic item cum habeant alios etc.

30. Delete † before orationem (cognate object of loquimur).

33. Insertion, after GS. (with change of order): <po>puli minus <usu> trita.

34. Ductus, s/n (in very early minuscule; according to Lindsay, Introd. s. c., p. 87, n/r and s/r are interchanged): ut ex *s*atis nascuntur lentis.

40. Ductus, b/d; compendium: in re*bus* similis (ms. *re dissimilis*) figurae formas [indissimiles] impon*im*<us> (ms. °*nunt*) dispariles etc.

46. Lacuna supplied: quod dicunt nos dissimilitudinem <sequi>; itaque etc.

49. Text defended: percubuit is intelligible, though the sentence is complicated.

53. Insertion: in hoc <non> tollunt.

54. Haplography: casus <tan>tum [cum] commutantur etc.

55. Confused endings: ut Terenti<ei>[um] et Terentium et Terentiam etc. Dittography: [Iovem] Iovem et Iovam. Change of 1st *Iovem* to *non* not necessary, as the *non* before *itidem* would have carried through.

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58. Compendia of short words omitted: omnia <non> habent <quod>.

59. Emend after GS., changing order: quandam societatem, <nullam> neutra cum his etc.

65. Old spelling confused: [†] ut utrei (ms. utre ·I·).

66. Confusion of like words: argent[e]um: nam id tum cum *non* (ms. *iam*) vas: argent<e>um enim, si pocillum. Here the collective *argentum* 'plate' (or "the silver") is recognized.

67. Lacuna supplied: quae ipsa dicuntur nunc melius <vina. item> unguenta etc.

68. Insertion: balneum nomen <graecum est> et graecum introiit in urbem, publice<que> ibi consedit.

71. Interpretation: sedne (not *sed ne*) is interrogative= but what of—unless *nē=ne quidem.* Punctuation: Aquilius <.> [†] Faustius<:> Faustio (dative) would construe better. Or read Faustius <(si) dicerent> recte dicerent Faustianos etc.

73. Interpretation: ut enim dies non potest esse magis (sc. dies, cf. on tam vii, 30) quam mane. *magis aedilis* is cited from Cicero.

77. Ms. defended: in nihil (construe like *in rem, in usum*), not [in]nihil<i>. Adverb with noun: tam casus, cf. on §73.

79. Endings confused (? compendium): sic et Alexandri membrorum simulacr*o* (ms. °*um*) etc.

80. Insertion, after Spengel: sed <manus; nec> consuetudo etc.

81. Similar words confused: hi tresses *ut* (ms. *et*).

86. Numeral sign confused; ductus, b/d: for et ·V· read et X; —a*d* octonaria (ms. a*b*).

88. Lacuna questioned: a brachylogy will account for the text, but neque eo minus, <ut> in altero quod est mille, praeponemus is a possible correction.

89. Definition: quoniam in eo, on *in eo*='besides' see V, 152; cf. on *cum hoc* vi. 52. Haplography: graec<e graec> an<i>c[a]eve (ms. °*ne*) hoc Argos. Cf. X. 71, alia graeca alia graecanica. Insertion (concinnitatis causa): latine <hi> Argi.

92. Definition: innatione[s] ex procreante=by 'innateness' on the sire's side.

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94. Ending omitted: sic casuum aliquem assumi<mus>, ut etc. Or indefinite 3d plur. assumunt may stand, but see viii, 10; ix, 40.

95. Ductus, b/n (cf. vii, 8): de[c]li*b*atum. Syntax: omnia . . . ad respondendum. Accusative governed by neuter gerundive common in Varro, r. r., and found from Plautus. Cf. also §111, omnīs repudiandum erit artīs. But here omni*b*<us> might stand, were not omnia a cognate object.

101. Ductus B/R; compendium: infecta <tempo>*r*a, not <ver>*b*a with GS.

102. Old form: in suo qui[s]que genere. See on vii, 88. Definition: externi<s>, in general=ceteris, but refers to the arrangement of the cases in horizontal order, nom. gen. dat. etc.

103. Insertion; t/c: item si*t* <si>.

111. Lacuna supplied, after Popma: utrumque <falsum est>. Objection of GS. not valid, as *falsum* = mistaken. Insertions: reprehendendus <si> qui debet in scribendo [non] vidisse verum <non vidit>, non ideo etc.

113. Short word (compendium) omitted: quod alia inter se aliâ <sorte, or arte> sunt. For <*sorte*> cf. Horatian non tuae sortis iuvenem. Why not *his* instead of [*h*]*is*? Old form: haec †nerene. *haec* is n. pl. fem. The old correction to *maenae* seems better than to read the hapax *neren*<*a*>*e*.

114. Transposition, o/e: quandoqu*e* (ms. qu*o* quando)= quasi semper. Definition: Here for almost the first time Varro's *analogiae* (*analogia*) admits of intelligible translation by 'analogy'. Elsewhere, save in a few cases in book X, it signifies 'regularity'. This is because in our generation 'analogy' has crystallized in grammatical terminology as 'the means of explaining its ancient counterterm "anomaly"'.

Book X.

5. Punctuation: animadvertendas <:> (not .).

15. Insertion: a nomine <alio> aliae (unless ali*ei*) <rei>.

16. Punctuation dicere <;> (not .) itaque etc.

19. Confusion in case: in vocibus [ac] similitud*o* (not °*inibus*).

20. Inconcinnity: [†] vocabulis: this may be a Varronian slip for *nominatibus*.

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18 (20). Lacuna: in nominatus [† ·s·] <****>. Is ·s· for marginal d<eest>? On *s/d* in uncials see IX. 4.

21. Insertion: ut non solum <alter>utrumque sit virile—unless *utrumque* be taken in the sense of *alterutrumque*.

25. Ductus, s/r: cur*r*o (ms. cur*s*o) cursito. For a translator this change makes the example more available, but Varro may have written curso.

32. General syntax: In this section Varro clearly presents the impersonality of the passive.

34. Lacuna supplied: sunt hoc ge<nere, quod> quemadmodum declinamus (? or declinemus ?), etc.

41. Delete †; syntax: in [†] similibus sic etc.; sic est ad unum victoriatum denarius, sic ad alterum victoriatum alter denarius. The correlative *sic's* may be archaic like the correlative *dum's* in VI. 91. Accordingly read, later in the section, cum <sic> est filius ad patrem sic [si] est filia ad matrem. Could the inserted <sic> be reflected in the excised [si]? It must be remembered that, by an *apriori*, *si* 'if' originated from the first of a pair of *si*(*c*)'s, as *dum* 'while' from the last of a pair of *dum's*.

44. Inconcinnity: ex illa[†] vicenaria [atria quae scilicet] centenaria formula etc. is not concinnate. We secure concinnity by writing *d*enaria centenaria or vicenaria <du>centenaria, though why, in the latter instance, the proportions should be designated by their mean term it is hard to divine.

48. Ductus, c/r (V. 111); insertion: *r*atus (ms. *c*°) sum verberatus sum <rebor> verberabor, iniuria *com*prehendunt (ms. *re*°). End; delete †: [†] reprehendunt. Pregnant meaning='ask by way of criticism, object'.

50. Confluent word: *recticasuum*=gen. pl. of rectus casus.

56. Deletion: potius [quom] ab incorrupto principio, ab natura rerum q u a m ab libidine hominum. Inconcinnity: verborum forma<s> facilius <ex multitudinis> singularia<s> videri posse. Varro's reason for saying *singularias* instead of *singulares* is not evident.

61. Ductus, P/T: non [m]<c>ul*p*ae in consuetudine occurrent. For general (agricultural) use of *culpa* as 'fault, mistake' cf. Thes. IV, 1298. 16 sq.

64. Insertion (transposition): partim quae pertineant. <ut> non pertinent [ut] ea etc.

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64–65. Punctuation: sed nulla harum fit loquendo<.> pars ad orationem[.] quae pertinent (?or sg.) <:> (not ,).

66. Punctuation, excision: significant quicquam <,> (not :) id[eo] quod . . ut a merula merulae (sc. significant): sunt <enim> eius modi etc.

67. Construct form incorrectly transmitted: cum dicimus biga[e] una[e].

70. Insertion: [de]<hoc> genere multi utuntur . . plerique <alii>. haec etc.

72. Delete †; ductus, s/e: [†] inferendo .... [†]ad has duplicis quas (ms. *quae*) . . est simili <ad> analogias.

80. Compendium incorrectly expanded: no<me>n, not non. Cf. no[me]n in V. 26; IX. 23.

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II.—STUDIES IN THE SYNTAX OF EARLY LATIN.

In 1910 Professor Charles E. Bennett laid all students of Latin, not merely of early Latin, but of Latin in its historical development, under heavy obligations by his Syntax of Early Latin. Vol. I—The Verb.[1] The debt such students owe to him has been greatly enlarged by the publication, in May last, of The Syntax of Early Latin. Vol. II—The Cases.[2]

In these volumes, as attractive in appearance as they are impressive in contents, the aim of Professor Bennett is to replace the antiquated Holtze, Syntaxis Priscorum Scriptorum Latinorum. In the Preface to Volume I he defined "Early Latin" as the Latin from the beginnings to 100 B. C. In that volume he cited the fragments of the dramatists by Ribbeck's edition (undated), those of the orators by the edition of Meyer-Dübner (1837). There was nothing in the Preface to indicate whose text he had followed in his citations from Lucilius, though an examination of the citations themselves proved that they had been made from some edition earlier (and less good, on the whole) than that of Marx (Volume 1, Prolegomena and Text, 1904; Volume 2, Commentary, 1905). In Volume I, again, he professed to give, in the main, the complete collection of material for each of the usages considered. He noted also that, for the most part, there were no adequate monographs on the verb on which to rely, so that for the larger part of that volume he had been obliged to make independent collections.

One turns naturally, first of all, to the Preface of the volume now under review. There is nothing to indicate that the author gave heed to the suggestion made in A. J. P. XXXII 333, that, since Lucretius belonged in spirit to a time much anterior to that in which he lived in the flesh, it would be well

[1] For American reviews of this volume see Hale, Classical Philology 6. 367–375; Knapp, A. J. P. XXXII 333–343; Wheeler, The Classical Weekly 5. 6–7, 12–15.

[2] Published by Allyn & Bacon, Boston. Pages x + 409. $4.

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worth while, in a study of the Syntax of Early Latin, to take account of Lucretius's syntax, as showing that tendency to archaism which marks so much of Lucretius's language.[1] Still, as Professor Bennett notes in the Preface to Volume I, a "definite <lower> date <for early Latin> is really impossible, since archaic Latin does not terminate abruptly, but continues even down to imperial times". In so far as this sentence implies, or seems to imply, that archaic Latin ever ceased, it is a bit misleading; in any case, the expression "continues even down to imperial times" is too vague to be of use. See the discussion of archaism in the times of Aulus Gellius, and its antecedents, in my paper Archaism in Aulus Gellius, printed in Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler (New York, 1894), especially pages 126–141.[2]

I note with interest that, in the present volume, Professor Bennett at times cites Gellius, partly for his own usage, as illustrative of that of early Latin, partly for the light he throws, by his comments, on early Latin. This might with profit have been done oftener. See, e. g., below, pages 279–280.

Nor has Professor Bennett adopted in the present volume the suggestion made in A. J. P. XXXII 333, that a list of all the works and articles cited in a volume of his work should be given at the beginning or at the close of the volume. The gain to the reader in the facility with which he could determine whether a given work or article had been employed is

[1] See e. g. Munro's Lucretius,[4] 2. 15–17; Merrill's Lucretius, 45–46; Duff, A Literary History of Rome, 298; Giussani's edition of Lucretius, 1. xxv.

[2] See also M. Dorothy Brock, Studies in Fronto and his Age, 25–35, 181–182 (Cambridge, 1911); Purser, The Story of Cupid and Psyche as Related by Apuleius, xciii–xciv (London, 1910). Both these writers combat current views concerning the language of Fronto and Apuleius. See in answer to them, W. E. Foster, Studies in Archaism in Aulus Gellius, 3–29, especially 10–14 (New York, 1912: Columbia University Dissertation). Some conception of the amount of archaism in Apuleius may be obtained by noting the frequency of citations from Apuleius in the lists in my paper in the Drisler book, 141–171, giving archaisms of form and vocabulary in Aulus Gellius, and the frequency of such citations in Dr. Foster's work, passim, but especially in the lists on pages 29–64. See also Cooper, Word Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius, passim, but especially the Introduction, xv–xlvii (New York, 1895).

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self-evident; it seems equally evident that such gain would be ample compensation to the author for the labor involved in making such a list and to the publisher for the expense in setting it up. Further, in such a list it would be possible to give exactly, once for all, the place of publication and the date of each book or article. In the footnotes to the present volume, as in those to its predecessor, the dates of books and articles cited are sometimes given, sometimes not. In footnote 1 to page 1 Dräger, Historische Syntax, volume 1 (edition not named), and Kühner–Stegmann, Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache, volume 2, are cited side by side with no hint of the long interval of time between the second edition of Dräger (1878–1881) and the second edition of Kühner (1912). It would have been possible, too, in a general bibliography to give the titles of volumes with great particularity, and then in the body of the book to save space by employing consistently the same abbreviations, all carefully noted in the bibliographical list. On page 1, and often elsewhere, as matters stand now, we have such references as "Kühner–Stegmann, . . . ii, p. 243 ff.", which will cause many a moment of annoyance now that the Zweiter Teil of this volume of Stegmann's revision of Kühner has been published (1914). This part too is paged from 1 upwards.

One suggestion, however, made in A. J. P. XXXII 333, Professor Bennett has taken to heart in the present volume. Ennius he now cites uniformly by the text of Vahlen (2d ed., 1903; A. J. P. XXXII 1–35), giving parallel references for the dramatic fragments to Ribbeck (3d ed., I take it: of the tragic fragments, 1897, of the comic fragments, 1898). Lucilius he cites now from Marx, the fragments of the Orators from Meyer (1842), a book unfortunately out of print and hard to obtain. Even more, apparently, than in the preceding volume Professor Bennett was obliged to rely on his own collections, a fact which led, no doubt, to the long interval between the volumes.

One statement in the Preface to Volume II merits special attention: "Yet I have nowhere bound myself to the text of any editor. It has seemed necessary to call attention to this, since some readers have assumed that in citing by the page or verse of a special editor I have committed myself to his text.

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It ought to be superfluous to say that such is not the case and that I have deviated in hundreds of instances from the readings of the special editions to which I have referred. I only hope that my own readings may seem in the main sound and justified". Let us echo the hope. Let us hope also that, throughout, in deviating from his guides (and, perhaps, too, from the manuscripts) in these hundreds of instances he kept in mind the warnings that have more than once been uttered with respect to the risks attendant on emendation of fragments: see, e. g., A. J. P. XXVII 77, XXIX 478, XXXII 26, 35, and, more especially, Lindsay, Nonius Marcellus I. XXXVIII–XXXIX.[1] I note with much concern that Professor Bennett has provided no means whereby his readers may determine these hundreds of instances in which he has departed from the readings of his special editors. The student of syntax needs to know always on what foundations the combinations of his guides rest. Besides leaving his readers uncertain on this all-important point, unless they examine for themselves in every instance his quotations, by comparison with the special texts and the manuscripts both, Professor Bennett lays himself open to the very charge which in the Preface to our volume he brings against the treatises of others on which he had hoped to rely. These were of little help, he says, in part because their collections were incomplete, in part because they were "based, in great measure, on conjectural readings of the past generation".

The book before us is divided into seven chapters, as follows: I. Case Names, Case Theories, Nominative, Predicate Nouns, Appositives (1–7); II. The Genitive (8–100); III. The Dative (101–190); IV. The Accusative (191–263); V. The Vocative (264–278); VI. The Ablative (279–385); VII. The Locative (386–390). The Index covers pages 391–409 (about 37 full columns).

[1] Lindsay, discussing De Ratione Emendandi Noni, reminds us that Nonius repeatedly cites "Vergilii versus integer, manca sententia"; if he remembers this fact, the editor of Nonius "<non> nimis indulgebit prurigini emendandi". We need not go to the professional grammarian or scholar to see this habit of citing incomplete sentences or phrases: compare Suetonius Claudius 42, Cuidam barbaro Graece ac Latine disserenti "Cum utroque" inquit "sermone nostro sis paratus", et in commendanda patribus conscriptis Achaia, etc.

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What is a reviewer to do with such a book as this, so crowded with riches? It is a big book, in more than one sense of the word. It required courage of a high order to essay the task involved in this work; to pursue it as long as Professor Bennett has pursued it demands unusual patience and extraordinary powers of application. To accomplish so much as he has already achieved is not merely to demonstrate convincingly one's own capacity for scientific work, but at the same time to do something, a good deal, to remove the reproach so often heaped on American scholarship, that it confines itself to small tasks, demanding no great concentration and no long persistent labor. Let us hope that Professor Bennett will be spared to complete the work, nay, more, to see all the volumes through a revised edition.

To deal in detail with the hundreds of rubrics in this volume, all bound together, to be sure, by certain ties, yet after all separate, involving hosts of matters still *sub iudice* and in large measure subjective, and so affording at every turn opportunity for discussion, is manifestly impossible. It remains, then, to pick out a part of the book (Chapters I–II: pages 1–100), to indicate how Professor Bennett handles the problems involved in that, to sum up what he has said on them and thereby to give a hint of the results of his investigations, to add to his discussions, wherever possible, through commendation, criticism, or citation of new material. At another time I hope to deal with other parts of the volume. If, in the present article, I shall happen to differ from Professor Bennett more often than I agree, let no one fancy me insensible of the greatness of his task, of the fine way in which he has discharged it, and of the substantial contributions he has made to the study of early Latin syntax. No student of Latin syntax, for any period, early or late, will disregard Professor Bennett's collections of materials. Every editor and student of Plautus, for instance, will have Bennett's volumes as his *Vade Mecum*, a κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί. In using the general manuals of Latin syntax, the scholar will at every turn check up their statements by an examination of Professor Bennett's volumes. In view of all this, the fact that a given reviewer questions views in fields subjective or would have arranged the material in a different way is a minor matter. The great matter, the

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matter *per quam de nobis omnibus optime meruit*, is that Professor Bennett has put together, as no one else has done, here or abroad, the materials which we may arrange or rearrange as we will, in the effort to learn from them even more than Professor Bennett felt himself, in 400 pages, able to essay to convey.

The discussion of the origin of the Latin case names (1–2) is too brief, at least in the explanation of the terms *αἰτιατική* (*πτῶσις*) and *accusativus* (*casus*). Professor Bennett says merely (2) "In calling the accusative *αἰτιατική*, the Greeks intended to designate this case as the 'case of effect', i. e. of the thing caused (from *αἰτία*)", and that by the Romans "Αἰτιατική was falsely rendered by the name *accusativus*, as though *αἰτιατική* were derived from *αἰτιάομαι*, 'accuse'". Two things here will give pause to many. First, the phrase 'accusative of effect', used by Professor Bennett in his Latin Grammar and his The Latin Language, admirable though it is, is not at all familiar to many students of Latin: this every one knows who has used it in the presence of a class of teachers of Latin. Secondly, not in his own recollections of the word *αἰτία*, nor in Liddell and Scott nor yet in Crönert's revision of Passow's Wörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache (1913) will the reader find evidence that *αἰτία*='effect'; the lexicons give but one sense, 'cause'! I get far more light by looking up the article Accusative in the Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia. There we learn to get at the sense of *αἰτιατική* (*πτῶσις*) via *αἰτιατός*, 'effected'. This word Crönert handles well enough; Liddell and Scott, however, made it still harder to interpret *αἰτία* as 'the thing caused or effected' by writing, s. v. *αἰτιατός*, "produced by a cause, effected . . .; *τὸ αἰτιατόν* the effect, opp. to *τὸ αἴτιον* the cause". One wonders, lastly, how the Romans could have thought of the accusative case as the case of blaming. In their designations of the other cases one can see some plausibility: here there seems no gleam of sense.

On page 1 *πτῶσις* is defined as 'deviation' or 'change', and the oblique cases are described as 'deviations' from the nominative. If 'fall' had been the word chosen to represent *πτῶσις*, *casus* would be more evidently a natural rendering of *πτῶσις*.

On pages 2–3 the author declares briefly that most scholars

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make the ablative, the locative, the instrumental and the dative local in origin—if they admit at all that inflected forms in the parent speech had a 'Grundbegriff'. He thinks it probable that the genitive too was local in origin. Further discussion of this point is to be found at the beginnings of the several chapters. Discussions of origins occur often, also, under the individual rubrics within the chapters. See below, 276–277, 290, 291, 292.

On page 5, after a few instances of a predicate noun in the dative and the ablative have been cited, we have a list of the more unusual verbs 'taking' the predicate nominative construction, such as *adsum, clueo, consequor, eo, ineo, venio,* etc. In connection with Am. 635 *voluptatem ut maeror comes consequatur*, the word *comes* made me think of Professor Fay's paper, The Thesaurus Linguae Latinae: Comes It, in The Classical Journal 8. 253–256 (March, 1913). Professor Fay relied wholly on the Thesaurus: yet he cites, to prove that the locution *comes it* is early, Plautus Am. 929 *iuben mi ire comites?* This is an interesting example, since the subject of *ire* is *meas res* (see 928). This example Professor Bennett[1] does not give, a fact which raises at once, thus early in the book, the question of the completeness of his collections. One example of *vivo* with predicate nominative is cited by Professor Bennett: Am. 75 *dixit vos victores vivere.* In this connection we can now cite Professor Meader's valuable paper, The Development of Copulativ Verbs in the Indo-European Languages, T. A. P. A. xliii (for 1912: issued in 1913), 173–200, especially 189–190. For verbs meaning 'go' or 'walk' as copulas compare ibidem 186–187. There Professor Meader cites Plautus Aul. 721 (not given by Bennett): *Male perditus pessume ornatus eo.* I find in Bennett no discussion or explanation of the predicate noun with *clueo.* Many would welcome such discussion, here and elsewhere. But lack of space, I suppose, was the barrier.

In the discussion of appositives (5–7), the position of the appositive, the point to which Norden, in his edition of Aeneid

[1] In his Preface Professor Bennett states that, owing to the time required to put this volume through the press, he could not utilize material appearing after the early autumn of 1913.

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VI (page 116: note on 7 ff.) gave so much attention, is not considered. What Kiessling on Horace C. 1. 1. 6 called "voraufgenommene Apposition" Norden counts a "Künstlichkeit" of the "neoterische Poesie"; it is rare, he continues, in Horace and Vergil, common in Propertius and Ovid. Under § 1 of Bennett's discussion we find cited, as familiar examples of appositives with a proper name, *Archilinem opstetricem, erilis noster filius Strabax, tonstricem Suram*, which show both possible word-orders. The "voraufgenommene Apposition" thus appears very early.[1] So, in § 3, where Bennett gives examples of nouns like *servos* and *amator* or quasi-nouns like *adulescens* and *adulescentula* in apposition with nouns, both word-orders occur. A paragraph (6) is devoted to the combination *plerique omnes*: three instances occur in Plautus, one in Terence. Of its origin nothing is said. It occurs in Gellius 1. 3. 2; 1. 7. 4; 1. 21. 1; 4. 17. 4; 17. 5. 4; 14. 3. 1 (*pleraque omnia*); 15. 7. 1 *plerisque omnibus*. In 8. 12, a chapter now lost, Gellius discussed quid significet in veterum libris scriptum plerique omnes.[2] The phrase strikes me as illogically ordered. I should expect *omnes plerique*, that is, a universal affirmative followed by restricting *plerique*.[3] Through the elision, however, the phrase *plerique omnes* be-

[1] Frobenius, Die Syntax des Ennius, § 226 (Nördlingen, 1910), declares that no sure rule can be given for the position of the appositive–substantive in Ennius. Often it precedes. "Doch erscheint soviel klar, dass der betonte Begriff immer voraufgeht". He adds that "örtliche Bezeichnungen wie *oppidum . . . urbs . . . mons* <gingen> immer voraus". Patronymics, too, precede the nomen proprium, "wenn sie schon an und für sich oder im Zusammenhange so bekannt sind, dass sie für dieses eintreten können . . . ".

[2] *Plerique omnes* occurs in Fronto 183 (Naber), plerique omnes qui eam curaverant *frustra fuerunt*. Here *frustra fuerunt* gives us a second archaism in seven words.

[3] For an unilluminating comment on the phrase see Dziatzko-Hauler[4] on Phormio 172 (1913). In his Lateinische und Romanische Comparation 41 (1879), Wölfflin wrote: "Nehmen wir die alliterierende Verbindung *sex septem* . . . zur Richtschnur, so hätten wir ein disjunctives Asyndeton = *plurimi vel omnes*, und der vorwiegend archaische Gebrauch unserer Formel würde gut dazu stimmen". This view has found many supporters: see e. g. Reisig–Haase, Vorlesungen, etc. (new ed., 1888), 3. 832, and Anm. 610 a on page 833. If the ellipsis is possible this explanation makes the phrase very effective.

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comes metrically convenient. In working out the articles *et* and *que* for Professor Lodge's Lexicon Plautinum I seemed to find evidence that the choice between *et* and *que* was to some extent at least determined by metrical considerations. However, such a combination as Cap. 232 *maxima pars morem hunc homines habent*, is parallel to *plerique omnes*, in that a restrictive phrase precedes the universal *homines*. See further footnote 3 on page 275.

In Chapter II we have first a discussion of the Original Force of the Genitive (8–10), then, in succession, a discussion of the Genitive with Nouns (10–81), the Genitive with Adjectives and Participles (82–87), the Genitive with Verbs (88–100), and, finally, the Genitive of Exclamation (100: only two examples occur, both in Plautus). Of the Genitive with Nouns we have nine main subdivisions; one of these, the Genitive of the Whole, has itself thirteen subdivisions. Of the Genitive with Verbs there are nine subdivisions. This is typical of the book. The material falls easily into large classes, which correspond closely in scope and names to the classifications and nomenclature commonly current.

On page 8 Professor Bennett surrenders the view set forth in his The Latin Language, 194 (1907), and in Schmalz, Syntax und Stilistik[4] (1910), that in Latin the genitive was primarily an adnominal case. His reason is that "the testimony of the Indo-European languages is clear that the genitive was freely construed with verbs even in the Ursprache". He adds that in Latin "certain genitive formations,—those in -ī—seem to have been used originally with verbs alone; see below, page 93". On page 93 there is no reference back to page 9; but the reference on page 9 is, I take it, to what, on page 93, Professor Bennett, following Wackernagel, calls "The Type *flocci facere*. Value. Price" (discussed pages 93–98). After discussing very briefly (8–9) the value of the three genitive formations (in *-es, -os, -s*; of *o*-stems, in *sio, -so*; of *o*-stems *in* -ī), Professor Bennett declares that we can not determine any single value to be attached to the genitive in Indo-European (yet on page 3 he had said that it seemed probable that the genitive was of local origin). The adnominal and the adverbial uses of the genitive, he holds, were originally different. "There was no 'einheitlicher' genitive

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in the Ursprache". He mentions, though without definitely approving it, Wackernagel's theory that, in the Ursprache, the adnominal use had a very limited range, and that at the outset the use with verbs was predominant, if not actually exclusive (10). To the question that naturally springs to the mind, How then did this originally predominant use come to play so small a part in Latin? Professor Bennett gives no attention. He does, however, illustrate more concretely, more fully than anyone has done before, the large part played by the adverbial genitive in Early Latin. Assuming the correctness of Wackernagel's theory, we may note that Latin gave up, in large part, various other usages that had Indo-European sanction, e. g. the infinitive with purpose, the infinitive with adjectives, and the power to make compounds at will.[1]

For the genitive with nouns Bennett can find no one primitive usage. He is content (11) to find in this genitive the "capacity of completing the meaning of the substantive in any one of a great variety of ways suggested by the context". He rightly remarks that it is better frankly to recognize that certain genitive expressions do not fall readily into clearly defined categories; something of the variety and flexibility of the early days long remained, "many uses lying quite outside the clearly marked formal categories, others hovering between two related groups. This principle applies not only to the genitive and other cases, but to the moods and tenses as well. To ignore it is to reverse the order of syntactical development and to represent as primitive what was a matter of growth" (11–12). The principle applies as well to classification for lexicographical purposes, as I learned even better than I had known it before in my article on *Etiam* for Lodge's Lexicon Plautinum and in my Notes on Etiam in Plautus in T. A. P. A. xli, 115–137. To the point Professor Bennett recurs in 37–38, 70, without reference back to 11–12.

The Genitive of Material is defined (12) as denoting "primarily the concrete substance of which anything is composed, or, in the case of collective nouns, the units of which the mass

[1] A bit of syntactical history extremely curious, if Professor Bennett's theories are correct, is that of the case-constructions with verbs of remembering. See below, p. 289, under (2).

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consists". The usage is relatively infrequent, he remarks, because the relationship expressed by the genitive here is commonly set forth by adjectives, *faginus*, *aureus*, etc. He admits the difficulty of classification (12, 14), especially of differentiating the Genitive of Material and the Genitive of Quantity. Instances like ***multitudo tuorum, natio hominum, gregem venalium*** Gildersleeve–Lodge, 368, would class, I am sure, as genitives of quantity. Into the correctness of our author's assignment of individual examples, however, it will be impossible to go. I note that most of Bennett's examples of the Genitive of Material come from Cato, De Agri Cultura.

The Genitive of the <Parted> Whole is common in Early Latin. The first rubric here is Genitive of Quantity or Measure. "This denotes that of which a certain definite weight or measure is taken". The carefulness of this definition emphasizes the inaccuracy of the designation of this genitive as Genitive of Quantity (Professor Bennett is at one here, however, with others in his use of the term). In such expressions as ***argenti nummus, cum auri CC nummis Philippis*** the measure or quantity is in the noun on which the genitive depends not in the genitive. If we are to be exact enough to speak of the "Genitiv des getheilten Ganzen" (13), if we are to deplore divergences of designation and the lack of precise definitions (12), we should call this subdivision the Genitive of the Quantity Measured, or the like. In spite of Professor Bennett's care in defining, here and elsewhere, there is a frequent looseness in the rubrics, which should find no place in a book of this kind. Thus, to take but one example, the second rubric under Genitive of the Whole is "Neuter Adjectives of Amount" (16). Of course the author has in mind here, as he says at once, examples of the Genitive of the Whole with neuter adjectives of amount; he could easily have arranged the letterpress before the rubric and the rubric itself to make this plain.

Some of the genitives with neuter adjectives of amount (16–19) are interesting. Thus we have an isolated example of ***amplius*** with the genitive, Cis. *777* ***liberorum . . . amplius,*** a combination natural enough, however, in view of ***minus*** and ***plus*** with the genitive. We have two examples, both from Cato, of ***multum*** with the genitive, two of ***pauxillulum*** (one

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from Naevius, one from Terence), two of *minimum* (Cato), one of *pauxillum* (Lucilius), one of *plurimum* (Cato), three each of *quantillum* and *tantillum* (Plautus), three of *tantumdem* (Plautus, Terence, Cato), besides the common types, *dimidium, minus, paulum, plus,* etc. In the discussion of the Genitive of the Whole with pronouns and pronominal adjectives (20), we find that such a genitive with a relative pronoun occurs only in Cato and in C. I. L. (four examples from Cato, eleven from C. I. L. I. 198–200). *Numquis, nescioquis, ecquis, quivis, alteruter, neuter, uter, ullus, utervis* occur but once each with the genitive (20–22).[1]

On pages 22–23 Professor Bennett states that *mille* is a noun everywhere in Early Latin, except Ba. 928 *mille*[2] *cum numero navium*, and Ba. 230, where the MSS give *mille et ducentos Philippos*. The former passage he interprets by "with the number of a thousand ships". Since he is willing to make *mille* an adjective here, why should he emend Ba. 230 to *mille ac ducentos Philippum* (Bentley), even though in Ba. 272 the MSS give the latter form? This is to ignore at once Plautus's love of variety in his expressions and the principle of the lectio difficilior, which, in view both of the preponderance, on Bennett's view, of *mille* as noun and the reading in 272, decidedly applies. The emendation, finally, introduces a very rare use of the genitive (see next paragraph).

A reference to Gellius I. 16 would have been very helpful here. There Gellius, starting with the phrase *ibi mille hominum occiditur* (Quadrigarius), defends this locution as *ratione certa ac proba grammaticae disciplinae dicta.* He cites examples from Quadrigarius, Lucilius, Varro, Cato, Cicero

[1] Here, as in many another place in Professor Bennett's book, the facts adduced form a vigorous warning against 'emending' any passage of Early Latin because, as delivered to us by our MSS, it shows an isolated usage. Syntactical ἅπαξ εἰρημένα need not trouble us, for this period at least.

[2] So Leo and the Teubner text, but not Lindsay, whose text Bennett professes to follow; Lindsay reads *milli*, which suits the meter (iambic octonarius) better than *mille*. Lindsay must regard *milli* as a noun in the ablative, and take *numero* as in *saepe numero*, or as *pondo* is taken in such a phrase as Men. 526 *addas auri pondo unciam*. With Bennett's view of the passage compare Valerius Maximus, page 13, Excerpt 6 (Kempf): Persae mille navium numero Delum compulsi . . . .

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(Phil. 6. 15), and insists that in Pro Milone 53 Cicero wrote *hominum mille*[1] *versabatur valentum.* The example from Varro given by Gellius is from XVII Humanarum (XVIII, fr. 2, MI, says Hosius, 1903) and runs: *Ad Romuli initium plus mille et centum annorum est.* This must be added, then, to Ba. 230 (an example got by emendation: see above), *272,* and Lucilius 1053 *argenti* (*argentis* codd) *sescentum ac mille,* which Bennett says (23) are "the only <passages> in Early Latin where we find the Genitive of the Whole with *mille* combined with one of the hundreds". A reference to Gellius, the professional archaist, as we may call him, thus lights up our studies both directly and indirectly, directly by reminding us of ancient treatment of the phenomena under consideration, indirectly by supplying us at once a fourth example of a rare usage.

On page 32 in such expressions as Ba. 415 *quid hoc negotist?* Bennett joins the genitive with the demonstrative, on the basis of sense and the position of the genitive. Why not use in further support of this view Eu. 544 *nunc mi hoc negoti dedere,* M. G. 956 *hoc negoti mandatumst mihi,* Tri. 578 *dic hoc negoti quomodo actumst,* cited also in this very paragraph? Here the genitive must belong with the demonstrative.

On page 34 four examples are given from the Annales of Ennius of the type *dia dearum.* This Bennett calls a Grecism (yet in the Index the caption Grecism does not occur). Frobenius, Die Syntax des Ennius, 35, declares that this usage is confined to epic poetry, and is an imitation of familiar Homeric expressions. Finding Grecisms in Early Latin is interesting in view of the vigorous warning given by Leo, Plautinische Forschungen[2], 102–103, against "die Jagd nach Gräcismen in der Syntax". This hunt, he says, has usually been fruitless: the supposed Grecisms have turned out to be good Italic constructions.[2] If we are to admit Grecisms in

[1] Reid ad loc. says this, not *mille homines,* is regular in Cicero. See *mille* in Krebs-Schmalz, Antibarbarus[7] (1907), and Schmalz again, in Reisig-Haase,[5] Vorlesungen, Anm. 335.

[2] In his note on Most. 912, *di immortales, mercimoni lepidi,* which is cited by Professor Bennett, page 100, as one of the two examples of the Genitive of Exclamation, Sonnenschein (2d ed., 1907) sees a Grecism, though he can find but two parallels, one from Propertius, one

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Ennius (as we must in the case just discussed), why have editors been so unwilling to see another in Ennius Ann. 201–202 (if they persist in reading *viai*)?

> Quo vobis mentes, rectae quae stare solebant
> antehac, dementis sese flexere viai?

Here the editors of Cicero Cato Maior 16, where this passage is cited (e. g. Reid, Moore), Frobenius, Die Syntax des Ennius, 32, Bennett, in our book, page 36, join *viai* with *quo*, in spite of the wide separation of *quo* and *viai*, in spite, too, of the infrequency of *quo* with the genitive (Bennett cites but two other examples, both from Plautus: on these, too, see below), and in spite of the fact that the MSS give not *viai* but *via* (a fact noted by Bennett himself). If *viai* is to be joined with *quo*, then, as Frobenius noted, we must correct the declaration of Schmalz[4], § 73, that *quo* with the partitive genitive begins with Sallust; we have surer ground, however, for correcting him in Bennett's two examples from Plautus. Here, we may note in passing, will lie one of the great values of Professor Bennett's work—the supplying of proof that many a construction occurs far earlier than our standard general manuals of Latin syntax would have us believe (see the discussion above, pages 274–276, of the place of the appositive). Reverting to our Ennius passage we may note that Frobenius, page 38, § 67, writes: "Häufig steht bei E. der Ausgangspunkt einer Bewegung im blossen Abl., wo später in der Regel Präp. angewendet werden". I venture to think, then, that editors have been too quick to emend the manuscript text in our passage. I note in conclusion that *quo . . . viai*, if taken together, gives a type of the genitive with *quo* quite unlike that in the only two other examples that Bennett is able to quote of *quo* with a genitive; these both involve *quo gentium*. So we have only *gentium* with *quoquo* (twice), *quovis* (twice), and with *usquam* and *nusquam*. With *ubi* we do find *loci*, but this seems to me to involve easier combinations than that seen in *quo . . . flexere viai*.[1]

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from Lucan. Professor Fay thinks the expression is "either a Greekish genitive of exclamation . . . for which there is very little warrant anywhere in Latin, or a genitive of quality . . . describing *porticus*, which had just been recalled to memory by *longissima*".

[1] I am aware that very often in Latin the first and the last words of a series, even a long series, belong together grammatically. I should

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On pages 37–38 Professor Bennett holds that the term Possessive Genitive is too loosely used by most grammarians, as a kind of catch-all for examples which they cannot assign to more clearly defined categories. In his own treatment he aims to "exclude all uses where there did not seem to be a fairly clear possessive idea. This possessive idea is present especially in the following classes of combinations: 1) Where there is some material possession, as *Cratini aedes, anulum gnati tui*; 2) In the designation of ordinary blood relationships, as *filia, filius, uxor, nepos Gai*, etc.; 3) In the designation of mental and moral qualities, as *ineptia huius, quorum crudelitatem*, etc.; 4) In the designation of parts of the body, as *abdomina tunni, pes Gai*; 5) In figurative extensions of these four types of usage". Instances which do not show a real idea of possession, he puts under Free Uses of the Genitive, a much-embracing category (70–80). The examples which he admits into his list of Possessive Genitives he arranges according to the alphabetical order of the governing noun, if I may be allowed to designate in this way the noun on which the genitive depends; the attempt to subdivide the examples into logical categories, made, e. g. by Blomquist, De Genitivi apud Plautum Usu (Helsingfors, 1892), he rejects.

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like, however, other examples of such wide separation in Ennius. Frobenius, pages 109–126, in a careful discussion of "Wortstellung" in Ennius, has nothing directly bearing on our point. But it is clear enough that wide separation is not the rule in Ennius. In § 227 he notes only four examples of the separation of adverb from adjective. In § 222, which deals with Hyperbaton des Adjektivs (140 examples), we get more help: "In der überwiegenden Zahl der Fälle ist ein Wort dazwischengeschoben, häufig sind es auch zwei d. h. das betreffende Zwischenglied samt Zubehör, seltener drei (etwa zehnmal), nur vereinzelt vier, fünf oder gar sechs Wörter". The example which shows six words between an adjective and its noun, Scaen. 316 Ego deum genus esse semper dixi et dicam caelitum, he deems worthy of special discussion (page 117): "Die weite Trennung von *deum—caelitum* stört den Zusammenhang durchaus nicht, weil *deum* allein verständlich war und *caelitum* auch als Subst. benützt werden konnte". Plainly, then, the wide separation of *quo* and *viai* in our Ennius passage is against the current interpretation of the syntax here. We should therefore either follow the MSS, and see one of those free uses of the ablative recognized by Frobenius (even though Frobenius cites no exact parallel), or, if we read *viai*, we should join that word with *flexere* and find a Grecism.

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For attempts at classification by logical categories, difficult as they are, subjective as they inevitably are in part, I have the strongest prepossession: see my review of Professor Wetmore's Index Verborum Vergilianus, in The Classical Weekly 6. 101–103, 109–111. As a matter of fact, in assigning his examples to the category under discussion, Professor Bennett was himself obliged to classify largely on logical grounds. If, however, we are to forego division on logical grounds, is Professor Bennett's arrangement by the alphabetical order of the governing nouns justifiable? I think not. Surely, in a study of the Possessive Genitive the thing that counts is the possessor, not the thing possessed. We should admit at once that anything, concrete or abstract, may be possessed. But, we want to know, who or what can possess, by way of the Latin genitive? It is, then, the genitive in these combinations, not the governing noun, that is of real importance. If, then, we arrange the material according to the alphabetical order of the nouns involved, that order should be, I think, the order of the nouns (pronouns) represented by the genitives. At the least there should be a brief reclassification, subsidiary to that given at length by Professor Bennett, according to the order of the possessors. Professor Bennett's scheme is definitely troublesome in various ways. We are studying the genitive: but we find the governing nouns, by whose alphabetical order our genitive material has been disposed, in widely varying cases. Again, we find grammatical kith and kin rudely severed. Thus, *adolescentiae eius, eius aetas, eius aliquid, avo eius, eius color, eius famam, eius lubido, salute eius, superbia eius* are scattered over ten pages! Further, Professor Bennett's arrangement gives a wholly fictitious prominence to some of his nouns. Thus *adulescentia* is cited for but one example. But, when we note that the genitive involved is *eius*, the presence of *adulescentia* in a combination of words involving the idea of possession ceases to have the importance which Professor Bennett's arrangement gives to the word. But, far more important, Professor Bennett's arrangement conceals from his readers, or at least does not readily show them, the one thing they will, I am sure, want to know: In what percentage of instances does the word which stands in the Possessive Genitive denote an actual person? In what per-

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centage does it denote something easily capable of personification? Does the word in any case denote a thing incapable of personification? The reader can, to be sure, work through the examples and find these facts for himself; but Professor Bennett, who knows the material far better than any of his readers is likely to know it, could have helped far more than he has. Most of the examples, we find, involve names of persons, or instances of *eius*, *illius*, *huius*, etc. Examples like Naevius Com. 35, *mei feri ingeni acrimonia*, are very rare in Professor Bennett's list; so too are even such examples as Acc. 10, *ventorum animae*, Men. 140, *commoditatis omnis articulos scio*, in which, to a Roman, personification would be easy enough. In the examples of the predicate use of this genitive given on pages 49–50 the genitive always denotes a person. Clearly, then, Professor Bennett has been true to his principles with respect to this genitive, as set forth by him on pages 37–38 (see above, page 282).

On page 50 the subjective genitive is defined by Professor Bennett, as "denoting primarily the person who is the author of some act, or who is in some state or condition". The material is again arranged according to the alphabetical order of the governing nouns. Against this arrangement much the same objections lie as were urged against this order above, in the discussion of the Possessive Genitive. Surely, here too the important thing is the genitive, not the governing noun. In looking over Professor Bennett's material (50–56) from this point of view, we find that only in rare instances does the Subjective Genitive, in his view, fail to denote an actual person; the examples of transfer, by figurative usage, so that things appear in this genitive (50), are few.

Under the Objective Genitive (57–65) the material is again arranged according to the alphabetical order of the governing nouns. In itself, however, this arrangement is not objectionable, since here, in sharp contrast to the situation with respect to the Possessive Genitive and the Subjective Genitive, the more important factor is the governing noun. This observation, in favor of our author, leads to one against him. To determine a very important fact—how far the Objective Genitive is used with nouns that are, so to say, intransitive, that is, with nouns derived from verbs which do not govern the accu-

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sative or do not 'take' any case at all or are used with prepositional phrases as their predicate,—one must for himself rearrange Professor Bennett's material, particularly in view of the statement (57) that "the use with nouns related to verbs construed with other cases (as *cursores pelagi*; *fides regni*) is probably just as ancient as with nouns related to transitive verbs; cf. Brugmann, Grundriss. ii ², p. 605. At times certain nouns not derived from verbs develop a meaning which makes them capable of taking an objective genitive, as: est quisque faber suae fortunae". In the great majority of our author's instances the governing noun is directly derived from some transitive verb or readily suggests some transitive verb. It is possible, further, that *faber* (see above) suggested to the Romans *facio*. The following nouns, whose corresponding verbs are not transitive, appear in Professor Bennett's list, with the objective genitive: *concordia, confidentia, consuetudo, cursor* (yet compare Vergil's use of *curro* with the accusative: also *percurro* as transitive would make *cursor* with the genitive easy), *fides, fiducia, potestas* (yet compare the use of *potio* in Am. 178 *eum potivit servitutis*, discussed by Bennett, 93), *praesidium, studium, vacuitas*. Some examples of the objective genitive with a noun may be explained by analogy with the genitive with an adjective: cf. e. g. And. 247 *Chremetis adfinitatem*. *Exitium* with the genitive may be due to analogy with *initium* with the genitive, for which see Hec. 351 *initium irae*, And. 709 *narrationis initium*. Less easy to explain is the genitive with *arrabo, domina, dominus, erus, moechus, permities, praeda, pretium, flagitium, imago, calamitas, copia* (12 instances).

On page 65 Professor Bennett notes that the Genitive of Quality is much less frequent than the Ablative of Quality in Early Latin. "Apart from a few stereotyped formulas, such as *huius modi, eius modi, parvi preti, minumi preti*, etc., the idiom is only scantily represented". The very first example, "*animus*: Men. 269, *homo iracundus animi perditi*", is interesting, to me at least, for two reasons. First, as Professor Bennett notes, elsewhere the genitive, not the ablative, of *animus* is used in qualitative expressions. This phenomenon is matched by the fact that once only is the genitive of *color*, or *genus*, or *ingenium* (this comes by emendation, too, be it

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noted[1]) found in expressions of quality (these examples, too, are in Plautus); the ablative of *animus, color* and *ingenium* occurs not infrequently in such expressions. Secondly, in Men. 269 *homo iracundus animi perditi,* we have, thus early, both an adjective and a genitive of quality with one noun, a construction which Mr. J. D. Duff, in his note on Juvenal 3. 4–5, <Cumae> *ianua Baiarum est et gratum litus amoeni secessus,* declares to be un-Latin, though the sense clearly is, 'Cumae . . . is a charming stretch of shore, so delightfully sequestered', or, with fuller reference to the word order, 'It's a charming place, on the seashore, delightfully sequestered'.[2]

The inclusion of *bidui* and *tridui,* seen in And. 440, *biduist aut tridui haec sollicitudo,* is justified when we think of the origin of these forms. Professor Bennett compares the use of *dies,* as seen in a solitary example, H. T. 909 *decem dierum vix mihi familia est.* These examples involving *dies* are thus all from Terence. Compare, however, Most. 82 *paucorum mensum sunt relictae reliquiae.* Professor Bennett does not note separately whether a genitive ever takes the place of the adjective with the genitive in this kind of qualitative expression (contrast his remark on the genitive with *medicamento,* in an ablative qualitative expression, page 323). I see no such instance, however, in his lists for the genitive, 65–68. Nor does he pick out the examples of the qualitative genitive in predicate use and set them over against the examples of

[1] On page 323, under the Ablative of Quality, there are not sufficient references back to the discussion of the Genitive of Quality. Thus, under *ingenio,* there is no mention even of Most. 814, which, on page 65, is said to be the sole instance of *ingeni* in a genitive of quality construction. The ablative lists on page 393 are in several instances less full than the ablative lists on page 65, a page devoted primarily to the genitive.

[2] In Juvenal 11. 32 ancipitem seu tu magno discrimine causam protegere adfectas, Mr. Duff calls *magno discrimine* an ablative of quality. Why join an ablative of quality and an adjective to one noun, and not adjective and genitive of quality? For pertinent examples see Juvenal again, 14. 146, and 14. 157–158. On 3. 48 *nulli comes exeo tamquam mancus et extinctae, corpus non utile, dextrae,* Mr. Duff says, "The subject (*homo* understood) has two epithets, *mancus* and *extinctae dextrae* (=*debilis*); the gen. of quality is used as a roundabout adj. . .". In 13. 148 *veteris qui tollunt grandia templi pocula, adorandae robiginis,* we have an adjective and a genitive of quality with one noun, with asyndeton, even as in our Plautus passage.

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this construction in attributive use, though under the Ablative of Quality, 319–325, he makes two main divisions, A. Attributive Uses, B. Predicate Uses. The genitive examples are, in fact, mostly in the predicate.

The brief discussion of the nature of the Genitive of Quality on pages 67–68 is reinforced by a discussion of the fundamental difference between the Genitive and the Ablative in qualitative expressions, 317–319. On page 68 our author notes that the ten examples he has quoted of the Genitive of Quality in the plural effectually dispose of Wackernagel's view that in Early Latin the plural is never found in this construction. On pages 317–319 he repeats the view, familiar from his Appendix to his Latin Grammar and his The Latin Language, that the genitive of quality properly denotes permanent qualities, whereas the ablative of quality properly denotes transitory qualities. Though, he continues, "the genitive is not used to denote temporary qualities", yet "Even in Early Latin the ablative had begun to abandon its original field of the temporary, however, and to be applied to permanent characteristics (*mulierem pudico ingenio*; *antiqua fide*; etc.)". Physical and bodily characteristics he makes transitory; hence the ablative should be used to describe them. He definitely mentions color as a transitory thing, because it changes with age (318), yet he forgets that on page 65 he had listed one example of *color* in the genitive of quality. What of the examples cited above, page 286, involving *bidui*, *tridui*, and *decem dierum*? Are things that last two, three or ten days permanent qualities? What of *paucorum mensum* in Most. 82? I should prefer to say that, as the result of free, or, if you will, careless uses of each construction, the two cases became at times interchangeable. Professor Bennett himself freely admits that the ablative of quality did not remain true to its traditions: why strain a point to prove that the genitive of quality had greater staying powers? Compare his unwillingness to admit any logical difference between the genitive and the accusative with verbs of remembering (see below, page 290), and his declaration (97) that the Genitive of Value and the Ablative of Price early became confused (see below, page 292).

Of the Appositional, or Epexegetical Genitive (Genitivus

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Definitivus) few examples are given (68). These for the most part involve such expressions as *flagitium hominis, monstrum hominis, nomen virginis, Silari flumen, scelus viri.*

On pages 68–70 we have a discussion of the Genitive with Causa, Gratia, and Similar Words. The genitive with *causa* our author regards as probably originally one of possession; "But very early the force of *causa* became virtually that of a preposition, in which function it is extremely common in the early period of the language". There are 85 examples, naturally not all quoted. The examples that are quoted fall easily into two classes (not distinguished, however, in our book), the one of which includes genitives that denote a person, while the other includes genitives that denote a thing (*auri, stupri, popularitatis, consuetudinis,* etc.). The latter class is pretty well represented. In some of these examples, and in some of the like examples with *gratia,* such as Am. 682 *deridiculi gratia,* Cato, fr. 23, 8 (Jordan) *contumeliae causa,* Eun. 877 *contumeliae non me fecisse causa, sed amoris,* Acc. 485, *quoius tumulti causa,* is it fanciful to suppose that the expressions arose out of a condensation of the familiar use of *causa* with the gerundive? In any case, the forward-looking, final sense that *causa* with the gerund and the gerundive has is plainly present in these examples. On the other hand, in Cato, fr. 42, 6 (Jordan), *omnia avaritiae atque pecuniae causa fecit,* the relation of the two genitives to *causa* seems not the same; it would be easy to give to *causa* in *avaritiae causa* something of that backward-looking sense, that idea of cause (*ob, propter*) which the word seems to have at times in the archaists: see my remarks in Notes on the Prepositions in Gellius, T. A. P. A. xxv (1894), 24–25.

Of *gratia* with a genitive, says Professor Bennett (69), twenty examples occur. The remarks made above on *causa* apply here. In this same general category our author sets examples of the genitive with *ingratiis* (1), *vitio* (3), *vicem* (6), *virtute,* 'thanks to' (6: of the 16 instances in these four classes, 15 are from Plautus, one from Terence), *fini* (1: Cato), *postridie* (1: Cato), *ergo* (15: 10 from Cato, 2 from the Tabulae XII, three others from Inscriptions).

Into the discussion of Free Uses of the Genitive (70–80) it is not possible to follow our author; the material is too diverse. However, to the reference back to the discussion of

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such uses on pages 37–38 might be added another to pages 11–12, where too the matter is considered. I turn rather to the Genitive with Adjectives and Participles (82–87). Here the arrangement is by the alphabetical order of the governing adjectives, an order as correct here as was the order followed in the discussion of the Objective Genitive, and for the same reasons. Of the many matters of interest here only one can be considered. Under *adsimilis* we have one example of the genitive, one of the dative (Cato); under *consimilis*, four of the genitive, two with the dative (Accius, Terence). In neither case is there hesitation in seeing a dative use; in neither case is there a reference to the later discussion of the usage with *similis* (86–87), nor under *similis* is there a reference back to *adsimilis* and *consimilis*. *Dissimilis* seems not to occur. In his discussion of *similis* Professor Bennett seems inclined to allow for the dative six instances, all from Plautus, where the dative is given by the MSS (editors, following Ritschl, read the genitive). He quotes, apparently with approval, the point made by T. M. Jones, Case Constructions with Similis and its Compounds (Baltimore, 1903), that in four of these instances we are dealing with comparisons and that with the comparative of *similis* the later Latinity usually employs the dative, even of persons. Bennett inclines to read the dative, with the manuscripts, also in Eun. 468. It seems strange that, after allowing, without reserve, the dative with both *adsimilis* and *consimilis*, he should hesitate to grant it also with *similis*.

On pages 88–100 comes the discussion of that important and interesting matter, the Genitive with Verbs. His view of this construction in general Professor Bennett had given on pages 8–10 (not referred to here): see above, pages 276–277. In view of the importance of this usage, I give in full the main rubrics: (1) With verbs of reminding, admonishing (88); (2) With verbs of remembering and forgetting (88–89); (3) With verbs of judicial action (89–90); (4) With verbs of emotion (90–91); (5) With verbs of plenty and want (91–92); (6) With verbs of ruling, having power over (92–93); (7) The type *flocci facere*. Value. Price (93–98); (8) With verbs of desiring, scorning, fearing (98–99); (9) Genitive of Respect (99–100).

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Under (1) a single example is given: Ru. 743 *mearum me miseriarum commones.* The accusative is the usual construction with these verbs.

Under (2) we read that these verbs are "only sparingly construed with the genitive, the accusative being the more usual construction". The instances actually quoted of the genitive with *memini* and *commemini* show both persons and things in the genitive, more often things; those with *in mentem venit* show only things. The two examples of the genitive with *obliviscor* show persons.

On the genitive here Bennett remarks (1) that the genitive with these verbs is "essentially an Indo-European inheritance. In Indo-European the verb *men-* seems to have governed both genitive and accusative, if we may judge from the fact that in Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, and Germanic, verbs from this root are found with both cases; see Brugmann, Grundriss, ii ², p. 590 ff.". (2) Yet in the earliest extant Latin the genitive is here much less frequent than the accusative; more oddly still, as time goes on, the genitive increases in frequency. Finally, Professor Bennett refuses to allow any logical difference between the two constructions (89).

Under (3), the Genitive with Verbs of Judicial Action, besides the familiar verbs, we find examples of the genitive with *teneo* (2: Plautus), *capto, deprehendo, prehendo* (once each: Plautus), *adstringo, adligo, manum inicio* (twice: Plautus), *perdo,* in the phrase *capitis perdo* (thrice: Plautus), and with *reus sit* (not with *reus* alone, as page 90 might imply; once: Plautus). On page 90 Professor Bennett abandons the view, given in his The Latin Language, 327 (1907), that the genitive here is to be explained as resulting from an ellipsis of a noun, *crimine, iudicio, lege,* or the like: "The early language shows no instance where any of these words is present". Compare his argument later under (7); see below, page 291.

Under (4) we have examples of the genitive with *piget, pudet, suppudet* (once: Lucilius), *paenitet, taedet, distaedet* (once: Plautus), *miseret, miseretur, miserescit, commiserescit, misereo, misereor, commiseresco.*

Under (5) we have examples of the genitive with *abundo, compleo* (thrice: Plautus), *impleo, obsaturo* (once: Terence),

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onero (once: Pacuvius), *oppleo* (once: Plautus), *saturo,* (once: Plautus), *careo* (once: Terence), *egeo, indigeo, levo* (once: Plautus), *orbifico* (once: Accius), *privo* (once: Afranius). This construction Bennett regards as Indo-European.

Under (6) we have six examples of *potior* with the genitive. Of these three are due, more or less, to conjecture. Bennett (93) calls this use Indo-European. His case is strengthened, however, by the six instances of *potio* or its passive *potior* with the genitive: cf. e. g. Cap. 92 *est potitus hostium.*

Under (7) Professor Bennett cites with warm approval the views set forth by Wackernagel, Genitiv und Ablativ, in Mélanges De Saussure, 125 ff., concerning the origin of expressions like *multi facere, parvi facere*: "Wackernagel . . . calls attention to Sanskrit formations in which certain *ā*-stems replace the suffix (*ā*) with *ī*, and then combine this as a sort of preverb with *kṛ-*, 'make', *bhu-*, 'become', *as-*, 'be', in the sense: 'to make or become what one was not before'; 'to make some one a sharer in something'; 'to bring something (or to come) into the sphere of something'. Wackernagel not merely identifies this *-ī* with the difficult *-ī* of the Latin and Celtic genitive ending of *o*-stems, but finds a striking similarity of syntactical usage in the Sanskrit compounds just mentioned and the use of the Latin genitive in *-ī* with *facio, esse,* and other verbs. From expressions like *multi facere, parvi facere,* according to Wackernagel, has developed the Genitive of Value, and later the Genitive of Price. This view is as plausible as it is ingenious, and has already evoked extensive approval in various quarters. I have made it the basis of the following treatment" (93).

First come examples with *facio.* The genitives here are *flocci, nihili, terrunci* (once: Plautus), *compendi, dispendi* (once: Ennius), *lucri, damni* (once: Plautus), *sumpti* (once: Plautus), *quanti* (twice: Plautus and Lucilius), *tanti* (once: Plautus), *magni, multi* (twice: Plautus and Cato), *parvi, pluris, minoris, maxumi, aequi, huius* (once: Terence). The examples with *pendo* show *quanti, magni, parvi, minoris, plurimi* (once: Plautus), *nihili, flocci* (twice, one example suspicious: Plautus). With *est* we find *quanti, tanti* (once: Plautus), *tantidem* (once: Plautus), *parvi* (once: Plautus), *pluris, maxumi* (once: Plau-

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tus), *copiae, operae, nihili, nauci* (twice in Plautus, once in Ennius). Then come examples of *nihili, nauci, trioboli* used attributively, and, finally, examples of this general usage with other verbs, such as *existumo, aestumo, consulo, censeo, indico, habeo, dedico.* Pages 93–97 are thus very valuable pages, that will well repay study. On page 97 Bennett remarks that there is in a large proportion of the foregoing examples a distinct notion of value, so that this genitive has been called often a Genitive of Value. Against the view often maintained (e. g. by Wölfflin in Archiv 9.103) that this genitive is originally a genitive of quality standing for the fuller *tanti preti est, parvi preti facio*, he urges (97) that we never find *parvi preti facio, magni preti facio*, although, as seen above, the shorter expressions are very common. Compare his argument under (3): see above page 290.

Price was originally denoted by the ablative, value by the genitive, but these ideas lie so close together that the constructions are confused, even in early Latin, so that value is sometimes denoted by the ablative and price by the genitive (97: after Wölfflin, Archiv, 9. 102). Bennett holds also that we cannot distinguish the uses by saying that the genitive denotes indefinite price, the ablative definite price: "Except in the four genitives above cited <*quanti, tanti, pluris, minoris*>, the ablative is regularly used at all periods of the language to denote indefinite price". He connects the genitive of price with the following verbs in Early Latin: *conduco, destino, do, emo, libero, loco, perdoceo, posco, redimo, subigo, vendo.* When we come to examine these instances, we find that they all involve *quanti, tanti, tantidem,* and *minoris*, so that one wonders why they were not rather included above, with the examples of the genitive with *facio, pendo*, etc. One instance, Eun. 74, *ut te redimas . . . minumo; si nequeas paululo, at quanti queas*, is particularly interesting, as showing two ablatives, one genitive; the ablative and the genitive occur, in effect, with the same verb (*queo*). The fact that the genitive used is the familiar *quanti* may point to the view that, aside from the very common *tanti, quanti*, etc., the ablative is the more natural construction for price, definite or indefinite, even for Early Latin.

Under (8) we have examples of the genitive with *cupio, fastidio, vereor, studeo.*

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Finally, under (9), we have examples in which the genitive "apparently has a function similar to that of the Ablative of Specification . . . The usage may have been Italic. It is found in Oscan . . ." Bennett cites examples involving *animi, mentis, sermonis, divini* or *humani*, or *rerum* with *credere* and *adcredere*. There is not space to consider the examples in detail.

It may be noted, however, in conclusion, that Bennett (100) regards *animi* as probably genitive. Such a view "is supported by abundant other instances of similar uses; (2) The expression *animis pendere* is late (Cicero) and rare".

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III.—THE DURATION OF THE TROJAN WAR.

In a brilliant essay, de Compositione Iliadis, first published in Mnemosyne in October, 1910, and reprinted as the first chapter of the author's Commentationes Homericae, Leyden, 1911, Professor van Leeuwen seeks to prove that the events narrated in the Iliad were conceived of as having taken place not in the tenth year of the war, but soon after the arrival of the Achaians. The capture of Troy is foreshadowed in several passages of the poem as destined to follow at no distant date,[1] and the whole war would therefore have been the business of a single summer.

The theory is iconoclastic, but is supported by an array of evidence which entitles it to a respectful hearing. I propose to review this evidence briefly before suggesting a further consideration which seems to afford some confirmation of van Leeuwen's hypothesis.

(1) Achilles is consistently portrayed as a mere stripling. This van Leeuwen makes clear by a number of citations. Not only do the hero's actions show that he is very young, but that such is the fact is made to appear in the references to him by other characters and by the way in which he is occasionally addressed.[2]

(2) Helen's passionate resentment of the outrage she has experienced at the hands of Paris and her ardent longing for the success of Menelaus are clearly not the emotions of a woman who has been growing accustomed to the conditions of her life in Troy for twenty years.[3] Again, when she looks out from the tower by the Skaian Gate and wonders why her brothers are not present on the field it is natural that the true reason of their absence should not occur to her, for she has left them too recently to surmise that they may be already dead.[4]

[1] Van Leeuwen, op. cit., p. 19, and Z 410–412, 448–465, and X 60–76.

[2] B 774, I 186, Λ 599 sqq., Ω 394 sq., Π init., Α 169 sqq., I 356–363, 427–429, Α 173, Λ 609 sq., I 437.

[3] Γ 176, 399 sqq.

[4] *Ὡς φάτο, τοὺς δ' ἤδη κάτεχεν φυσίζοος αἶα*, Γ 243. Here, ἤδη is significant, as van Leeuwen notes.

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(3) Priam, in the scene just referred to, may well be represented as ignorant of the identity of the foremost of the Achaian chieftains if this is their first appearance under the walls of Troy, but not if they have already been devastating his little domain for nine years.[1] And Polites, who has been posted on the barrow of Aisyetes to observe the actions of the enemy, brings word to the King—or rather Iris impersonating Polites does—not that the Achaians have at last turned their attention to storming the city itself, but that the war has begun.[2]

(4) The duel between Menelaos and Paris is highly appropriate if the wrong which caused the expedition is still fresh and the war is just beginning. But if it must be thought of as taking place nine years after the landing of the invaders it is a little absurd, for it is then late in the day to seek to spare the Argives the pains of a general mellay.[3]

(5) Hector cannot well have wedded the Princess of Thebe during the stress of the Achaian leaguer. The marriage must rather be imagined to have fallen in the peaceful days before the sons of the Achaians came. But their only child Astyanax is still an infant when his father parts from him for the last time.[4]

(6) When Hermes is sent to conduct Priam to the hut of Achilles he makes himself like a youth *πρῶτον ὑπηνήτῃ*,[5] and to the old man's question who he is replies:

> **Μυρμιδόνων δ' ἔξ εἰμι, πατὴρ δέ μοί ἐστι Πολύκτωρ.**
> *ἀφνειὸς μὲν ὅ γ' ἐστί, γέρων δὲ δὴ ὡς σύ περ ὧδε,*
> *ἓξ δέ οἱ υἱες ἔασιν, ἐγὼ δέ οἱ ἕβδομός εἰμι·*
> *τῶν μέτα παλλόμενος κλήρῳ λάχον ἐνθάδ' ἕπεσθαι.*[6]

This can only mean that to Homer the Myrmidons were young men of twenty or so. In a note on this passage in his new edition of the Iliad[7] van Leeuwen quotes the following scholium: *ἔστι τοίνυν· δεκαέτης ὢν ἐκλήρωσα*, an amusing testimony to the difficulty of maintaining the traditional view.

[1] Γ 166 sqq. [2] Β 796 sq. [3] Γ 67 sqq., 245 sqq.
[4] Ζ 400. See Comm. Hom. VIII, p. 132 sqq., de Ultimo Hectoris cum Uxore Colloquio.
[5] Ω 348. [6] Ω 397 sqq.
[7] Ilias, cum Prolegomenis, notis criticis, commentariis. Pars altera, Lugduni Batavorum, MCMXIII.

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(7) In a number of places allies of the Trojans are referred to in such a way as to indicate that they have but recently arrived on the scene of the war.[1]

(8) Nestor is represented as instructing the soldiers how to fight to the best advantage, as if in anticipation of their first battle.[2]

(9) The trench and wall before the Achaian camp were naturally constructed immediately after the Achaians realized that Troy was not to be taken at the first onset. To suppose them made after nine years of fighting is absurd.[3]

(10) Words boastfully uttered over their cups by Achaian or Trojan warriors, before the beginning of the war, are recalled by them as though recently spoken.[4]

(11) In the speech of Odysseus in B, van Leeuwen punctuates thus :

ἐστὲ δὲ πάντες
μάρτυροι, οὓς μὴ κῆρες ἔβαν θανάτοιο φέρουσαι
χθιζά τε καὶ πρωΐζ'· ὅτ' ἐς Αὐλίδα νῆες Ἀχαιῶν
ἠγερέθοντο κακὰ Πριάμῳ καὶ Τρωσὶ φέρουσαι,
ἡμεῖς δ' ἀμφὶ περὶ κρήνην ἱεροὺς κατὰ βωμοὺς
ἕρδομεν ἀθανάτοισι τελήεσσας ἑκατόμβας,
καλῇ ὑπὸ πλατανίστῳ, ὅθεν ῥέεν ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ,
ἔνθ' ἐφάνη μέγα σῆμα· δράκων κτλ.[5]

The phrase χθιζά τε καὶ πρωΐζ' will then be no more than an ordinary oratorical device to minimize the time—perhaps actually amounting to five or six weeks—which has elapsed since the Achaians landed. But even with the usual punctua-

[1] Pandaros, E 192 sqq.; the sons of Eurydamas, E 149 sq.; of Diocles, E 550–560; Iphidamas, Λ 227 sqq.; Imbrios, N 172–175; Othryoneus, N 363 sqq.; Melanippos, O 547–551; Euphorbos, Π 811. Also Rhesos, K 434, and Asteropaios, Φ 156.

[2] B 362 sqq. Cf. Δ 303–309.

[3] H 437. Leaf has the following note on M 7: "This line, but for the passage in H describing the building of the wall, would naturally imply that the wall had been put around the ships from the first, as an essential precaution. It is likely enough that this was the original idea; the explanation in H that it was built in a sudden emergency being an afterthought when the whole stratum containing the wall came to be incorporated with the *Menis* and *Diomedeia*, which knew nothing of it". This inconsistency vanishes the moment we accept van Leeuwen's hypothesis.

[4] Θ 229 sqq. Υ 83 sqq.

[5] B 301 sqq.

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tion (colon after φέρουσαι (302), comma after πρωΐζ') this seems the obvious and natural interpretation of the words,[1] nor is it likely that that of Lehrs would have been suggested had not the phrase when taken with ἐφάνη (308) seemed to make Odysseus speak of ten years, with patent absurdity, as 'these few days".[2]

The new argument was suggested to me by van Leeuwen's assumption that the raid on which Achilles sacked Thebe and other towns was the first offensive operation of the invaders after their landing at the mouth of the Skamander.[3] Since the appearance of van Leeuwen's book this episode has been set in a fresh light by Dr. Leaf, in his Troy: an Essay in Homeric Geography, Macmillan, 1912. His examination of the region along the Gulf of Adramyttium has enabled him to combine the scattered allusions in the Iliad into a vivid and plausible history of this "Great Foray", as he conceives it to have been related in some epic which was familiar to the people for whom the Iliad was composed.

Leaf's reconstruction of the story is, briefly, as follows: Achilles starts from the Hellespont one afternoon with at least the whole of his own contingent of 50 ships and from 3000 to 6000 men, having presumably sent ahead a fleet of cargo ships to bring back the plunder. Making at once for the most distant point he proposes to include in his operations, he rows and sails the seventy miles between the Achaian camp and the head of the Gulf of Adramyttium in about thirteen or fourteen hours. At dawn on the following day he beaches his ships and at once marches against Thebe. The town is only an hour's distance from the shore, and is at once assaulted and taken. Here Eëtion is killed and his wife, Andromache's

[1] "A few days ago, when the ships of the Achaians were gathering at Aulis".

[2] Lehrs, de Aristarchi Studiis Homericis, p. 367, takes the phrase with ἠγερέθοντο, "vix cum Aulida advecti eramus, tum (v. 308) portentum accidit". This explanation Leaf regards as "far the best".

For van Leeuwen's explanation how the ten-year tradition came to be foisted upon the Iliad, and his discussion of B 295 sq. ἡμῖν δ' εἰνατός ἐστι περιτροπέων ἐνιαυτὸς ἐνθάδε μιμνόντεσσι, and the other passages which he regards as interpolated, or corrupt, as well as for several minor items on the positive side of the account, I must refer the reader to his article.

[3] Op. cit., p. 18.

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mother, is captured. Here too Chryseis is captured and much booty of various kinds. But, since it is summer, the cattle are high up "on the Alp". So Achilles, sending back the booty from Thebe to his ships, leads his men up Mt. Ida, by the same path afterward used by Xerxes on his march to Abydos. In the pastures high up on the ridge he finds not only the flocks and herds of Thebe and the neighboring town Lyrnessos but also those of Dardania, under the care of no less a personage than Aineias himself, who has had no warning of such a danger and is taken by surprise. There the seven sons of Eëtion are killed, and the sons of Priam, Antiphos and Isos, are taken alive, to be subsequently disposed of for a ransom. The cattle, the rest of the herdsmen, and Aineias are cut off from escaping down the northern slope of Ida and are driven southward to the shores of the gulf. Here the cattle are captured and put aboard the ships, while Aineias and his men take refuge in Lyrnessos (Antandros), which however is soon stormed and plundered in its turn. Aineias again escapes, thanks to the intervention of the gods, and makes his way over the ridge to Dardania. Meanwhile Achilles reëmbarks, with Briseis and the rest of the plunder yielded by Lyrnessos, and continues westward till he comes to Pedasos (Assos), which also succumbs to his attack, despite its strong position. The Myrmidons then sail across the channel, which separates the Troad from Lesbos, and sack a town which Homer calls by the name of the island and which Leaf inclines to identify with Methymna. The passage where this capture is referred to does not explicitly connect it with the raid on Thebe, Lyrnessos, and Pedasos, but as it would be so easily included in this expedition and Achilles is named in both cases as the raider it is not improbable that Leaf is right in assuming that it formed a part of the "Foray".

From Lesbos Leaf thinks Achilles sailed straight home to the Achaian camp, where the booty was divided and Chryseis, with the pick of the Lesbian women, was allotted to Agamemnon.[1]

[1] The places cited by Leaf as bearing on the "Foray" are as follows: A 366–369, B 688–693, Z 414–428, I 128–130, 186–188, 666–668, Λ 101–112, 624–626, Π 152–154, Τ 291–300, Υ 89–96, 187–194, Ψ 826–829. See Troy, pp. 242–52, 319 sq., and 397 sqq.

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On reading this account of the expedition we realize as never before how significant an operation it may well have been in fact. Not only would it serve to cripple the Trojans by devastating important dependencies of theirs, but Leaf makes it appear very likely that the Lykians were accustomed to unload their cargoes at Pedasos and transport them thence to Troy by pack-trains, in which case the capture of Pedasos and the general cleaning out of that coast would seriously interfere with their trade. Finally the live-stock rounded up in the upland pastures of this large grazing region must have been a very important contribution to the Achaian commissariat.

It is evident that this expedition immediately preceded the opening events of the Iliad. For it is quite clear that Chryses, who in the beginning of the poem comes to the Achaian camp to ransom Chryseis, has not postponed a moment longer than necessary an attempt so fraught with important consequences both as regards his daughter's happiness and his own. The traditional interpretation of the Iliad places its action in the tenth year of the war. Now if the "Foray" had come in the tenth year there would inevitably have been traditions of similar forays made during the other nine years, for the Achaians would require frequently-renewed supplies of cattle—if not of women—and we can hardly suppose that these supplies would either actually come or be traditionally said to come in any other ways than did the cattle collected on this expedition by Achilles.[1] If this be granted, is it not singular that nowhere in the Iliad, with a possible exception to be presently discussed, do we find any reference, however casual, to any raid by Agamemnon's men but this *one*? It is, of course, not surprising that Homer should not have seen fit to narrate at length the story of any other raid. The "Foray" was essential to his plot, leading as it did to the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles, and even the "Foray" is nowhere described by Homer, but only referred to incidentally in some dozen scattered passages. But it does seem odd that these same *disiecta membra* should be found to fit so neatly together into one body, with nothing whatever

[1] Thukydides suggests that piracy was supplemented by the cultivation of the Chersonese (I. 11. 1).

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left over to start another. How did the Iliad manage to escape a few random reminiscences—associated say with some maiden, goblet, shield, or other article of booty—of some previous expedition? One might perhaps account for the absence of all such evidence upon the hypothesis that there was no other epic source describing such raids among the materials out of which the Iliad was constructed, and it is obviously impossible to disprove such an hypothesis, if any one chooses to make it. But such an explanation would not be very helpful, for it would only shift the difficulty a little farther back, from Homer to Homer's sources.

We know that there were plenty of other Trojan outposts and dependencies waiting for the spoiler. Priam seems to have had herds of cattle at Perkote,[1] and a stud-farm at Abydos,[1] each but a few miles from the Achaian camp, and fulfilling the condition which Leaf lays down of being near the coast.[2] What was the crafty Odysseus thinking of, all those nine years, that he never tapped these convenient sources of supply? Later on he made nothing of pillaging Ismaros.[3] Why was there no descent upon the Thrakes and the Kikones during the progress of the war? Perhaps it would be still more pertinent to enquire why the Achaians should have waited nine years before gathering in the very inviting loot that lay so temptingly spread out along the shores of the Gulf of Adramyttium. "The Foray was a severe blow at Sarpedon", says Leaf.[4] Is it not odd that Achilles should have postponed delivering the blow for nine years? Especially since, as Leaf has plausibly argued, the Lykians were the most important of all the allies of King Priam.

An answer to all these questions is not far to seek. The "Foray" occurred at or near the beginning of a single summer's war, and the beef, mutton, and other supplies which

[1] O 545–551 and Δ 500, with the comments in the editions of Leaf and van Leeuwen.

[2] Op. cit., p. 316: "The Greeks have command of the sea, but they dare not venture far from it. There is no trace in the Iliad of any inland expedition farther than the three miles which separate the walls of Troy from the shore".

[3] ι 40.

[4] Op. cit., p. 320.

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it yielded were sufficient to last the army of the invaders all through the campaign.

The possible exception to the statement that no other marauding expedition is mentioned in the poem as having been made by the Achaians is involved in the interpretation we put upon the allusions to Lesbos, Tenedos, and Skyros. We have seen that Leaf connects the reference to Lesbos[1] with the "Foray". Tenedos, Homer tells us,[2] was likewise sacked by Achilles, but the reference to its capture does not explicitly connect it with the "Foray", and Leaf thinks it more likely to have been accomplished on a separate raid. There is however just as much reason to include Tenedos in the "Foray" as Lesbos. In neither case have we anything more definite to go upon than the statement that Achilles made the capture. I fancy Dr. Leaf would have no objection to considering the Tenedos episode a part of the "Foray", were he not a believer in the traditional long war. It is a severe tax upon one's credulity to be asked to believe that Thebe, Lyrnessos, and Pedasos were left unmolested nine years, but so very near a place as Tenedos can hardly be conceived of as exempt from invasion all that time.

The Skyros affair is more puzzling.[3] Van Leeuwen indeed assumes that the Achaians, on leaving Aulis, sacked Skyros, thence steered for Lemnos, where they were given a friendly welcome, and then, sailing southward, captured Tenedos and Lesbos, after which they landed at the mouth of the Hellespont, and Achilles made his descent upon the towns of the southern Troad.[4] This is possibly the way Homer imagined it. It seems odd that the fleet should have commenced its voyage from Aulis to the Hellespont by proceeding so far to the southward of its natural course, which would have been under the lea of the northern Sporades. But a stiff northerly wind may have carried them to Skyros in spite of themselves, and they may then have improved the opportunity to sack the place. The whole episode is complicated by the reference to Neoptolemos in T 326 sq. and Ω 467. Leaf says, in this connection, "Critics in ancient times were disturbed by the ex-

[1] I 128–30. [2] A 624 sq. [3] I 666 sqq.
[4] Op. cit., p. 18, 43 sq.

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treme improbability that Achilles should have entrusted his son to the care of an island which he had so recently plundered, and that he should have plundered an island which was to him almost a home. They therefore inclined to the belief that this Skyros was a city 'in the country which is now Phrygia, but was formerly Kilikia'. What this means we cannot pretend to say, and we must leave Skyros entirely out of account in the story of the Foray, recognizing the bare possibility that in the ancient poem it may have been a city of the Kilikes in the Plain of Thebe".[1] Both Leaf and van Leeuwen[2] however hold the passages in T and Ω to be spurious, for the notion of a son of Achilles is alien to the Iliad. On the whole it seems likely that the Skyros in question was the island. In any case the episode cannot be held to invalidate my contention that there is in the Iliad no reference to any other marauding expedition than the "Foray", during the progress of the war. Skyros the island may have been taken before the Achaians reached the Hellespont, or Skyros the city of the Kilikes may have been taken subsequently to the landing, during the "Foray" itself. Probably no one will think it likely that the island was made the object of an expedition during the course of the war, or that the city of the Kilikes, if captured at all by Achilles, was not captured in the big raid.

There remains to be considered a passage which may be thought to weaken my position. I refer to Achilles' speech in I. The relevant verses are these:

ὡς δ' ὄρνις ἀπτῆσι νεοσσοῖσι προφέρῃσι
μάστακ', ἐπεί κε λάβῃσι, κακῶς δ' ἄρα οἱ πέλει αὐτῇ,
ὣς καὶ ἐγὼ πολλὰς μὲν ἀϋπνους νύκτας ἴαυον,
ἤματα δ' αἱματόεντα διέπρησσον πολεμίζων,
ἀνδράσι μαρνάμενος ὀάρων ἕνεκα σφετεράων.
δώδεκα δὴ σὺν νηυσὶ πόλεις ἀλάπαξ' ἀνθρώπων,
πεζὸς δ' ἔνδεκά φημι κατὰ Τροίην ἐρίβωλον·
τάων ἐκ πασέων κειμήλια πολλὰ καὶ ἐσθλὰ
ἐξελόμην καὶ πάντα φέρων Ἀγαμέμνονι δόσκον
Ἀτρεΐδῃ· ὁ δ' ὄπισθε μένων παρὰ νηυσὶ θοῇσι

[1] Op. cit., p. 251.
[2] In their editions, ad locc.

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δεξάμενος διὰ παῦρα δασάσκετο, πολλὰ δ' ἔχεσκεν.
ἄλλα δ' ἀριστήεσσι δίδου γέρα καὶ βασιλεῦσι,
τοῖσι μὲν ἔμπεδα κεῖται, ἐμεῦ δ' ἀπὸ μούνου Ἀχαιῶν 335
εἵλετ', ἔχει δ' ἄλοχον θυμαρέα· τῇ παριαύων
τερπέσθω.

Achilles says that he has captured twelve cities with a fleet, and eleven by land, "throughout deep-soiled Troy-land". At first blush one would say that Homer must then have thought of the "Foray" as only one of a number of raids made by Achilles. But there are good reasons for believing that this would be a mistaken inference, and that despite this seeming contradiction Homer knew of only the one raid.

In the first place the passage is highly rhetorical. Achilles is painting in vivid colors the greed and arrogance of Agamemnon. The dramatic exigencies of the situation demand that the grievance be made as glaring as possible. I do not, of course, mean that *Achilles*, who hates like the gates of hell a man who says one thing and conceals another in his heart, is exaggerating, but that the *poet* is improving a bit on his sources for the sake of enhancing the effect of his hero's denunciations. But, it may be objected, if such was his purpose, why did he not use some vague expression like 'many cities', instead of flying in the face of his authorities, who seem to have furnished him with the names of no more than six? I might reply that inasmuch as Homer has nowhere told the story of the "Foray" in detail he cannot be held to contradict himself if he chooses to imply here that twenty-three cities were involved in it. But it would probably be nearer the mark to suggest that Homer seems not to be thinking of the tradition at all, or to be concerned with the question whether the Achaians made one raid or a dozen. His sources have familiarized him with the conception of Achilles as a sacker of Trojan cities and he is now making use of that idea to point the ingratitude of Agamemnon. Like most poets he prefers a definite expression to a vague one and therefore pitches upon two numbers large enough to suit his purpose. The particular numbers selected are apparently a kind of 'round numbers'. Twelve as a round number scarcely requires illustration. Good instances are K 488, the

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twelve warriors (nameless like our twelve cities) slain in the camp of Rhesos, Λ 692, the twelve sons of Neleus (no name but that of Nestor), Σ 230, the twelve nameless Trojans overthrown in the panic when Achilles shouted at the trench, and Σ 336, the twelve victims Achilles promises to slay at the pyre of Patroklos. For eleven see van Leeuwen's note on E 193 (the eleven chariots of Lykaon), where he cites Z 319 (the eleven-cubit spear of Hektor), Θ 494 (the same), O 678 (the ξυστόν of Aias, which was twenty-two cubits long = 11+11), Ψ 264 (tripod holding twenty-two metra), and ι 241 (stone which twenty-two wagons could not have moved). The number seems to have originated as 10+1, with which we may compare our baker's dozen, =12+1.[1]

If it be held simpler and easier to account for the numbers here by the assumption that Homer was merely following his sources and that there really were old traditions attributing to Achilles the capture of twenty-three cities, there are two arguments which may be brought forward in reply.

(1) It is strange that of all these twenty-three only five (six, counting Skyros) are anywhere alluded to by name, and that these five were taken in a single expedition and lay in the same neighborhood. And it is also noteworthy that in the passage quoted, though Achilles speaks as though Agamemnon had habitually wronged himself and the other chieftains, yet the only instance of oppression he cites is precisely the case of Briseis.[2]

[1] References are also given to illustrate the analogous use of thirteen, =12+1. For thirteen see also Elmore, On Aristophanes, Peace 990, and Postgate, Uncanny Thirteen, both in Classical Review XIX (1905), pp. 436 sqq. Postgate says "The numeral does not stand for a familiar group, nor does 'thirteen' in this sense mean 'thirteen, more or less'. But both its use and its nuances appear explicable if we analyze it as a group and a unit, 12+1, and suppose that by the addition of the unit the number seemed to the popular fancy to break out into a new series and escape by the opening of a door, as it were, into the indefinite. It would thus belong to the same type as the popular expression 'a year and a day'".

[2] Similarly in the quarrel scene in A (149–171) Achilles implies that Agamemnon has been *repeatedly* selfish in the division of booty and that the chief of the fighting has *repeatedly* fallen to his own share. Here again we have impassioned rhetoric—not history. But at worst the contradiction of the single-raid tradition is not a very glaring one,

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(2) There are not enough towns in Homer's Troad to make up the eleven, unless we include some which are alluded to in such a way as to show that Homer regarded them as being intact at the time of the action of the Iliad. Including Dardania, which however Leaf regards as a district and not a town,[1] Homer mentions fifteen cities of the Troad. Of these Zeleia[2], Perkote,[3] Arisbe,[4] Larisa,[5] and Paisos,[6] are excluded by the terms in which they are referred to, leaving only ten. But of these ten it seems necessary to eliminate Chryse, for it was from Chryse that the priest Chryses came, after the "Foray", to ransom his daughter, and thither Odysseus afterward escorted the lady and the hecatomb, in order to obtain the forgiveness of Apollo.[7] Killa,[8] which lay somewhere in the neighborhood of Thebe, may also safely be counted out, for its capture would almost surely have been mentioned in one or more of the passages dealing with the sack of Thebe

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since several cities, and several distinct groups of slaves and heaps of booty fell to be divided, and may be thought of—if any one thinks it worth while to justify a poet in such minutiae—as divided up in separate lots.

[1] "It is clear that the Homeric Dardania was not a town, as some have supposed, but a district inhabited by dwellers in villages. This is the natural condition of a fertile plain lying far from the sea [i. e. the upper valley of the Skamander], and protected from invaders as well as pirates by mountains and hill-country on every side. It is further indicated by the words of Homer, who speaks of Dardania as 'colonized' (*κτίσσε δὲ Δαρδανίην*), while the different status of 'holy Ilios' as a town is doubly insisted upon (*ἐν πεδίωι πεπόλισται, πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων*). The distinction is real and essential, marking a great step in economic progress". Troy, p. 180.

[2] *εὔχεο δ' Ἀπόλλωνι Λυκηγενέϊ κλυτοτόξῳ*
ἀρνῶν πρωτογόνων ῥέξειν κλειτὴν ἑκατόμβην
οἶκαδε νοστήσας ἱερῆς εἰς ἄστυ Ζελείης. Δ 101 sqq.

[3] *τὰς μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐν Περκώτῃ λίπε νῆας ἐΐσας,*
αὐτὰρ ὁ πεζὸς ἰὼν εἰς Ἴλιον εἰληλούθει. Λ 239 sq. (cf. 328 sqq.)

[4] *κεῖθεν δὲ ξεινός μιν ἐλύσατο, πολλὰ δ' ἔδωκεν,*
Ἴμβριος Ἠετίων, πέμψεν δ' ἐς δῖαν Ἀρίσβην. Φ 42 sq.

[5] *ὁ δ' ἄγχ' αὐτοῖο πέσε πρηνὴς ἐπὶ νεκρῷ,*
τῆλ' ἀπὸ Λαρίσης ἐριβώλακος, οὐδὲ τοκεῦσι
θρέπτρα φίλοις ἀπέδωκε, κτλ. P 300 sqq.

[6] *καὶ βάλεν Ἄμφιον, Σελάγου υἱόν, ὃς ῥ' ἐνὶ Παισῷ*
ναῖε πολυκτήμων πολυλήϊος. E 612 sq.

[7] A 431. [8] A 38, 452.

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and Lyrnessos. Abydos[1] too would seem to have been undisturbed, for as Leaf points out, the crossing from Sestos to Abydos is tacitly assumed to be open in the case of Rhesos and his Thrakians, who in K have recently arrived on the field, unknown to the Achaians, and in the story of Lykaon, who seems to have been sent home, after being ransomed, by the same route.[2] Finally, Dardania was the seat of Aineias, next to Priam and Hektor the most important personage on the Trojan side, and for this reason, supposing Homer to have thought of it as a town, the possibility that he should have passed over in silence the capture of this town by his hero seems sufficiently remote. We are therefore left with six towns, of which Homer specifies three as having been taken by Achilles, while three more (Adresteia, the "steep hill of Tereia", and Pityeia) are only once named, and without the least hint as to their fate.[3]

In weighing this argument against allowing Homer to have had traditional warrant for Achilles's twelve plus eleven towns we ought, no doubt, to consider the possibility that he may have carelessly referred to a town as though it still flourished, despite the existence of ancient testimony to its destruction by Achilles. This would be a less conspicuous slip than he seems actually to have made in N 658 sq., where he refers to Pylaimenes as still living, after having mentioned his death in

[1] Δ 500, P 584. In both these places, moreover, the language seems to imply that the town is safe.

[2] Troy, p. 318.

[3] B 828 sq. Kabesos (N 363) is variously located by the scholiasts, who were obviously quite at a loss in regard to its situation. Othryoneus came thence to woo Kassandra. Pedaios (N 172) is also an otherwise unknown place. Imbrios, who had wedded a daughter of Priam, and whose home was in Pedaios, had come, like other vassals, to help in the defence of Troy. Aisyme (Θ 304) was the home of Kastianeira, mother of Priam's son Gorgythion. Nothing is known of its site. There is a bare possibility that one or more of these three places may have been Trojan towns. The marriage relationships with Troy hardly count for much. Hekabe herself, as Leaf notes (Troy, p. 274), came from Phrygia. Granting, however, that they were in the Troad, and including them in our list of possibilities (though in no case is there a shred of evidence that Homer thought of them as plundered), we still have a total of only nine.

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E 576. There is perhaps an instance of similar carelessness in Φ 86 sq.:

> Ἄλτεω ὃς Λελέγεσσι φιλοπτολέμοισιν ἀνάσσει,
> Πήδασον αἰπήεσσαν ἔχων ἐπὶ Σατνιόεντι.

for in B 690 and Υ 92 we are told that Achilles had sacked Pedasos. Van Leeuwen is inclined to look with favor on an old variant, ἄνασσε,[1] but Leaf suggests another explanation of the apparent inconsistency. "Had he [Altes] been slain", he writes, "we should probably have heard of it. The warrior Elatos, whose fall is related in VI. 33–5, seems still to have had a home there, as though some at least of the Lelegian inhabitants had returned to the ruins of their town".[2]

But with all due allowance for the likelihood that Homer occasionally nodded, it would still be rash to deny that the evidence I have cited for the elimination of all but six towns is sufficiently cogent to justify the conclusion either that Homer knew of a number of Trojan towns which he nowhere saw fit to name, in or out of the Trojan Catalogue, or that he invented the number ascribed to the victorious record of Achilles in I. And where, if not in just such a splendid rhetorical passage as this, should we expect a great poet to allow his imagination to depart from the strict letter of history? "The Iliad is a great deal more"—as Leaf reminds us in another connection—"than the versification of an old chronicle".[3] When we resort to the poem for information about the tradition which lies at its foundation we may rightfully draw inferences from the mention of this or that city regarding the make-up of the Achaian or the Trojan army. Such things are not likely to have been invented. But we must guard against the fallacy of assuming that the feats of arms ascribed to the epic hero are based on historical data. When Homer makes Achilles boast of having taken twenty-three cities there is just as little likelihood that he is speaking by the book as when he tells us how Euphorbos had, in a certain fight, "cast

[1] Van Leeuwen, Ilias, ad loc.

[2] Troy, p. 247. Ω 543 sqq. is not a case in point. Lesbos is called Μάκαρος ἕδος by way of clearer identification of the geographical point in question, and the propriety of the phrase is scarcely affected by the fact that the place has recently been sacked and, it may be, destroyed.

[3] Troy, p. 16.

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down twenty men from their chariots, though then first had he come with his car to learn the lesson of war".[1] If we could ask Homer to supply us with the names and addresses of the twenty warriors whom this hopeful young beginner overthrew in his maiden battle I am afraid we should sadly embarrass him. And very likely he would be equally at a loss for the names of the twelve henchmen of Rhesos already referred to, and of the twenty-three cities of Achilles.

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NOTE.—I was not aware of Professor John A. Scott's paper on 'The Assumed Duration of the War of the Iliad', Class. Phil. 8 (1913), p. 445 sqq., until my own article had reached the stage of page proof. I trust Mr. Scott will accept my apologies for writing (p. 294 *supra*) as though Professor van Leeuwen's views had not yet been seriously criticised. With the Editor's permission I hope to discuss Mr. Scott's objections to the short-war theory in a later number of the Journal.

B. O. F.

[1] II 810 sqq., or how the young Nestor slew his hundred (Λ 748 sq.), or Patroklos his 'thrice nine' (II 785). This latter number is a round one, like the others. Cf. van Leeuwen's comment: "numerus IX sive III², qui sollemnis est in Iliade et veluti sacrosanctus (cf. Λ 303–309 al.), nunc etiam augetur (IX × III sive III³). Sic Odysseae poeta suum heroem extollens per IX × II *νυχθήμερα* somnum non vidisse ait ε 278 sq., et alterum numerum sollemnem altero multiplicans procos IX × XII vicisse et interfecisse (cf. α 245–248)".

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IV.—TWO HOMERIC PERSONAGES.

Hector as a Theban Hero in the Light of Hesiod and Pindar.

When Professor Erich Bethe[1] viewed his mighty structure of Sagenverschiebungen built on the foundations already laid by Dümmler[2] he regarded it as impregnable and bomb proof, "bombensicher", and modestly called upon men everywhere to test its great strength by firing at it their biggest guns, "Schleudern Sie gegen ihn die schwersten Granaten Ihrer Kritik". His wish was certainly gratified[3] and he soon heard about his ears such a whirl of missiles that he has not brought forth his "werdendes Buch" into such a naughty and uncivil world.[4] Professor Crusius showed that Bethe based his arguments on flagrant ignorance of the most elementary principles of Greek, e. g., Bethe asserted as a thing beyond dispute that Paris and Deiphobus were worshipped along with Helen as gods in Laconia, and the proof is a passage in a very late writer, Aeneas of Gaza, who has this sentence *τὸν γοῦν Μενέλεων καὶ νὴ Δία τὴν Ἑλένην μετὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὸν Δηίφοβον ἐν Θεράπναις τῆς Λακωνικῆς τοῖς θεοῖς συναριθμοῦντες μετ' ἐκείνων ᾄδουσι.* This passage he translates, "Numbering Menelaus and even Helen together with Alexander and Deiphobus among the gods, etc". That is, he construes the preposition with the accusative as it would be construed with the genitive. The meaning of course is this, "Menelaus they worshipped, yes and even Helen after her affair with Alexander and Deiphobus". That is, the emphasis is placed on the fact that they made a goddess out of a woman with Helen's past, and there is no reference to the worship of these two Trojans in Laconia.

[1] Neue Jahrbuecher VII, 657, XIII, 1.

[2] Kyrene, Studniczka, Anhang II.

[3] Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Bayer. Akad. 1905, 749.

[4] Since this was written his book "Homer—Dichtung und Sage" has appeared.

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There is no other argument for the bold assumption that these two men were once natives of Sparta and received divine honors in Lacedaemon after their death.

Bethe speaks with absolute assurance of a Thessalian Paris, "Alexander nämlich der thessalische Paris", and proves this by a passage from Plutarch, Theseus 34. The passage in question simply tells how Paris had been in Thessaly and been defeated near the Sperchius River, and, as Professor Crusius shrewdly observes, this tale was a later attempt to extend the scope of the plunderings of Paris and to increase the measure of the Trojan guilt. It is out of the question to find in this passage any justification for the assumption implied in the phrase, "der thessalische Paris".

The choice argument of Dümmler and Bethe is derived from the fact that Tlepolemus of Rhodes was slain by his neighbor of the mainland, Sarpedon from Lycia. Here they could find no trace of doubt that the death of that warrior and the scene of the struggle had been bodily lifted and transferred to Troy, a city with which they could have had no possible connection. This argument collapses because of the fact so brilliantly shown by Doctor Leaf in his Troy that Lycia depended for existence on her ability to sell her wares in the lands whose commerce passed through the Dardanelles, and that the fate of that country must at some time have been decided in or near the plain of Troy. The facts of geography and commerce show that Sarpedon and his countrymen must have been ardent partisans of the Trojan cause, and also that the people of Rhodes must have been just as eager to break the power which kept them from the rich trade of the Pontus. However much the poet may have adorned the events, he made no mistake in placing the struggle between Rhodes and Lycia at the entrance of the Hellespont. Doctor Leaf has also definitely disposed of the theory that the Trojan war was merely the magnified account of the struggles of early Aeolian settlers endeavoring to get a foothold in Asia.

Dümmler's and Bethe's theory that Hector was a Theban hero transferred to Troy was accepted as an assured fact by Cauer in his Grundfragen[2], p. 195, and he adds this sentence 'Und so haben wir hier ein anschauliches Beispiel von dem Inhalte, den der epische Gesang schon im Mutterlande, vor

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der Zeit der aeolischen Kolonisation, gehabt haben muss". The fact that Hector appears as fighting at Troy is explained by Bethe on the theory that the original traditions of Hector were connected with a Troy in Attica and that these were later transferred to the Troad.

We are peculiarly able to test Theban traditions by the writings of two early poets, Hesiod and Pindar. Hesiod outranks any other writer in point of antiquity except Homer, while Pindar in point of time has few rivals, and when to the matter of antiquity is added the fact of his great wealth of myth and traditional allusions he must be regarded as the very greatest authority for all ancient traditions, especially traditions in any way connected with Thebes. These two writers are not only ancient, but what is of far more importance in the present investigation, they are peculiarly independent of Homer, and not only give vast stores of tradition not found in Homer, but even unhesitatingly contradict him. In my Johns Hopkins Dissertation, A Comparative Study of Hesiod and Pindar, this sentence was used, "When Hesiod and Homer disagree, Pindar follows Hesiod". We can add to this that Pindar did not feel it necessary to hide behind the shield of Hesiod and that he differed from Homer in matters apparently not touched by Hesiod, e. g. P. XI, 31 describes the death of Agamemnon as taking place at Amyclae, while Homer tells how he was slain in his palace at Mycenae. Frag. 262 (Christ), describes the havoc wrought by Rhesus on the ranks of the Greeks, while in Homer this same warrior is slain before he can raise his spear in battle. We are confident that in coming to Hesiod and Pindar we are coming to untainted literary sources, and that respect for Homer will not dry up the springs of Theban tradition in regard to Hector.

Hesiod has no especial interest in Thebes except in so far as he had the misfortune to have been born at Ascra, a neighboring village, and was familiar with all Boeotian traditions, but with Pindar it was different, he loved Thebes, and in her deep misfortune she was still more dear, he resented the implication found in the phrase "Boeotian swine" and he strove to draw the glance of his contemporaries away from the present sad condition of his native city to her proud position in Hellenic mythology. What a large place Thebe, Cadmus,

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Semele, Heracles, and Dionysus have in his poems! The wealth of Theban tradition in Pindar can be appreciated by no one who has not given that particular phase the most careful study. We are on safe ground when we do not doubt that Pindar would have used the patriotic self-devotion of Hector in defending the Thebes that was to somehow atone for the treacherous leaders of the Thebes that is. What do Hesiod and Pindar tell us of Hector and of the city he defended?

HESIOD.

Hector's name is not found in any of the extant poems of Hesiod, and there is not a word in any scholiast or in any writer early or late to give the least indication that Hesiod ever used the name Hector. The one warrior who fought on the Trojan side named by him is Aeneas, and he tells how Aeneas was conceived on the slopes of Ida, i. e. Aeneas did not belong to Europe, but to Asiatic Troy. It is evident that Aeneas' place in tradition is independent of Homer, and his name has no transparent Greek derivation.

Hesiod O. 165, places those warriors in the Islands of the Blest, who had gone in ships over the great crest of the sea to recover the fair-haired Helen:

> τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐν νήεσσιν ὑπὲρ μέγα λαῖτμα θαλάσσης
> ἐς Τροίην ἀγαγὼν Ἑλένης ἕνεκ' ἠυκόμοιο.

These two verses are most significant, since they prove what the tradition was in European Greece. Granted that the Greek colonists or exiles took their own songs with them and substituted the new names for the old, putting an Asiatic Troy where once an Attic Troy had been, but how are we to account for the fact that right here, back in the old home, a Boeotian poet is singing of that same Asiatic Troy? Had Hesiod lived a century or two later we could say he was influenced by Homer, but we cannot accept that answer for a poet of marked independence of Homeric tradition, who was also almost, if not quite, a contemporary. Again in O. 651 he speaks of the Greek ships gathering at Aulis while preparing for their long voyage to Troy.

Many incidental details of tradition not found in Homer are given by Hesiod, e. g. Frag. 15, Rzach, tells why Nestor was

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given the title the Gerenian, Frag. 89, names Xanthe as the mother of Machaon, and Frag. 97, tells who was the wife of Sthenelus. These minute matters show that Hesiod was familiar with traditions of heroes found in Homer which are not given by that poet himself, but he has not a word to tell us in regard to Hector, and he knows nothing of the transference of any scene from Hellenic soil to the Eastern Aegean.

This evidence, though for the most part negative, is exceeding strong.

PINDAR.

Pindar in this matter is an authority of the greatest weight, indeed he could hardly speak with greater influence, since he is early, is rich in traditions, does not feel bound to follow Homer, and above all he is a Theban, proud of Thebes' traditions, eager to tell them.

Hector is an especial favorite of Pindar who regards him with a peculiar affection and esteem. In O. II, 89 Achilles is praised as one who by his great prowess "cast Hector down, the invincible, steadfast, pillar of Troy". This is, of course, founded on the Iliad and was evidently composed under the influence of these verses:

Z 402. *τόν ῥ' Ἕκτωρ καλέεσκε Σκαμάνδριον, αὐτὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι*
Ἀστυάνακτ'· οἷος γὰρ ἐρύετο Ἰλιον Ἕκτωρ.

The play on the word Hector is plainly seen in both Homer and Pindar. Pindar's words are:

ὃς Ἕκτορ' ἔσφαλε, Τροίας ἄμαχον ἀστραβῆ κίονα.

These two poets agree in making Hector the support of Troy. Do they speak of a different Troy? Where is Pindar's Troy situated? He does not leave us in doubt, since he refers to Achilles as one driven by the blast of the sea to Troy N. III, 59: *θαλασσίαις ἀνέμων ῥιπαῖσι πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Τροίαν* κτλ. There can be no doubt where Pindar placed the warlike exploits of Achilles, and accordingly where he put the death of Hector. The Troy which lies over the sea can be none other than the Asiatic Troy. Does it seem within the bounds of reason that Pindar with all his love for Thebe should have torn from her crown this precious jewel, Hector, and have honored thereby a foreign city, a city now in ruins?

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What could have been Pindar's motive in thus robbing his own city of this great heritage? No one could assume that there was an old tradition that Hector was indeed a Theban, and yet that the tradition known by others was unknown to Pindar. We could draw no arguments from the silences of such a writer as e. g. Solon in regard to traditions, but Pindar dealt in traditions, Theban traditions, yet here is more than an argument from silence, since Pindar definitely assigns Hector and Hector's glory to Asiatic Troy.

In a poem written in honor of a victor from a clan of Salamis, N. II, 14, he uses these words: *ἐν Τροίᾳ μὲν Ἕκτωρ Αἴαντος ἄκουσεν.* This passage, too, is founded on the Iliad and may refer to the duel between Hector and Ajax or the battle at the ships, or any one of several other scenes. Where does Pindar place this meeting of Ajax and Hector? Here also there can be no ambiguity, since Pindar tells how the blasts of Zephyrus wafted Ajax to Troy, N. VII, 25: *ὁ καρτερὸς Αἴας . . . . . .*

ὃν κράτιστον Ἀχιλέος ἄτερ μάχᾳ
ξανθῷ Μενέλᾳ δάμαρτα κομίσαι θοαῖς
ἂν ναυσὶ πόρευσαν εὐθυπνόου Ζεφύροιο πομπαὶ
πρὸς Ἴλου πόλιν.

This too is Homeric and can be connected with no city on this side of the sea.

Pindar in N. IX sings of the honors of Chromius and compares his glorious defense of his own city with the honors which a similar devotion had brought to Hector, vv. 39 f.:

λέγεται μὰν Ἕκτορι μὲν κλέος ἀνθῆσαι Σκαμάνδρου
χεύμασιν ἀγχοῦ.

To which the scholiast gives this wise comment: *τὸν δὲ Ἕκτορα παρείληφε καὶ οὐκ Αἴαντα ἢ Ἀχιλλέα, τῷ καὶ τὸν Ἕκτορα μεμαχῆσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, ὡς καὶ τὸν Χρόμιον.* The location of the Scamander River can hardly be a matter of dispute. How proud Pindar would have been to have compared the devotion of Chromius with a like sacrifice made by a hero of his own native city! How glad to have shown that the glories of Hector belonged to the waters of Dirce? Why did he assign them to the streams of Scamander? Either Pindar was a

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traitor to the past glories of Thebes or he never had heard that Hector was not a Trojan, but a Theban hero. It is unthinkable that there should have been local traditions of Hector, and that Pindar, of all men, should have not known them.

In praising Aegina on the occasion of celebrating a victory won by a native of Aegina he dwells on the past glories of the island and bids the muse tell who it was that slew Hector, I. IV, 39. The reply is, as found in Homer, Achilles whose sires sprang from this very Aegina.

Isthmian VI was composed shortly after the serious defeat the Thebans received at the hand of the Athenians at the battle of Oenophyta. Pindar in this ode sings the praises of a Theban victor to whose family this defeat had brought bitter bereavement, and praises the slain as imitating Hector who in the face of hopeless odds chose to die for his native city. This is the Homeric picture of Hector as he was when he parted with Andromache or when he faced Achilles.

When Pindar composed Isthmian VII Thebes had just passed through the terrible disasters which followed the battle of Plataea. The loss of honor was more awful than the loss of life, and the poet can scarcely lay aside his grief to answer the summons of the Muse. What a comfort now in this hour of shame if he can claim Hector as a child of Thebes and direct the angry glances of men to that better day, that fairer name! He does nothing of the sort, but he tells instead of the exploits of Achilles, of his crossing the sea for the honor of the sons of Atreus, and of his slaying the "high-minded Hector." v. 55: *ὑπέρθυμον Ἕκτορα.*

Pindar mentions Hector by name no fewer than six times, yet he never suggests that he was in any way connected with Thebes, but always makes him the hero and defender of Asiatic Troy. Can any one in the face of this significant fact assert that Pindar knew that at one time his own much-admired Hector was the support of his own beloved but ill-starred Thebes, and yet suppressed this knowledge in silence? What is the use of quoting in the face of this fact writers who lived long after the time of Christ or late authors who had no concern or interest in the glory of Thebes?

Not only does Pindar sing of no Hector except the Trojan

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Hector, but what is far more significant he has no knowledge of that Hector except as he found it in Homer. It is easy to put one's finger on some passage in the Iliad which justifies and explains every Pindaric reference to Hector. Pindar was no docile follower of Homer, as I have already shown, and beyond that he often adds details not mentioned in the Iliad, e. g. N. III, 46, he tells how Achilles, because of his unusual fleetness of foot, captured deer without nets or dogs. This is a touch not founded on Homer, yet in harmony with the phrase "the swift-footed Achilles". Why does he add no lines or give no new features to the Homeric picture of Hector? Why did he not at times follow some other tradition? The answer is easy. *There was no other tradition of Hector for him to follow.*

Homer first drew the portrait of Hector and gave him a name, a Greek common noun, and made it a proper noun, the name of a hero. Hesychius tells us that Sappho used this epithet in addressing Zeus, and it was later the name given to the anchors of a ship. This defender was made flesh in Hector. How transparent most of the names given to Hector and his family, Astyanax, Deiphobus, Helenus, Polydorus, Polites, Antiphonus, and Agathon! While the names of those heroes who undoubtedly belonged to tradition do not so easily show their origin, such as Peleus, Tydeus, Ajax, Achilles, Odysseus, Icarius, and Bellerophon.

Why are these names so dark while the names of Hector and his family so transparent? The reason is this, the names of Hector and his brothers, except Paris, do not belong to tradition, are not traditional names. Bethe is quite right in saying that we are not in general to look to Homer for the source of the material used by lyric poets, and I may add that is because they drew on tradition for their myths and their matter, and Homer is not tradition. The Athenian dramatists found mines of wealth in each member of the Epic Cycle, but made little use of Homer as a source. There may be tradition in Homer, but it is only an incident, his aim is poetry; also there might have been poetry in the Epic Cycle, but it was only an incident, its aim was tradition. Homer is not a reservoir of tradition, but he too went to the same source as the lyric poets and the dramatists, here he found his hint for

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the Wrath of Achilles, and here Sophocles found a hint for his Ajax, his Electra, and his Philoctetes. Homer stood in just the same relation to tradition as Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. Pindar depended on Homer for his picture of Hector, and later ages had no orthodox view of this hero, hence a grave near the Hellespont and one at Thebes. Two graves were a luxury and so on the basis of the story given in Herodotus of the method by which at the bidding of the oracle Sparta secured the bones of Orestes Greek rationalism used a similar oracle for accounting for the grave of Hector at Thebes. The oracle and the grave were both unknown to Thebes in the time of Pindar, and no tradition whose birth was subsequent to Pindar deserves mention in discussing Homeric origins.

Conclusion.

The fact that a Theban Hector never appears in the poetry of Hesiod or Pindar is conclusive proof that the theory which makes of him a local Greek hero is pure fiction. Also the fact that Pindar with all his general independence of Homer does not give a single tradition of Hector not based on the Iliad furnishes telling proof, to my mind at least, that Hector as a hero never existed in tradition outside of Homer. Finally the fact that there was a shrine or grave of Hector at Ophrynium near the Hellespont finds easy explanation in the fact of the application of this very word "hector" to Zeus. Nothing could have been easier than connecting this divine "hector", this "supporter" with Homer's Hector who was indeed created to be *Τροίας ἄμαχον ἀστραβῆ κίονα.*

Part II.

Pandarus in Homer.

The part taken by Pandarus in the story of the Iliad was brief, but important; he appeared early in the action leading to the first day's fighting and was slain near the beginning of the Aristeia of Diomede. It is hard to measure Homer by hours and minutes, yet judging from the events of that day which preceded the entrance of Pandarus, and from those which followed after his death, we can hardly estimate his heroic career as of longer duration than a single hour. His

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importance rests solely on the fact that he wounded Menelaus, broke the truce, and thereby prepared the way for further fighting. The Iliad seemed to have come to a definite stand-still at the end of the third book, and thus the treachery of Pandarus was the means by which the poet resumed the action of the poem.

Nearly all of those who do not definitely believe in the unity of the Iliad feel that the poet who described the death of Pandarus in book five knew nothing of that warrior's part in breaking the truce, as described in book four. The apparent discrepancy between these two accounts is the basis for Doctor Leaf's argument in his edition of the Iliad, Introduction to E, p. 193: "It is patent that the Diomedeia was composed in complete independence of the two preceding books". Many other editors or writers might be quoted to a like purport.

When Pandarus first appears in book four we learn that he is the son of Lycaon, that he is attended by mighty shield-bearing warriors, that he is from the streams of the River Aesepus, from the city Zeleia, that he is "god-like", "blameless" and "valiant", that he is a most skillful archer, able to hit a deer full in the breast as it leaps from a cliff, and that he is the possessor of a wonderful bow, to the description of which the poet devotes seven verses. The accuracy and the detail with which the warrior and his weapon are described mark him as one who is about to play some important part. Although thus strongly stressed the archer does not reply to Athena nor speak a single audible word, and the scene closes with these five verses Δ 122–6:

> ἕλκε δ' ὁμοῦ γλυφίδας τε λαβὼν καὶ νεῦρα βόεια·
> νευρὴν μὲν μαζῷ πέλασεν, τόξῳ δὲ σίδηρον.
> αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ κυκλοτερὲς μέγα τόξον ἔτεινεν,
> λίγξε βιός, νευρὴ δὲ μέγ' ἴαχεν, ἆλτο δ' ὀιστὸς
> ὀξυβελὴς καθ' ὅμιλον ἐπιπτέσθαι μενεαίνων.

With the speeding of the arrow the archer is apparently forgotten, but every reader feels that he cannot be allowed to escape and that he will reappear to pay for his treason. Homer allows no one to wound a Greek of importance and then to slip off unnoticed in the crowd. Hector and Euphorbus slew Patroclus, but it cost them their lives; Coon thrust

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Agamemnon, Socus pierced Odysseus, but they died to atone for their brief glory. There was no treachery in the exploits of the four just named, yet they all met the fate appointed for every Trojan who had the audacity or fortune to wound a Greek chieftain. Paris alone escaped the working of this universal law, since tradition, pre-Homeric tradition, had already decided that his death is to follow the death of Achilles. The man who wounded Menelaus, and by that act became guilty of the basest treachery, cannot escape, Pandarus must appear again and pay with his life for his rashness and his treason. When he next appears he will need no introduction, but will come on as one already known to the hearer or reader. Pandarus remains near the scene of action with quiver open, bow uncovered, and strung, ready for immediate service.

After the wounding of Menelaus events follow each other with bewildering rapidity and Diomede soon emerges from the confusion as the great champion of the Greeks, whose exploits are likened to a raging torrent which breaking through the dikes devastates vineyards and harvests:

E 93: ὣς ὑπὸ Τυδείδῃ πυκιναὶ κλονέοντο φάλαγγες
Τρώων, οὐδ' ἄρα μιν μίμνον πολέες περ ἐόντες.

Just at this juncture and without a word of introduction, also with no mention of any preparation, Pandarus appears. The verses which immediately follow the two quoted are these:

E 95: τὸν δ' ὡς οὖν ἐνόησε Λυκάονος ἀγλαὸς υἱὸς
θύνοντ' ἂμ πεδίον πρὸ ἧθεν κλονέοντα φάλαγγας
αἶψ' ἐπὶ Τυδείδῃ ἐτιταίνετο καμπύλα τόξα,
καὶ βάλ' ἐπαΐσσοντα, τυχὼν κατὰ δεξιὸν ὦμον.

Here not even the name of the archer is given, but we know it is Pandarus from his introduction in the preceding book. There is no reference to his city or to his country, no account of his uncovering his quiver, and none of his stripping and bending the bow. We infer that he is an illustrious archer from the accuracy with which he shoots, but in this particular place the poet tells us nothing. How does it happen that he is so well-prepared that he can use his bow in an instant?

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How does it come about that he needs no sort of introduction? Why is so important an actor not even named? The one answer to these and similar questions is that Pandarus has already been introduced, his bow was already prepared for immediate service, and the fact that he is a mighty archer is already known to the hearer.

Those who reject Pandarus from the previous book must prepare for him some similar introduction and exploit before his appearance in E, since no unknown and unnamed warrior could without any preparation and at his first appearance play the part assigned to him in this book.

The arrow aimed at Diomede did not slay him, but the wound was so serious that when Athena came to join the ranks of the Greeks, E 794 ff., she found him nursing his wound and wiping the blood therefrom. The shot fired at Menelaus was a covert shot, and the Greeks, at least, did not know who had aimed it. Diomede too seems to have been struck when he was turned away from Pandarus and not to have known by whom he was shot until Pandarus boastingly tells him. The wounding of Diomede makes the doom of the truce-breaker doubly sure. The fact that Pandarus does not meet his anticipated death at his first appearance after he has broken the oaths is an excellent example of Homeric retardation which Professor Roemer has repeatedly shown is so marked a feature of the poet's style. See Index to Roemer's Homerische Aufsätze, s. v. Retardation. Although the death of Pandarus has been postponed he has not escaped.

Pandarus has now become an important character, he has seriously wounded two of the foremost Greek leaders, while no other Trojan has thus far drawn blood from any Greek of importance. We know now that Pandarus is a great master of the bow, and we approve the choice of Aeneas who, ignorant of these two shots, decides to find him and to use his astounding prowess. When Aeneas urges him to aim an arrow at Diomede he is urging a man with whom the hearer is already familiar, and there is therefore no special introduction. Pandarus replies to his urgings with a speech of thirty-eight verses. The length of this speech shows that he has already won a position of such prominence as to justify the poet in putting into his mouth so many verses, verses almost

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exclusively about his own affairs and himself. It is unthinkable that Homer would have allowed so many verses to a warrior of the small importance of Pandarus, if that importance is confined to the fifth book. We learn many things about him which could not be told at his previous appearance. We are told of his horses at home, and why he left them there, and why he came to Troy relying on his bow. He tells us that his failure with his bow has so discouraged him that he will not venture another shot, and even threatens to break and burn this vain weapon. Those who deny to Pandarus of E any part in the breaking of the truce must assume that this unusual dejection comes from the partial failure in a single shot, a shot that severely wounded even if it did not slay Diomede. Can we believe that a great archer, who had come from afar, with the sole purpose of using his bow, would have been thus dejected by the one shot aimed at Diomede and that he would refuse to try again? The utter despondency shown in

E 214: *αὐτίκ' ἔπειτ' ἀπ' ἐμεῖο κάρη τάμοι ἀλλότριος φώς,*
εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ τάδε τόξα φαεινῷ ἐν πυρὶ θείην
χερσὶ διακλάσσας· ἀνεμώλια γάρ μοι ὀπηδεῖ,

demands more than the one partially unsuccessful shot described in this book. Critics reject the three verses,

E 206: *ἤδη γὰρ δοιοῖσιν ἀριστήεσσιν ἐφῆκα,*
Τυδείδῃ τε καὶ Ἀτρείδῃ, ἐκ δ' ἀμφοτέροιιν
ἀτρεκὲς αἷμ' ἔσσευα βαλών, ἤγειρα δὲ μᾶλλον,

as containing the only reference to the breaking of the truce, but the tone of the whole speech demands just such a shot whether Pandarus mentions it or leaves it in silence. The verses add nothing to the whole, but are in such absolute harmony with the words and spirit of Pandarus that they can hardly fail to have sprung from the poet who created the entire scene.

Few indeed of the Trojan warriors have so much space given to them as is given to Pandarus; the account of his death with its staging extends from E 165 to and including 296, that is, it occupies one-hundred and thirty-two verses. Unless Pandarus achieved some greatness by breaking the

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truce he is one of the least important actors in the story of the Iliad. Coon who wounded Agamemnon, and thereby changed the whole aspect of that day's fighting, appears, performs his part, and is slain, yet despite his importance the poet tells all this in just sixteen verses, Λ 248–263. Socus, who wounds Odysseus, to the great disadvantage of the Greeks, appears, acts, and dies, yet but twenty-two verses, Λ 428–449, suffice for his entire career. The duel between Sarpedon, the son of Zeus, and Tlepolemus, the son of Heracles, with the speeches involved, the wounding of Sarpedon, and the death of Tlepolemus, is told within the compass of thirty-three verses, E 628–662. While even the story of the death of the great Sarpedon, including the discussion in regard to his fate carried on by Zeus and Hera in Olympus, occupies but eighty-seven verses, Π 419–505. Why did a poet who so condensed the story of these warriors lavish so many verses in describing the death of Pandarus and its setting? It can hardly be because of any inherent worth or prominence, but must be because he has done something which was of unusual importance in the story of the Iliad. His appearance with no introduction and no preparation at the time he shot Diomede demanded some earlier introduction and preparation, not necessarily any previous act of great moment, but it needed at least some previous appearance. The long scene leading up to his death demands both a previous appearance and some act of most extraordinary significance. What act of any consequence does Homer assign to Pandarus other than breaking the truce?

Pandarus bears a Greek name, and his father has the same name as another actor in the events of the Iliad, Lycaon, a son of Priam, hence it is probable that he does not belong to pre-Homeric tradition, but was created by the poet for the one purpose of breaking the oaths and thus setting the battles of the Iliad in motion. When this work is done he must reappear and be punished. When he has fallen, as poetic justice demands, Homer has no further interest in him, and he does not even stop to tell what has become of the corpse or to dwell on the fate of those who break solemn oaths.

The poet draws no inferences from the death of this treacherous archer, even if the hearer or reader does.

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The fact that Homer passes by his fate in silence is the chief reason which has led certain scholars to deny all connection between the account of the broken truce and this story of his death. Ameis-Hentze to E 294: "Der so nahe liegende Gedanke, dass Pandaros durch seinen Tod den Vertragsbruch büssen musste, bleibt auffallenderweise unberührt". Doctor Leaf, Introduction to E: "As they stand they emphasize the complete silence of Diomede about the gross treachery of his victim, or of the poet who misses the imperative duty of calling attention to the swift retribution which overtakes the violator of the truce". However there is an emphasis of silence quite as effective as that of words. The traitor beyond all others was Judas Iscariot, and those who tell of his treason were so deeply interested in its results that they might be excused for feeling with unwonted keenness and for pressing to its utmost limits "the imperative duty of calling attention to the swift retribution, etc". But did they feel this obligation? John was in the garden with Jesus when Judas betrayed his Lord with a kiss, yet John never hints at the fate of the traitor, he drew no moral lessons. Luke in his gospel, and Mark in his, failed to make any reference to what became of Judas and how he fared as the result of his treason. Even Matthew, whose gospel alone tells of the death of Judas, makes no comment, but simply says, "And he cast down the pieces of silver in the temple, and departed, and went and hanged himself." The fact that not one of the gospels draws any lesson from the fate of Judas is ample answer to the charge that Homer could not neglect the opportunity presented by the death of Pandarus of drawing a moral in regard to the doom of traitors.

To demand of the poet that he draw all possible or inevitable conclusions, that he must not only show that treason leads to death, but after the traitor's death he must add the lesson as a Q. E. D., is to demand a thing not always present even in history. When Herodotus gave the reasons which influenced the Persians to land at Marathon in their preparations for an attack on Athens, the first and chief reason was that Marathon was a plain peculiarly fitted for the movements of cavalry, *καὶ ἦν γὰρ ὁ Μαραθὼν ἐπιτηδεώτατον χωρίον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνιππεῦσαι*, Her. VI, 102. However in the account itself of the battle fought at Marathon Herodotus does not make a single refer-

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ence to the Persian cavalry, and mentions neither their absence nor their presence. He never explains why he mentioned the cavalry, in the preparations for landing, yet ignored them at the time of the battle itself.

If these two accounts, the one of the landing, the other of the battle, had been in Homer and not in Herodotus, the proof of diverse authorship would be regarded as final.

Also a second illuminating example from the same author. Darius after the failure of Mardonius and the shipwreck near Mount Athos sent messengers to the various states of Greece demanding earth and water as tokens of submission to the power of Persia. The men of Aegina immediately complied with the demands of the king, wherefor the Athenians were so enraged that they sent envoys to Sparta to charge the Aeginetans with treason to the cause of Greece. In this first account of the visit of the Persian heralds, Her. VI 48–50, no reference is made to their treatment either in Athens or Sparta. The inference from the charge laid before the Spartans by the Athenians is that neither of these states met the demands of the king, but it is only an inference as the historian is silent concerning them. Ten or more years later while Xerxes delayed near Pieria his messengers returned bringing earth and water from many of the states of Hellas, but the king was careful to send no messengers to Athens or Sparta. Why? "King Xerxes had sent no heralds either to Athens or Sparta, to ask earth and water, for a reason which I will now relate. When Darius some time before sent messengers for the same purpose, they were thrown at Athens into the barathrum, at Sparta into a well, and told to take therefrom earth and water to their king". Her. VII 133. It is only by an accident that we learn of the treatment of the messengers sent more than ten years previously. The natural place, one would think, for Herodotus to have told this story was where he told of the success or failure of their mission, but for some reason he delayed it until he told of a second sending of Persian heralds. No one believes that the author of this second account is different from the author of the first. These illustrations, taken from the New Testament and from Herodotus, show how slow one should be in drawing hard and fast arguments from the silences of an author.

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Conclusion.

Pandarus appears in three different but closely related scenes of the Iliad. At the end of the first he is left standing with quiver open and bow uncovered, strung and ready for instant use; he reappears in the second scene with no manner of introduction as one already known to the hearer and with no preparation and without delaying a moment wounds Diomede. The second scene is impossible without the first. The first and second scenes must have some conclusion, and accordingly demand a third, the traitor must pay for his treason, *δράσαντι παθεῖν*. The third scene has no setting unless the archer has already more than once failed with his bow, and further the detailed description of Pandarus with the long account of his death presupposes that he has been responsible for some deed of unusual importance. This important deed can be none other than the breaking of the truce by the wounding of Menelaus. No one of these scenes in which Pandarus appears can stand alone. The first might stand without the second, but not without the third, the second demands both the first and the third, while the third has no rational content without the first and the second.

John A. Scott.

Northwestern University, *February* 19, 1914.

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V.—THE DATE OF MENANDER'S ANDRIA.

In the Latin adaptation of the Andria by Terence the recognition scene is undoubtedly a translation of the same scene in the original play of Menander. In Act V, iv, lines 904 ff. Crito, Chremes, Pamphilus and Simo appear on the stage. Crito saves the situation for the young lovers when he tells the story of Glycerium. She and her uncle, Phania, had been cast ashore at Andrus many years before, apparently the only survivors of the shipwreck. The uncle died shortly afterwards and Glycerium was taken by Chrysis and her father and cared for. On the death of the latter, Chrysis and Glycerium had journeyed to Athens about three years before the time of the action of the play. They hoped to make a living in the metropolis and to search for the relatives of Glycerium. The search was never prosecuted with any earnestness, either because of the carelessness or indifference of Chrysis, although they had sufficient evidence and information to find them. This may justly be regarded as a defect in the plot. The story of the two women during their life in Athens need not be recounted. On the arrival of Crito at Athens from Andrus Chremes hears for the first time of the fate of his brother and joyfully recognizes Glycerium as his daughter, who is then given in marriage to her lover Pamphilus.

In the story of Glycerium, we have to do with an invented plot, but there are certain elements of probability which enter into the story and enable us to determine the date of the play. If we can determine the date of the shipwreck and the number of years which have elapsed between the shipwreck and the action of the play, we can determine easily the date of its production.

Menander has brought the occasion of the shipwreck into relation with an event in Athenian history which will enable us to determine the approximate date of the disaster. In line 935 of the Latin version of the play we read as follows: is (Phania) bellum hinc fugiens meque in Asiam persequens proficiscitur. Chremes is the speaker and is giving the motive

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for his brother's voyage. The line is clearly from the Greek original; for the scene is laid in Attica and no Roman would think of fleeing from Rome to Asia to avoid any danger from internal or foreign foes at this time. Furthermore, the poet might have explained the voyage as one of trade or pleasure, and in bringing in a war as the motive, he must be using some historical event which would be readily recalled and understood by the members of his audience.

When was there a war during which a citizen of one of the country demes of Attica would suffer so severely from an invading army that he would be liable to seek safety in flight to a distant country? We must date the war within the lifetime of the poet and not many years before the production of the play. We must suppose an invading army which is occupying the country for an extended period with no immediate hope of relief. Apparently the sea is controlled by a fleet friendly to Athens; otherwise flight would be virtually impossible. Finally, the war must have been so severe that it would readily be recalled to mind after a lapse of ten or more years.

There are two occasions during the lifetime of Menander when Rhamnus, the home of Phania was invaded. After the defeat of the Athenians off Amorgus in 322 B. C., Clitus landed troops at Rhamnus and proceeded to ravage the *paralia* sending Micion as leader of the band while he returned to the ships. The Athenians under Phocion met and defeated the invaders and slew Micion. Almost immediately afterwards Antipater advanced against Athens from Thessaly, but he was met at Thebes by Phocion and a truce was declared. Clitus and his fleet still controlled the sea (Plutarch, Phocion, 25 ff.). Menander can not be alluding to this piratical landing at Rhamnus or the threatened invasion of Antipater which could not be dignified by the name "war". Moreover the enemy controlled the sea as well as Asia, so that Phania's flight at this time would be practically impossible. Certainly he could not flee to Asia. Nor was the descent on Rhamnus so remarkable that the Athenian audience would be likely to understand a passing allusion to it ten or more years later.

From 322 to 307 B. C. the land of Attica was undisturbed by foreign invasion except for the unimportant advance of

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Polyperchon in 318 B. C. (Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens, p. 34). After Athens passed into the hands of Antigonus and Demetrius in 307 B. C. the land of Attica was overrun by the invading armies during the four succeeding years and the outlying districts must have been thoroughly plundered to supply the army of Cassander with food and supplies. Cassander did not have a fleet to blockade the harbors or control the shipping until 304 B. C., and the flight of Phania from Rhamnus would have been possible at any time between 306 and 304 B. C. Asia would have been the natural refuge for an Athenian because it was held by the friendly forces of Antigonus. The severity of this 'four years' war' and the extremities to which Athens was brought before she was finally relieved by Demetrius were so great that an allusion to it would be readily appreciated by any Athenian audience after many years. Since this is the only war of invasion except the invasion and capture of Athens in 295 B. C. which came in the last years of Menander's life, we can reasonably assume that Menander had in mind the τετραέτης πόλεμος (307-304 B. C.), and that this was the 'bellum' which Phania was seeking to avoid. The date of the flight and the shipwreck, though in themselves fiction, may reasonably be brought into connection with history, and that part of the story may be dated in the years 307-4 B. C.

How much time has elapsed between the shipwreck and the action of the plot? Glycerium was cast ashore when she was a mere child. Apparently she was not old enough to know or remember the name of her father or mother, although she must have known the name of her uncle and his deme when she came to Athens to seek her relatives. Crito and many others on Andrus remembered Phania and could bear witness to his statement that he was a citizen of Rhamnus. Menander apparently represented her to the audience as a girl of not more than four or five years of age at the time of the shipwreck. At the time of the action of the play, she was tall, beautiful, and so graceful that she attracted the attention of Simo at the funeral of Chrysis. Moreover she was old enough to bear a son to Pamphilus. Apparently the audience would assume her to be a girl of sixteen or seventeen at the least. It may be questioned whether the comic poet would

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have paid such attention to detail, but if we consider the quick-wittedness of the Athenian audience, we must assume that the action of the play is represented as the sequel of an event which happened twelve or more years before in connection with a great war, the details of which were only too clearly impressed upon their memories.

If we are correct in assuming that the war which Menander uses as the cause of the flight of Phania is a real event with real meaning to the minds of his audience, then we are justified in putting the action of the Andria at least twelve years later. This play, therefore, was composed and presented somewhere between 295 and 293 B. C. While it is, perhaps, not advisable to insist on strict historical accuracy in estimating the time between the war and the events of the play, I should prefer to choose the latest date possible and assume that the Andria, if not actually the last, was amongst the latest of Menander's plays.

ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON.

PRINCETON.

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REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Ovid and the Renascence in Spain. By RUDOLPH SCHEVILL. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1913. $2.50. (University of California Publications in Modern Philology, iv. 1, pp. 1–268, November 19, 1914.)

In my recent review of Magnus' monumental edition of the Metamorphoses I said that when at the Renascence we moderns at last grew weary of our own device in the way of the Chanson de Geste, the Roman d'Aventures, the Fabliau, and their kind, we went back to the greatest story-teller of the Roman world, we sat at his feet, and learned from him as best we could what it is that makes a story immortal and always young. And his influence in this role was vital and far-reaching. It is safe to say that no other classical author, perhaps no other author of any race or period, has had so much to do with the development of the various types of narrative literature in the Modern World. One chapter of this story has just been written by Dr. Schevill. It is to be hoped that the remaining chapters, those concerned with Italy, France, England, and the other European nations, will soon follow, and that their authors will possess Dr. Schevill's enthusiasm and thorough grasp of the subject.

The book consists of four chapters: I, Ovid and the Middle Ages; II, Ovid and the beginnings of Renascence Fiction; III, The Metamorphoses retold in Spanish; IV, The General indebtedness to Ovid of the Siglo de Oro. There are also (pp. 234–265) four Appendices—containing respectively a Bibliography, a Mediaeval Spanish version of Ovid, Heroides, 7 (Dido to Aeneas), the Life of Ovid added by Fernán Núñez to his Commentary on Juan de Mena's el Laberinto de Fortuna, and Bustamante's version of the Tale of Pyramus and Thisbe.

As the author himself says in substance there are two phases of the influence of Ovid which are especially notable. One led directly to greater subtlety in the delineation of character. 'It inspired principles of fiction, a philosophy and precepts in the art of love, methods of intrigue, specific sentiments applicable to peculiar situations of lovers, together with an analysis of man's attitude toward womankind, aphorisms suitable to the occasion—indeed, various pagan features of the novel of the Renascence'. Here the main sources are the

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Ars Amatoria, the Remedia Amoris, and the Amores. The other phase consists in copying or imitating the romantic and novelistic features of his works. This leads us more directly to the Heroides and the Metamorphoses.

I may remark that this development in the sphere of modern imitation is a close analogy to Ovid's own development. In Ovid's own case, the Amores and especially the Ars Amatoria and the Remedia Amoris present the principles, the Metamorphoses and the Heroides illustrate their application for purposes of narrative. And considering the purpose they had in view, our forefathers of the Renascence could not have chosen a model more artistic and more inspiring. There is no author in all antiquity who has such a faculty and such a fondness for minute psychological analysis, and it was in this respect above all that the Mediaeval narrator was so woefully lacking. The method is one which naturally makes its appearance only in periods of great intellectual and aesthetic refinement, and for this reason, perhaps, the ancient author most akin to Ovid in this respect is Apollonius of Rhodes, the leading poet of the Alexandrian Age now surviving.

But Ovid's characteristic method of telling a story was a matter of special training as well as of decided taste and surpassing genius. His first work was the Amores, and all that he did afterwards springs from it like so many branches from the main trunk of some shapely tree. How and why this was the case is explained if we bear in mind that he was first, last, and always a rhetorician, further, that he had certain strongly marked tastes in the domain of rhetoric itself. It will be remembered that the Elder Seneca, who knew him personally in the Rhetorical Schools of the Augustan Age, says that Ovid hated argument, and therefore that he never declaimed *controversiae* in the school, unless they were *ethicae*, i. e., questions of conduct. It is added, however, that he was especially fond of *suasoriae*. Now, as every classical scholar knows, some of the most famous pieces in the Amores are really *suasoriae*, the Heroides are nothing more nor less than so many *suasoriae* in epistolary form, the Ars Amatoria is one long lesson in the art of suasion. I may add that many of the finest and most characteristic passages in the Metamorphoses are suasorial, and that all those passages painting the conflict of warring impulses in the human breast—and here Ovid is excelled by none—are really so many adaptations of the *controversia ethica*. I need not mention the Tristia and the Epistulae ex Ponto. They are all *suasoriae*.

As might be expected, a large part of Dr. Schevill's study is concerned with the *novela sentimental* or romance of intrigue. This type, now so familiar to us all, is one which, as he believes—and I quite agree with him—we learned how to

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write from Ovid. He, therefore, calls it 'The Ovidian Tale of the Renascence'. The title is peculiarly apt in view of the statement so frequently made that one of the most impressive things about Ovid is his modernity. In view of the actual facts as brought out by Dr. Schevill's own investigation, it would perhaps be better to say that the most impressive thing about modern literary art is its Ovidianity. It is not that Ovid is so much like us, but that we are so much like Ovid. Nor is the influence of the great story-teller alone a matter of construction or of psychological development in the more restricted sense. It is quite as evident in what might be called the accessories. Each story, for example, in that Arabian Nights of the Roman World, the Metamorphoses, is set with the appropriate surroundings of natural scenery—woods and mountains, valleys and streams, sea and shore—somewhat conventionalized perhaps, and not especially prominent as compared with the practice of some of our modern poets who have yet to learn the proper function of a background, but never inharmonious and always charming. It is this scenery that lives again in the pages of Ariosto and in the paintings of the Renascence. Indeed, an interesting monograph might well be devoted to the influence of Ovid, direct and remote, upon modern art. The Metamorphoses might be profusely illustrated by paintings still to be found in the great galleries of Europe. Many were directly suggested by incidents in the poem, many more would be entirely appropriate. I might also observe that more subtle but none the less real and significant is what might be called the author's attitude toward his own story. In this respect, one of the most characteristic features, for example, of Ariosto's genius is a certain delightful touch of kindly irony and of whimsical fancy. The attitude naturally belongs to an age of cultivation, the note is still distinctly heard, for instance, in certain authors of the Alexandrian Age. But one of the most notable examples, perhaps the most notable example of it in all literature, is Ovid himself. And when we consider his supreme importance in the formative period of modern prose and poetry, it may be that here, too, his personal influence is a factor to be reckoned with.

Passing now to some matters of detail, I observe that the author notes on p. 5 of his book that 'The popular translation of Ars Amatoria has generally been "the art of love" (el arte de amar), though the phrase in reality means "a grammar of love", being a book of principles and precepts'. Unless I mistake the point of his statement it appears to me that there is no foundation for his criticism of this use of *ars*, 'art', in either Latin or English. *Ars* as Ovid uses it here goes back to the old translation of τέχνη, and ever afterwards remained in common use (τέχνη ῥητορική, ars rhetorica, τέχνη γραμματική,

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ars grammatica, etc., then finally omitting τέχνη as no longer necessary, we have ἡ ῥητορική, rhetorica, rhetoric, ἡ γραμματική, grammatica, grammar, etc.). The same use of 'art' in English (the 'art of war', the 'art of horsemanship', the 'art of navigation', etc.) is old and perfectly well attested. In all three cases (τέχνη, ars, 'art') the word has nothing to do, *per se*, with a book. It simply means the set of rules, the system or regular method of making or doing the thing connoted by the adjective.

I observe a fairly abundant crop of typographical errors. But far be it from me to pull out the mote that is in my brother's eye. He has probably found them all by this time, and if so, I sympathize with his feelings.

One slight error of interpretation, however, I did notice which I take the liberty of pointing out. While discussing the Alba (p. 95), Dr. Schevill says that 'with the approach of day the lovers are naturally loath to separate, and blame the rising dawn for intruding upon them. Ovid puts it crudely: "no man cares to rise early except he who has no mistress"' (cp. p. 25, 'the poet remarks that early rising is borne cheerfully only by him who has no love').

The passage in question—Ovid is commenting on the hard lot of the spinning girls who have to rise at such an unearthly hour—is Amores, 1, 13, 23–26:

> Tu, cum feminei possint cessare labores,
> Lanificam revocas ad sua pensa manum.
> Omnia (not 'omni') perpeterer; sed surgere mane puellas,
> Quis, nisi cui non est ulla puella, ferat?
>
> (That girls cease toiling sometimes, 'twere surely fair to ask.
> But no, you rouse the spinners each to her daily task.
> All else I might put up with; but who was ever known
> To make the girls rise early, who had one of his own?)

which is quite a different matter, besides being characteristically Ovidian, and anything but crude.

Of course, the modern commonplaces which the author attributes to the influence of Ovid were many of them ancient commonplaces as well, and there are some of them which even the writers with whom Dr. Schevill is concerned might have learned from other ancient sources. The idea, for instance, that love is a disease (pp. 26 and 58) is an old commonplace of ancient erotic literature which could have been derived from Tibullus (2, 5, 109–110, cp. 2, 4, 13–14; 4, 6, 17–18), or Horace (Odes, i, 27, 11), or Seneca (Epist. 39, 6), as well as from Ovid. The same may be said of the saga or witch (Tibullus 1, 2, 42 ff. etc.), a familiar figure in the literature and in the everyday life of antiquity. The catalogue of her conventional feats is found in all departments of Roman

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poetry, and it may be added that all these allusions are regularly cited as authority by the writers on magic, Remigius, Bodinus, de l'Ancre, le Loyer, Delrio, and others of their kind, from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. So, too, the futility of magic, or as it is more usually stated, the comparative merits of beauty and magic in a love-affair, is—as I myself have shown in this Journal (A. J. P. XXXIV 62–73)—a question that appears as early as the Andromache of Euripides, and that afterwards turns up again and again in practically every department of ancient literature.

These and similar ideas, however, are especially prominent in Ovid, and besides, Ovid himself was especially prominent during the Renascence. It may be, therefore, that, as Dr. Schevill concludes, it was he after all who in most cases was the real source. This point is well illustrated by the question of the relation of the Albas to Amores, 1, 13, which has already been referred to above. So far as Ovid himself is concerned, this poem (his Address to the Dawn) is nothing more nor less than a rhetorical expansion of material already dealt with in epigrams of the Hellenistic period. A few of these epigrams still survive in the Anthologia Palatina. And, in fact, the real Alba, even in antiquity itself, was certainly nothing new. Athenaeus, 15. 697 B, actually quotes a Locrian Alba. Doubtless, it is neither old nor, strictly speaking, popular. But, at all events, it is older than the Troubadours by a thousand years, and the mere existence of it is enough in itself to suggest that even in ancient Greece there were popular prototypes of those epigrams of the second and third centuries B. C. which Ovid had before him. In the Locrian song both metre and language indicate that the speaker—a woman, or, rather, the woman—is nearly inarticulate from fright and excitement:

> Ὦ τί πάσχεις; μὴ προδῷς ἄμμ', ἱκετεύω.
> πρὶν καὶ μολεῖν κεῖνον, ἀνίστω, μὴ κακὸν
> μέγα ποιήσῃ σε κἀμὲ τὴν δειλάκραν.
> ἀμέρα καὶ δή, τὸ φῶς διὰ τᾶς θυρίδος οὐκ εἰσορῇς;
>
> Oh gods, what do you! rise with speed!
> Before he comes, or ever you betray
> Yourself and me! indeed, indeed,
> I am so frightened! go, oh go, I pray!
> Look at the window! see, 'tis light, 'tis day!

Now, by way of comparison, let me subjoin a characteristic representative of the Troubadour Albas:

> Quan lo rossinhols escria
> Ab sa par la nueg e'l dia
> Yeu suy ab ma bell' amia

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Ios la flor,
Tro la gaita de la tor
Escria: 'drutz, al levar!
Qu'ieu vey l'alba e'l iorn clar'.

Whilst the nightingale is crying
To his mate, and night is flying,
Then my love and I are lying
In her bower,
Till the watch cries from his tower:
'Up, thou lover, and away!
Lo, the Dawn, 'twill soon be day'!

It is a far cry from this genuinely Ovidian piece to the essentially modern tragedy of the Locrian song just quoted. In the case, then, of the Troubadour Albas, as so often elsewhere, we may well suspect that, whatever else was available, the initial suggestion, the supreme influence, was Ovid. And how much of the written word that brings joy to our lives he has inspired!

Dr. Schevill says at the close of his discussion (p. 233) that 'a more genuine psychology of our human relations and of the motives of our actions guided poets and novelists (after the middle of the seventeenth century); love and its manifestations became, in a sense, more reasonable because they were truer to real life, and more original in so far as the art of writing broke with practically every inherited classical tradition. In the change Ovid and his prestige were bound to vanish forever'.

I confess that, taking modern fiction as a whole, I am not as complacent as Dr. Schevill appears to be. So far, however, as his last sentence is concerned, I fear he is right. And when I consider the form and the content of most of the novels, and tales, and narrative poems that are dealt out to us from day to day, I could wish that, like our forefathers of the Renascence, we only had wisdom enough to go back to the author of the Metamorphoses, the Amores, the Heroides, the Ars Amatoria, to sit at his feet, and again to learn from him as best we may what it is that makes a story immortal and always young.

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

The Classical Papers of MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE. Columbia University Press, New York, 1912.

Perhaps the two younger classical scholars of the last twenty years whose careers seemed fullest of promise and who were most talked of by other scholars were H. W. Hayley of Harvard, and Mortimer Lamson Earle of Columbia.

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They were friends and both died early, before reaching the full maturity of their powers, the former in 1900, the latter, Sept. 26, 1905. For a record of the life-work of Professor Earle, the volume of his "Classical Papers", we are indebted to the ties of affection—especially on the part of his devoted wife and of his cousin, Miss Caroline Allen Potter—and of friendship, as exhibited by a committee of his colleagues and intimates, Professors Knapp, Lodge, Perry, and Hirst. The latter undertook the task of collecting and editing the papers, and the whole makes a beautiful volume of nearly 300 pages, including, we are told in the Preface, with the exception of the three Greek plays he edited, the Alcestis, Medea, and Oedipus Rex, "practically everything left by Professor Earle, whether in papers already published or in manuscript ready for publication".

The collection is of much value, and scholars in many lands will be glad that friendship and love rescued and made accessible the fruits of the labor of this young professor who conferred distinction upon American scholarship. I have had the book on my desk for some months, reading from time to time nearly all that it contains and realizing, more completely even than when I knew and admired him in life, his remarkable acumen, his broad and sound scholarship, his extraordinary learning. I first met him at the Princeton meeting of the American Philological Association (1891), and read first his little paper on "Antigone 1204 sq." (1892); from that time I regarded him as one of our "coming men", and hailed the papers steadily appearing after that in various classical periodicals both at home and abroad. Before 1892 he seems to have published three papers in the American Journal of Archaeology and one in the Classical Review. The most important of these earlier papers, that on "A Sikyonian Statue", written when he was a member of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and published in the Journal of Archaeology in 1889, is not only interesting reading, but shows wide study of the literature pertaining to the sculpture of the period. It has already the felicity of statement and thorough sanity and independence that characterized Earle in later years. One would get from this paper a favorable impression of the training given young Americans in the School at Athens.

From 1892 on each year brought forth from three to a dozen classical papers. I confidently expected to meet him at every session of the Philological Association, to hear a paper from him, and to find with him his faithful companion, who I believe missed only one meeting he ever attended. Of all these meetings, that at Schenectady in 1902 stands out most distinctly in my memory. He read there two papers, "Studies

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in Sophocles' Trachinians", and "The Prologue of the Agamemnon", presenting by title a third, "Notes on Sophocles' Antigone". These papers made a fine impression; but a discussion of his—it may have been the substance of the first paper given in this form—won my admiration completely. He had written some Greek on a blackboard, and while talking looked steadily at the board, as if reading from it. But my eyes were far-sighted and still keen in those days, and I saw that the characters were merely a suggestive text, that while gazing forward he was really looking inward and reading from the tablets of his mind. It was the most remarkable exhibition that I remember of a convincing classical argument supported by a wealth of illustrations drawn without the aid of memoranda from a rich treasure-house of memory. Another little incident of the same meeting recurs to me. Professor Harry, in a paper, on the Hippolytus I think, had said that he would feel he had failed if he did not convince Professor Earle that he was right; but the latter, rising afterwards, first said courteously he was not convinced, then gave what seemed to me good reasons for his dissent. Evidently others also were impressed at that meeting, for I remember Professor Knapp saying "This is Earle's meeting; don't you think so?" And the Association thought so too; for he was elected Vice President, at thirty-six, and so started on the road to the presidency, the youngest man so honored in recent years. The paper on Studies in Sophocles' Trachinians,—with which this volume opens,—as I read it now, seems to me to justify all my enthusiasm of twelve years ago. I had noticed, as many have done, some of the resemblances between the Trachinians and the Alcestis, though most of the subtle reminiscences I had not observed at all, and when the paper was read at the Association I should probably have been inclined to regard Sophocles lender rather than borrower; but, if so, reading the paper now has changed my mind. Clearly 1902 was a year of plenty for Earle: besides the three papers mentioned above, I find published in that year two others on Sophocles (Antigone and Electra) one on Euripides' Hippolytus, two on Horace, one on Cicero, and one on the Greek Alphabet.

A glance at the table of contents of this volume shows that Earle's productiveness continued undiminished in the remaining three years of his life, for it credits him with eleven publications in 1903, eight in 1904, and twelve in 1905. In this last year he would naturally have reached the presidency of the American Philological Association, but that body wishing to confer an extraordinary honor on its incomparable secretary, who was retiring after some twenty years' loyal service, continued the two vice-presidents and jumped the secretary at once into chief place. Before the next meeting, in December

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1905, Professor Earle, returning from a summer in Mediterranean countries, had fallen a victim to typhoid fever.

Prof. Earle's chief energies as a productive scholar were devoted to textual criticism; but there is evidence in these papers also of unusual gifts as an expositor or interpreter. In proof I would point—to use only two or three examples—first to the paper already mentioned, "Studies in the Trachiniae"; next perhaps to a little paper on "Trachiniae 26–48—A Study in Interpretation" (1895). This is an admirable piece of exposition, and shows at the same time his acumen as a conjecturer. Then there is the short paper on Hercules Furens 445 sqq., in which he differs with Prof. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, and proves his point, I think.

But admirable as his exposition is—and, comparatively speaking, there is not a great deal of this—it is not these papers, nor his longer general ones, whether on Greek Syntax or Lexicography or Archaeology, that will longest keep his memory alive. Future scholars that take the trouble to read his papers on "The Supplementary Signs of the Alphabet" will be impressed by his learning, though his conclusions may in some cases be superseded. But specialists on the Greek tragedians, Thucydides, Plato, Horace and Cicero—thanks especially to this volume—will continue to turn to his conjectures and find here a spirit akin to Musgrave and Cobet. Already in his twenty-eighth year he wrote to an English scholar, "Textual criticism is a thing toward which I find myself inclining more and more". This tendency increased with the years, as seems natural when one considers his bent of mind and scholarly equipment. Professor Perry says "With the palaeography of Greek and Latin manuscripts, and with the labors of earlier scholars in editing and interpretation he had an extraordinary acquaintance, perhaps unmatched in this country". His position in this line of work was recognized not only in America, as shown by Professor Gildersleeve's remark, "Prof. Earle has occupied an almost solitary eminence among American Hellenists as a conjectural critic", but also in Europe. The range of his emendations and conjectures is very wide, including all the chief and many minor Greek authors. He discusses in Sophocles eighty passages in 80 pages; Euripides seventy-four passages in 35 pages; Aeschylus, eleven passages in 9 pages; Thucydides, ninety-nine passages in 17 pages; Plato, ninety-one passages—sometimes with several changes suggested in each—in 12 pages. To those authors his attention was chiefly directed, but miscellaneous notes occur elucidating or emending passages in Homer, Hesiod, Sappho, Pindar, Simonides, Bacchylides, Hippocrates, Herodotus, Aristophanes, Xenophon, Lysias, Isocrates, Isaeus, Demosthenes, Aristotle, Polybius, Plutarch, Josephus, Diodorus, Appian, Lucian, Pau-

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sanias, Heliodorus. His attention was directed much less to Latin authors, the papers treating of these covering only 35 pages in this volume, and discussing passages in Horace, Cicero, Catullus, Virgil, Livy, Seneca, Statius.

Perhaps I may be pardoned for calling more especial attention to the paper in Latin contributed to the American Journal of Philology (1905) on Thucydides I, 1–23. In these twenty-three chapters Professor Earle proposes or defends ninety or more changes in the vulgate, and thinks some half dozen more desirable. It is not to be expected, of course, that one who was greatly influenced by the attitude of Professors Goodwin and White toward the text-criticism of Thucydides would be altogether satisfied with a paper like this on Thucydides' famous Introduction. Professor Goodwin used to say, on the proof-sheets of Thucydides VII, something like this "No doubt the Germans have made the text here clearer; but the question is, Did he write it so?" Judging from Earle's editions of Greek authors, e. g. the Oedipus Rex, he would have incorporated more of his own emendations in his text than any American has ever been bold enough to do, and I might not agree with him as to the majority of these; but my disagreement would not represent my respect for his acumen and his scholarship. While I am more conservative, I do not fail to recognize that just such work as this has given him standing among the world's classical scholars, who will, I hope and believe, keep turning to his conjectures in the never ending attempt to remedy the defects of copyists.

The editors have appended some of Earle's poems, as well as translations into English and into Greek. Of the former I should be proud to be the author of "Dawn in Achaia" or of "Euripides in Salamis"; and I wish I could be as well satisfied with his Greek rendering of Lincoln's immortal Gettysburg address as with that of Longfellow's "Evening Star".

Scholars who knew Professor Earle only in print will be glad, and not surprised, to learn from Professor Ashmore's Memoir, that "he was not only an author and a man of research; he was also a teacher of the first rank". I had long known this from one of my students who subsequently became a pupil of his, as well as from Professor Knapp, whom Earle probably influenced at least as much as he influenced any other man. It is good pupils that know best the merits of the good teacher. "He spared no effort", says the resolution of his Barnard pupils, "to kindle his own high ideals in each individual student under his care. And in return for this sympathy we gave him that peculiarly tender affection which springs from gratitude for wider outlook and personal inspiration".

A significant feature of his method as a teacher of graduate students, which indicates as well the breadth and thorough-

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ness of his classical scholarship, was his habit in conducting the weekly meeting of the Greek Seminar at Columbia. This was mainly under his leadership during the last five years of his life, and he conducted it, according to the German custom, regularly in Latin. It is pleasant to learn that this custom was welcome to Columbia students, and attracted graduate students from elsewhere. He approved, too, the German requirement of writing classical theses for higher degrees only in Latin. Speaking Latin with ease, he wrote it fluently, and regularly couched in that language his contributions to Mnemosyne and the Revue de Philologie—except two which were in French. In general, it may be said, his equipment for the work of a classical scholar was extraordinary. He wrote and spoke his mother tongue not only with fluency and correctness, but with fastidious good taste. He had, it seems, excellent command of both German and French, as doubtless also of Italian, and he knew modern Greek well. And we all remember his beautiful hand-writing, in English as easy to read as type-writing, in Greek "more beautiful than Porson's", as an admiring scholar has said.

He was often despondent especially in his earlier years, it is said, and that was perhaps inevitable with his high ideals. And yet he was, as most of us see it, a happy man, and his an enviable career. Scholars on two continents knew and honored him; his pupils were proud of and devoted to him; and, best of all, he had "a rare genius for friendship". "To the writer", says Professor Ashmore, "he was both a friend and an inspiration". Finally, it is a comfort to know that the president of a great university knew how to appreciate the value of such a scholar. "Dr. Earle was", said President Butler, "of the type of scholar that no university can afford to be without, for it is a type to which scholarly ideals and scholarly standards are all in all".

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The Beneventan Script. A History of the South Italian Minuscule, by E. A. LOEW, PH. D., Research Associate of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. Oxford, at The Clarendon Press, 1914. Pp. XIX, 384; nine facsimiles. $6.75.

Dr. Loew gives us here what we expected of a brilliant and tireless observer, stimulated by the genius of Ludwig Traube, and aided by the generosity particularly of the Carnegie Institution and of James Loeb, which has enabled him to devote

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many continuous years to a paleographic problem. During this period he found time to publish an incidental investigation (Studia Palaeographica, in the Sitzungsberichte der kgl. Bayerischen Akademie d. Wissenschaften, Munich, 1910), which clarified the whole subject of *i-alta* in MSS, and the differentiation of hard and soft *ti* in South Italy and Spain; and it is characteristic of the thoroughness of his work that this is the best exposition of the development of the Visigothic hand of Spain, and contains the best list of extant Visigothic MSS. With the help of a host of scholars—the mere mention of their names fills over two pages of the preface—he has now produced what we hope is the first of a series of masterpieces. Though supplemented by a separate volume of plates (Scriptura Beneventana, Oxford, Clarendon Press, ten guineas), it is complete in itself, as it contains several handsome facsimiles, excerpted from the larger collection; they are chosen to illustrate the development of the Beneventan from a hand not very different from the old Roman cursive to the wonderful calligraphy of the late eleventh century, and to the final collapse of the script, after five centuries of evolution, before the all-conquering minuscule of the North.

After a useful summary of the history of the Lombard duchies and of the part played by Monte Cassino in the transmission of the classics—we owe Varro, Tacitus' major works and Apuleius to those Benedictine monks—Loew attacks the question of the proper appellation for the script which found its home there. Here he displays special animus against the English term "Lombardic"—our current American name of "Lombard" is not even dignified with mention in the text—; but it is surely as appropriate as is Visigothic for the national hand of Spain; and Beneventan has the disadvantage, to a classical student, of calling up the city (not the duchy) of Beneventum, which is of infinitesimal importance as compared with Monte Cassino. To one who calls "French Lombard" by the phrase "the Corbie script" (or even another impossible to reproduce with ordinary typographical facilities), Cassinese should surely appeal as the scientific term to adopt. While very interesting, this is the least satisfactory part of the book, and it was a mistake to make it so prominent; but one must grant Dr. Loew this, that henceforth the hand will be called Beneventan. One of the most valuable and unexpected results of his study was to show that this hand was also used for centuries across the Adriatic, in Dalmatia and Istria, in the special rounded form known as the Bari type, of which a good example is Ehrle and Liebaert's plate 15. A map indicates the centers in which the Beneventan script was used. In the interesting sketch of the

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development of the hand from the Roman cursive, Dr. Loew finds it necessary to take up in detail the theory that the Visigothic had a strong influence on the formation of the Beneventan, and is successful in showing that the resemblances of the two hands may be explained by their similar development from the cursive. He has found very little to indicate close relations between Spain and Southern Italy during the period when the two scripts were crystallizing. His statement on p. 101 of the characteristic abbreviations of Visigothic is rather too sweeping.

In his search for criteria which would aid in the dating of Beneventan MSS, Loew has discovered that final *r* has a short stem until the eleventh century, and that the final syllable *-tur* is differently abbreviated at different periods. I must confess, however, that I have found the ninth-century form of *-tur* in a Monte Cassino MS (no. 97) on a later page than the eleventh-century form—which merely confirms my innate skepticism of the possibility of *depending* upon such criteria. They are useful for incidental confirmation, but are treacherous, and quite unusable by a novice. In his chapter on abbreviations, Loew gives a summary of Traube's theory that contractions—Pa., for instance—are derived from the Christian "*nomina sacra*", while suspensions—as Penn.—are of pagan origin; an alphabetical list of Beneventan abbreviations follows. This is most painstaking, and of high value; it is curious however how few characteristic abbreviations Beneventan has to show, as contrasted with Visigothic or Insular. Certain abbreviations which trouble Loew are Visigothic; such are *frr, mscdia* (*frater, misericordia*). Is not the n̄ for *enim* (p. 180) merely the current late abbreviation?

The chapter on punctuation is epoch-making; it covers 50 pages, and will be indispensable to all students of paleography. The treatment of the interrogation sign is especially interesting, with his proof of the distinction between the nominal and predicate question in Visigothic and Beneventan; an incidental note proves what will surprise many, that the modern Spanish custom of setting a ¿ at the beginning of a question, dates from only about 1750; a champion of Visigothic influence upon Beneventan had stated that this custom, which modern Spain had preserved from the Visigothic hand, had later influenced Beneventan—all of which statements Loew shows to be incorrect. The marks used in the MSS are primarily guides to intonation, it appears; Loew has even found an assertion sign, used over the first word of the answer to a question. There is also a good discussion of syllabification, with full references. Orthography seems a little neglected; it is hard to believe that Beneventan MSS spell so regularly as L. would indicate. There is a full hand-list of extant MSS

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in Beneventan—L. has found over 600 of them!—but one misses a list of facsimiles. No matter how incomplete, such a list is always useful. The book is full of incidental observations of value, like that proving that the place of the famous signature of 510 A. D. in the St. Peter's Hilary MS, can only be Karalis.

The book is sumptuously printed, with lavish use of special types; there is hardly a single misprint. It seems ungracious to find any fault with such a handsome volume; but students will wish that it had been compressed and less expensively printed, and thus made available at a reasonable price. Certainly a protest (*bello peracto*!) will arise from Continental scholars; though written in what is for most of them an unfamiliar and difficult language, they will find it indispensable; and after all, the ultimate purpose of any such book is the widest advancement of science—a purpose admirably fulfilled by the *matter* of Loew's volume. It is beyond compare the most important recent paleographic investigation in any language; and it is a satisfaction to record that its author, a graduate of Cornell and Halle, has been appointed the Sandars Reader in Paleography at Cambridge, and University Lecturer in Paleography at Oxford.

C. U. CLARK.

WERNER WILHELM JAEGER, NEMESIOS VON EMESA: Quellenforschungen zum Neuplatonismus und seinen Anfängen bei Poseidonios. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1914. Pp. xi+148.

One declares that there is nothing new under the sun; another, that history is the record of great personalities, that is to say, of men of genius and originality. There is a modicum of truth in each of these contentions. The history of human thought may be compared to the *album*: if the historian would read it aright, he must distinguish in it the *edicta tralaticia* which those who sit in judgment on the κύκλος γενέσεως and the *orbis terrarum* and justify the ways of God to man accept from their predecessors and transmit to their successors, but must not fail also to discern those nuances in the interpretation of the *cause célèbre* which prove that the judges were men and not machines. It is not an uncommon occurrence that the members of a court agree in their conclusion while differing radically in the course of thought which leads to it. In the so-called dark ages of the human spirit the obscurity is due to our failure to distinguish the contribution of the individual.

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Where distinctions vanish the ὄν coincides with the μὴ ὄν. Until recently there was hardly a period of active and well documented human thought so dark as that of the Graeco-Roman world between 100 B C. and 300 A. D. In their general outlines the *edicta tralaticia* were easily discerned—the inheritance of Platonic, Aristotelian, Stoic, and Epicurean doctrines; but the principles and prepossessions which brought about the peculiar amalgamation of these ingredients, in other words, the mental physiognomy of the man whose personality enforced the *pax Romana* in the realm of the spirit, were quite lost to view. Out of the obscurity there has gradually emerged a figure of singular interest,—Posidonius. He is taking his place in the system of ἀρχαὶ καὶ πηγαί which constitutes the history of Greek thought. The typical representative of the Hellenists, collecting the pure fountains springing in the highlands of the Hellenic period and in the isolated peaks of his native Orient, he gave them forth tempered and blended to irrigate the quiet gardens of the plain.

Among the number of scholars who have endeavored to recover the personality of Posidonius, perhaps none has rendered a more important service than Dr. Jaeger in his recent book, *Nemesios von Emesa: Quellenforschungen zum Neuplatonismus und seinen Anfängen bei Poseidonios.* To be sure, the indispensable thing, the thing at present most urgently demanded, still remains to be done. In the philological literature of the last quarter century there are scattered countless observations and suggestions bearing on Posidonius. These must be collected and sifted. Beginning with properly attested opinions of Posidonius and combining with them and with one another such other data as the most rigorous philological and historical method shall yield, the scholar who undertakes the difficult but fruitful task will render a service second to none. At present Quellenforschung in this field is in danger of ascribing everything to Posidonius. Dr. Jaeger possesses the requisite enthusiasm and can doubtless school himself to exercise the necessary critical discrimination. If he should undertake the task many, who in the present state of the inquiry hesitate to publish their suggestions, would doubtless be pleased to present them for his consideration. Dr. Jaeger's book falls into two parts. Part I. *Galens Wissenschaftslehre und der ältere Neuplatonismus*, is a notable contribution to our knowledge of the later doxographic tradition. What Diels in his *Doxographi Graeci* called the *Vetusta Placita*, and has since called the *Posidonian Placita*, is now more clearly than ever defined by the researches of Dr. Jaeger, and shown to be connected with Posidonius' commentary on the *Timaeus*. We obtain also a clearer view of a number of pagan and Christian epitomes of it, and in particular of Galen's important work,

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Περὶ ἀποδείξεως. In this part there is hardly anything which the present writer would call in question. Part II. *Die Weltanschauung des Poseidonios bei Nemesios*, is not quite so satisfactory, and one cannot dispel the fear that much is credited specifically to Posidonius which was the common property of his age. Surely the tendency of Posidonius to harmonize conflicting views was not peculiar to him, but was the characteristic of his age, which was highly impressionable, but not singularly original. Much also which Dr. Jaeger takes for mystic fervor and the ecstatic vision of the Orphics is probably to be set down as nothing but rhetorical imitation of Plato τοῦ πάντα σεμνύνοντος.

Dr. Jaeger sometimes fails to see the connection of specific doctrines, which he attributes to Posidonius, with those of his predecessors. Thus when Philo (p. 111) speaks of earth being mixed with water, ἵνα ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ δεσμοῦ συνέχηται (ἡ γῆ), we must note that water is regarded by Aristotle, Hippocrates, and Empedocles as a sort of glue. Late authors interpreted the Empedoclean Φιλότης as water because of its glutinative powers, and even the figure of the δεσμός may have occurred in Empedocles. Diels' brilliant emendation yields the text δύω δέει ἄρθρον in fr. 32; and though we do not know the context of thought, it is altogether likely that Empedocles was referring either to Φιλότης or to ὕδωρ. Indeed, the Empedoclean Φιλότης is certainly the most important classical antecedent of Posidonius' theory of the δεσμός; for only when Φιλότης unites without destroying the warring elements does a κόσμος arise. Basilius clearly alluded to Empedocles in that connection. In other instances our author too hastily or with too little explanation concludes to sources, as when he declares (p. 109) that Heraclitus' harmony of the bow and the lyre was derived from the musical researches of Pythagoras. To make this obvious or probable would seem to require some explanation of παλίντροπος and τόξου.

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REPORTS.

REVUE DE PHILOLOGIE, XXXV (1911).

Pp. 5–14. Louis Havet, Virgile, Enéide 8, 65. The text of the passage, as we now have it, is: "Hic mihi (the Thybris speaks) magna domus celsis caput urbibus exit". The explanations given by the commentators are inadequate. "Hic" is on this spot, the site of the later Ostia, not at Rome, nor at a hypothetical Laurentum, nor at Lanuvium, nor at Ardea, nor at Lavinium. "Magna domus" refers to a temple that was to be erected by Aeneas, which Virgil identified with the temple that actually stood on the site in question, and the cella of which was two centuries later restored by Lucilius Gamala (CIL. XIV, 376, 16–17). "Caput" is the seat of a future confederation. By "celsis urbibus" is meant the towns up-stream that are to compose this confederation. "Exit" is probably a very ancient error for escit (=erit), which form occurs in the Twelve Tables, Ennius (superescit), and Lucretius (1, 619).

Pp. 15–17. Jean Maspero, Le titre d' "Apellôn" dans Jean de Nikiou. The term "apellôn" in chapters CVII and CVIII is a corruption of the Ethiopian transliteration of the word τριβοῦνος.

Pp. 18–27. Georges Lafaye, Lucilius, III, ITER SICULUM (MARX). The description of the road in verse 109 does not fit the Via Popilia. Vv. 107–108 seem to show that a friend (perhaps Sp. Mummius), who owned an estate 250 miles from Capua, had invited Lucilius to visit him at his villa, and had given him the directions comprised in vv. 98–108. For the corrupt "tlanus" of v. 117, the author suggests "nanus". V. 124 should be restored so as to read "ad portam mille a portu est exinde Salerni, i. e., "It is a mile from the landing to the gate of Salernum". In v. 131 read "student hi ligna videre" with Lachmann and Baehrens. V. 140 sq. read "Tantalus, qui poenas ob facta nefantia *pronus* | pendit.

Pp. 28–33. Georges Ramain, Sur l'emploi de l'infinitif d'exclamation chez Plaute et chez Térence. The exclamatory infinitive occurs 20 times in Plautus, and 40 times in Terence. The leading word is regularly provided with the interrogative particle, the particle being omitted only under certain well-defined conditions. The author makes use of his observa-

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tions in the critical treatment of a few passages of Terence's Phormio; viz., 501–503, 525–528, 709–710, 882–884.

Pp. 34–39. Adolphe J. Reinach, A propos de *l'himation* d'Alkiménès de Sybaris. The author rejects M. Dugas' explanation (BCH. 1910, 116–121) of Ps.-Aristot., De Mir. Ausc. 838 a 22 sq.: *ἑκατέρωθεν δὲ διείληπτο ζῳδίοις ἐνυφασμένοις, ἄνωθεν μὲν Σούσοις, κάτωθεν δὲ Πέρσαις*; shows that *ζῴδια* means not "figures in general" but "figures of men or of beasts"; adopts Heyne's correction *Σουσίοις* for *Σούσοις*, and translates with him "imagines Susiorum ac Persarum"; gives archaeological proof of the ethnological differences between Susians and Persians; and suggests that the *ἱμάτιον* in question was manufactured in Miletus about 530 B. C., Miletus being connected with Sybaris by the strongest ties of friendship.

Pp. 40–55. A. Bourgery, Les lettres à Lucilius sont-elles de vraies lettres? The author marshals the chief arguments that have been advanced in favor of the theory that the letters of Seneca do not constitute any real correspondence but were minor discussions, which Seneca found it most convenient to publish in epistolary form. The letters of Epicurus served as models, and as Epicurus immortalized the name of Idomeneus, so Seneca wished to hand down to posterity the name of Lucilius. Though investigation has shown that the letters are grouped in chronological order, and that none of them was written before the year 62 A. D., yet it is impossible to fix the exact dates of the individual letters. The references to the season or to the state of the weather are apt to be fictitious, the argument ex silentio is worth little or nothing, and supreme indifference to facts is characteristic of Seneca. The letters may, however, be divided into the following groups: 1. The first 29, which are characterized by their brevity, and the presence of a note of enthusiasm for Epicurus. These were written in a few days, probably in Dec. 62 or 63 A. D. 2. Letters 30–48, which were written shortly after the first group. None of these letters exceed five pages (ed. Hense) in length. 3. The Campanian letters (49–87). Some of these are rather long, running as high as fifteen pages. 4. The letters written at Rome or in the neighborhood of Rome (88–124). Some of these are veritable treatises, though others are very brief.

Pp. 56–70. Louis Mariès, Aurions-nous le commentaire sur les Psaumes de Diodore de Tarse? M. Jules Lebreton had commenced an edition of MS Coisl. 275, which bears the title, *Ὑπόθεσις καὶ ἑρμηνεία τοῦ ψαλτηρίου τῶν ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα ψαλμῶν ἀπὸ φωνῆς Ἀναστασίου μητροπολίτου Νικαίας*. After having transcribed about forty folios, he was obliged to give up the undertaking and passed it on to the author of this paper.

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M. Mariès completed the transcription and, in the course of his investigation of the literary connections and the tradition of the MS, he found that it contained all the fragments of Diodorus of Tarsus, 56 in number, that are found in the Paris "Catena" MSS gr. 139 (148), 140 (141, 163), and Coisl. 80. The average length of the fragments is from four to twelve lines, and some of the fragments are very much longer. The range of the psalms that are commented on extends from psalm 1 to psalm 89. As the commentary of our MS (Coisl. 275) is homogeneous, and the fragments in question fit the context perfectly, the author has reached the conclusion that there is evidence enough to justify him in raising the question as to whether the whole commentary is not the work of Diodorus of Tarsus.

Pp. 71–74. D. Serruys, ΑΠΟ ΦΩΝΗΣ. The discussion is apropos of the phrase ἀπὸ φωνῆς, which occurs in the title of the commentary that formed the subject of the previous article. Serruys finds that the phrase in question does not refer to the mere dictation of an original work, as Du Cange and the Thesaurus maintain, but that it always implies some modification of the original, whether the modified form be an outline, expansion, adaptation, paraphrase, collection of extracts, or what not.

Pp. 75–88. L. Laurand, Les fins d'hexamètre dans les discours de Cicéron. The author presents a list and an analysis of all the heroic clausulae that are found at the end of the sentence in the speeches of Cicero. He shows that these clausulae are not nearly so rare as has been thought. It would therefore be a serious mistake to try to do away with all of them by emendation. In dealing with this question one must bear in mind that under certain circumstances these clausulae are unavoidable. To be sure, the clausulae favored by Cicero are very few in number. But the orator does not always display the same skill in the handling of his rhythms. In his youth, Cicero is not the master that he was in his maturer years. Moreover, the care devoted to rhythmical clausulae, as to the other elements of style, varies with the character of the speech, the various divisions of the speech, and even with the tone of the individual sentence.

Pp. 89–94. J. Marouzeau, Note complémentaire sur l'emploi du participe présent latin. In a previous essay (Paris, Champion, 1910), the author had presented the results of a study of the use of the present participle in the continuous texts of the republican period. In the present paper the author shows that the ISS and the fragments serve to confirm the conclusion announced in his former article, viz., that the employment of the present participle is more frequent and more varied in propor-

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tion as the author deviates from current usage and adopts a more learned style.

Pp. 95–122. Bulletin bibliographique.

Pp. 123–139. A. S. Arvanitopoullos, Inscriptions inédites de Thessalie. Continuation of the author's publication of new Thessalian inscriptions. Nos. 1–25 of these appeared in the *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς*. The present instalment comprises Nos. 26–37. 26. Archaizing IS, 1st cent. B. C., 6 lines. Note *Δαμμάτηρ* (with two *μ*'s); *λειτορεύσανσα = ἱερητεύσασα*; *πετροετηρίς = τετραετηρίς*. 27. Agonistic IS, time of Sulla, 17 lines. Note the first appearance of *Κλειτόριος* in Thessalian ISS, and the new name *Ἀλκοίτας*. 31. Dedicatory IS to Zeus *Περφερέτας*, 1st cent. B. C. 33. *Ν]ικοδίκα γυνὰ | Κλεαρχεία*, 3d or 4th cent. B. C. Note use of proper adj. for the genitive. 36. IS of 133 lines in two columns. Record of vineyards and other land purchased by the city of Homolion. The author assigns the IS to the 3d cent. B. C. It is composed in the *κοινή*. Noteworthy is the use of the sign Π for 1000, which has hitherto been found only in the ISS of Priene and Didyma, and in the Elephantine Papyri.

Pp. 140–143. Camille Jullian, Les énigmes historiques de Lectoure sous l'empire romain. Suggestion that Lactora was once upon a time the seat of a sacerdotal kingship, and that, owing to its fidelity to the Roman people, it for a long time formed a distinct district managed by an imperial procurator. (The grandfather of Piso Aquitanus, cf. Caes. B. G. 4, 12. 4, may have been the king of *Ἰοντώρα*, cf. Diodor. XXXIV–XXXV, 36. The author identifies *Ἰοντώρα* with Lactora.)

Pp. 144–178. Philippe Fabia, La mère de Néron—à propos d'un plaidoyer pour Agrippine. In an article entitled "Néron," which appeared in the Revue de Paris, 1906, M. Guglielmo Ferrero set up an elaborate defence of Agrippina, the mother of Nero. The present article contains a rebuttal of his arguments and a rectification of some of his statements. Ferrero had expressed surprise that for so many centuries people had read Tacitus without noticing the "incredible improbabilities, absurdities and contradictions with which his works abound," and he felt aggrieved that the history of the first century of the empire was still written after this "romancer, whose lack of critical spirit is hardly surpassed by his literary ability". Whilst admitting that Tacitus is not an ideal historian, Fabia rejects the crushing criticism of Ferrero. He shows that Ferrero has not read Tacitus either often enough or carefully enough, and that the faults with which he charges Tacitus are really Ferrero's own. "Careless disregard of tradition", Fabia goes on to say, "and a mania for the paradox have nothing in common with a critical spirit, and the history of the first century of the empire, such as it is told by Tacitus,

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and above all as it is told after him and revised by the help of other testimony, is much more likely to be true than Ferrero's 'Néron', in which free rein is given to fancy and imagination".

Pp. 179–182. Bernard Haussoullier, ΠΡΟΗΝΕΜΟΣ ΠΑΡΑΣΤΑΣ, ΠΡΟΗΝΕΜΙΔΕΣ ΘΥΡΑΙ. In a recent discussion (BCH., 1910, 501–504), M. F. Courby identified the expression *προηνεμίδες θύραι*, which occurs several times in the ISS of Delos, as the doors of the pronaos and of the opisthodomos of the temple. Haussoullier, who praises Courby's work very highly, calls attention to the two occurrences of the word *προήνεμος*, which were unknown to Courby, in an IS relating to the temple of Apollo at Didyma. The expression *προήνεμος παραστάς*, as Haussoullier had pointed out in Rev. de Phil. 1905, p. 260, refers to the east façade of the naos. H. also adduces two other instances of *προήνεμος* from the ISS published by Wiegand in his Bericht ueber Milet und Didyma, Abh. BAkW., 1911.

Pp. 183–193. Édouard Cuq, Une fondation en faveur de la ville de Delphes en 315 de notre ère. Reproduction and discussion of the text of the Delphic IS regarding the amendment of the terms of a gift that had been made by Lucius Gellius Menogenes and his wife. I. With *μυριάδων ἑκατὸν ἁπλῶν* supply *δηναρίων* or *ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν*. *ἁπλοῦς* means "pure", "not debased", and corresponds to the Latin "probus". II. *πεντήκοντα μυριάδας σινπλαρίας* probably represents the simple "summa legitima" (cf. the Latin "simplaria" venditio, "simpla" pecunia), which the law compelled the donor to pay in consequence of his election to the office of president of the *δαμιουργοί*, as opposed to the "duplicata", "multiplicata", or "ampliata" pecunia. III. In *εἰς τὴν λοῦσιν τῶν βαλανείων*, *λοῦσις* means the privilege of bathing with the necessary accessories. (Cf. lavatio, lavacrum in ISS and Dig.) IV. The senate and the donor's wife are appointed trustees for a year, with the proviso that the sum donated be placed on deposit with the city's banker. As the trust was created in perpetuity, the management of the trust was automatically renewed from year to year. V. The amended terms of the gift were ratified by the *δαμιουργοί*, a board upon whom devolved the execution of the council's acts relating to the city's financial affairs.

Pp. 194–202. D. Serruys, Une source gnostique de l'Apocalypse de Paul. The original text of the Apocalypse of Paul has been lost. The Greek text that we now have has undergone abridgments and revisions that show the influence of doctrinal considerations. The Latin and other versions also are not faithful renderings of the original. Nevertheless, a comparison of the various versions, and more particularly

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of the Greek and of the principal Latin version, shows that the original was a compilation of a number of apocalyptic writings, one of which was a gnostic apocalypse that was current in Naasene circles.

Pp. 203–204. H. Alline, Sur un passage de Psellos relatif au *Phèdre*. A text of Psellos published in Hermes, XXXIV, 316–319, is emended at lines 17 and 90 sq.

Pp. 205–215. J. Marouzeau, Sur l'ordre des mots. The first part of the paper is a study of the artistic effect of the separation of the attributive adjective from its substantive. This separation serves to heighten the logical, descriptive, or aesthetic value of the epithet. When used by a good poet, like Virgil, the device is a most valuable aesthetic aid, whilst in the hands of a poor poet, it becomes a vulgar and wearisome artifice, which serves only to betray the writer's poverty of thought. The second part of the paper discusses the Latin order of words in relation to the question of translation. The writer denies that in Latin the order of words reflects the exact train of thought of the speaker or writer. The Roman makes use of the freedom permitted in the order of words to produce effects that are obtained by entirely different means in languages that have a fixed order of words.

P. 215. B. H., Epigraphica. χίλια ζεύγη in IG. II, 176 does not mean "a thousand yoke of oxen," but "the equivalent of the amount of work that a thousand yoke of oxen perform in a day."

Pp. 216–230. Bulletin Bibliographique.

Pp. 231–253. L. Delaruelle, Études critiques sur le texte du *de Divinatione*. In the first part of the paper the author emends De Div. II, 29; 145; 10; I, 36; 97; 115, and tells us that transpositions similar to those that M. Havet discovered in the Cato Maior, have taken place also in the De Div. The amount of the text transposed is equal in every case to one or two lines of the leaf of the Tusc. Disp. published by Clark in the Mélanges Chatelain. Hence the conclusion that the transposed groups represent one or two lines of an archetype that were first overlooked by a copyist, then replaced in the margin of the copy, and finally inserted at the wrong place in the body of the text. The second part of the paper presents a critical treatment of various other passages of the De Div., viz., I, 6–7; 39; 96; II, 12–13; 36; 113; 124.

P. 254. Charles Picard, Note sur une inscription de Thasos. In IG. XII, 8, 269, line 8 sq. read [ἕκασ]τον instead of [αὐ]τὸν.

Pp. 255–275. A. Delatte, La lettre de Lysis à Hipparque. Study of a letter ascribed by tradition to the Pythagorean philosopher Lysis of Thebes and addressed to the Pythagorean

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Hipparchus. There is a double tradition of the letter. The first form, designated as A, is found in Jamblichus' Life of Pythagoras, §§ 75–78, and goes back to Timaeus. The second form, designated as B, is presented by certain MSS upon which Hercher based his text of the letter in his Epistolographi Graeci. Diogenes Laertius (VIII, 42) appears to have known a modified form of B. After a detailed study of the first form of the letter, the author reaches the conclusion that there is nothing about the letter that would militate against its authenticity. Unfortunately, the only positive authority that can be adduced in support of the traditional ascription is the historian Timaeus. But the authority of Timaeus is not conclusive on this point, as he may have found the letter in some collection of Pythagorean documents without suspecting its authenticity. However, though the letter may not be genuine, it certainly originated in a Pythagorean circle of the fourth century, and it constitutes an important historical document. Form B shows a different introduction from that of form A, and, besides, it refers to certain ὑπομνήματα of which A knows nothing. These ὑπομνήματα are said to have been entrusted by Pythagoras to his daughter Damo, and later to have passed into the possession of his granddaughter Bitale. Delatte thinks that perhaps the author of the Ps.-Pythagorean treatises entitled παιδευτικόν, πολιτικόν, and φυσικόν, which belong to the second or to the first century B. C., modified the letter of Lysis and used it as an introduction to his treatises.

Pp. 276–281. H. de La Ville de Mirmont, Les *fabulae* de Statorius Victor. The fabulae of Statorius Victor that are mentioned by Seneca, Suas. 2, 18, were not fables but tragedies. At the time of the elder Seneca, fabula had not yet become the synonym of apologus. Though fabella and fabula are used also of a story or an anecdote, the term fabula is principally used of a dramatic composition. Hence, it would seem that Statorius Victor deserves a place equally with Balbus and Seneca in the Index Poetarum at the end of Ribbeck's Tragicorum Fragmenta.

Pp. 282–305. A. S. Arvanitopoullos, Inscriptions inédites de Thessalie. (Continuation from pp. 123–139 above.) Nos. 38–50. 38. Δαμόκκας. This is a pet name for Δαμοκράτης. 40. Fairly well-preserved IS of 37 lines from Thaumakoi. 1st cent. B. C. Records of enfranchisement. In addition to other interesting details, this IS furnishes important information in regard to a number of strategi of the Thessalian confederacy, and enables the author to revise the list of strategi given in IG. IX, 2, xxiv–xxv. It also presents the names of four hitherto unknown months of Thaumakoi, and records a number of new proper names. 41 and 41a. ISS of 23 and 25 lines respectively. There are many lacunae. The subject is the arbi-

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tration of a boundary dispute between Ἀγγειαί and Κτιμένη. The ISS yield the highly interesting information of the existence of the cult of Omphale among the Dolopians. 43. Ἀντικράτεια Κλιοδαμεία γυνά. Ὅ[σ]ιον. Δίκαιον. Κλιοδαμεία γυνά = γυνὰ Κλιοδάμου. Note the formula ὅσιον, δίκαιον, of which this is the first occurrence. 48. First mention of a gymnasiarch among the Magnetes. 49. Θ]έμιδι ἀ[γ]ο | ραίαι. First half of the 5th cent. B. C. 50. Curious fragmentary IS from Pharsalos. 4th cent. B. C. The letters of the first four lines are enclosed in rectangles resulting from horizontal and vertical ruling. The IS furnishes the first mention of Thetis in Thessalian ISS. Note also the use of the strange participle καδικεύοντες, which the author connects with κάδδιχος and κάδδιξ. Several addenda and corrigenda to ISS 26–37 are here appended.

Pp. 306–307. Louis Havet, Lucrèce 6, 1132. For "iam pigris calantibus" read "lanigeris palantibus".

Pp. 308–313. Bulletin bibliographique.

Pp. 315–329. D. Serruys, Fragments de Stobée. Serruys has presented a description, discussion, and complete collation of a hitherto unused MS of a few pages of Stobaeus, viz., folios 126 verso, 121, 122 and 120 of Parisinus gr. 3012. He shows that the principal source of the text of this MS goes back to a tradition that was independent of the common archetype of all the other MSS. At a given point of time, this independent tradition, which is here designated as Y, was contaminated by means of a MS of the type A + A^r. Furthermore, even the common source of Y and of the archetype of our hitherto used MSS had undergone serious changes, as is evidenced by the number of *cruces* for which the text of our new MS affords no remedy. But despite these changes, this common source was greatly superior to the lacunose, corrupt, and arbitrarily touched up copy from which our hitherto used MSS are derived.

Pp. 330–336. Salomon Reinach, Sur deux passages de Lucain. In Lucan, 7, 28, Reinach proposes to read, "Di similes (for unde pares) somnos populis noctemque beatam!" At verse 43, he defends the text, "O miseri, quorum gemitus *edere* dolorem".

Pp. 336–337. J. E. Harry, Euripide, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 96–103. In verse 98, read ἐκβησόμεσθ'; ἀπωσμένων (sc. κλῃθρων) μάθοιμεν ἄν.

Pp. 338–346. ΝΙΚΟΣ Α. ΒΕΗΣ, Quelques manuscrits grecs. Description of several new MSS. I. Two new MSS of Sophocles discovered by the author in 1904. The most important of the two is MS 64 of the library of the monastery of Mega-

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spelaeon at Kalavryta. This MS contains the Ajax and the Electra of Sophocles and the Hecuba and the Orestes of Euripides. The marginal scholia agree with our published scholia. The MS was written in the 15th century. The other MS of Sophocles is No. 161 of Βέης' reclassified MSS of Megaspelaeon. Besides an anonymous paraenetic work, it contains the Hecuba and the Orestes of Euripides, Fragments of the Anthology of Manuel Chrysoloras, Sophocles' Ajax, Extracts from Moeris, and Hesiod's Works and Days. This MS belongs to the 18th century. II. MS of Stephanos of Byzantium, dating from the 14th or the beginning of the 15th century, and belonging to the public library of Zakynthos. There is a lacuna between κελαίθρα and κόρακες. III. MS of the Biblical Commentary of Theodoretos of Kyrrhos, belonging to the library of Andritsaena in Olympia, and dated 1552 A. D. This MS was written by Constantine Palaeocappa. It contains only the commentary on Genesis and Exodus. MS 1050 of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris seems to be the continuation of our MS.

Pp. 347–348. Édouard Cuq, Addendum ad Rev. de Phil. XXXV, 1911, 183–193. Results of a new examination by Bourguet of the IS in question.

Pp. 349–370. Bulletin bibliographique.

The following supplementary publications are appended:

Revue des Revues et Publications d'Académies relatives à l'antiquité classique. Fascicules publiés en 1910. 241 pp.

Revue des Comptes rendus d'ouvrages relatifs à l'antiquité classique. 1re année. Comptes rendus parus en 1910. 93 pp.

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ROMANIA, Vol. XLII (1913).

Janvier.

C. R. Borland et R. L. G. Ritchie. Fragments d'une traduction française en vers de la Chronique en Prose de Guillaume Le Breton. 22 pages. Miss C. R. Borland in cataloguing the Laing collection in the library of the University of Edinburgh recently came across two vellum leaves evidently recovered from an old binding. The manuscript to which they belonged was probably copied in France towards the year 1380. Various notes on the margins give clues to the manuscript's history on English soil. The original French work was written between

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1216 and 1220, and was one of the treatises utilized by Vincent of Beauvais in his *Speculum Historiale.* The versification here preserved in fragmentary form was probably due to the pen of Jehan de Prunai, who composed it about the year 1227.

Albert Dauzat. Notes sur la palatalisation des consonnes. 11 pages. This study of palatalization in the Romance languages seeks to establish two new principles, which the author formulates as follows:

La palatalisation est susceptible d'acquérir ou de conserver plus d'intensité devant une voyelle tonique que devant une voyelle atone;

Dans tout groupe palatal, l'élément occlusif sonore a moins de résistance que l'élément occlusif sourd correspondant.

It is a remarkable fact that the numerous examples of consonantal palatalization in the Romance languages were produced exclusively during two periods separated from each other by a considerable time.

Amos Parducci. La Istoria di Susanna e Daniello, poemetto popolare italiano antico. 42 pages. The author publishes a critical edition based on the texts printed during a century or more after 1490 A. D., there being no manuscript of the poem known. The original composition of the poem must, however, be placed much earlier, and it is probably to be assigned to the region about Siena or Arezzo. The poem itself is anonymous, but it may perhaps be assigned to Niccolò Cieco d'Arezzo, who died some time after 1410.

Mélanges. C. De Boer, Sur un fragment publié de l'Ovide moralisé. A. Jeanroy, Prov. Far col e cais. A. Thomas, Le De claustro anime et le Roman de Troie. A. Thomas, A propos de Jehan de Brie. A. Thomas, Sur la date de la chute du D intervocaliqe an Gaule.

Comptes rendus. Le Roman de Troie, par Benoit de Sainte-Maure, p. p. Léopold Constans ("Avec le texte du roman de Thèbes, dû également à ses soins, ... la critique entre en possession d'éléments capitaux pour l'histoire du roman français au moyen âge . . . M. Constans a attaché son nom à deux des œuvres historiquement les plus importantes de notre littérature médiévale: il faut l'en féliciter".—Edmond Faral). Alfons Hilka und Werner Söderhjelm, Petri Alfonsi Disciplina Clericalis (Lucien Foulet et M. R.). A. Jeanroy et J.-J. Salverda de Grave, Poésies de Uc de Saint-Circ (Giulio Bertoni). Duc de la Salle de Rochemaure, Les Troubadours cantaliens, XIIe-XXe siècles (A. Jeanroy). René Lavaud, Les Troubadours cantaliens, XIIe-XIXe siècles (A. Jeanroy). F. Novati, Contributo alla storia della lirica musicale italiana popolareggiante dei sec. XV, XVI, XVII (G. Bertoni). Charles Oulmont, La poésie morale, politique

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et dramatique à la veille de la Renaissance: Pierre Gringore; Etude sur la langue de Pierre Gringore (Henri Chatelain). Mildred K. Pope and Eleanor C. Lodge, Life of The Black Prince (P. M.).

Correspondance. A. C. Ott, de Stuttgard, le 1er décembre, 1912; A. Långfors, de Helsingfors. décembre, 1912. E. Veÿ; Jules Ronjat.

Périodiques. Časopis pro moderni filologii, 1 (M. R.). Giornale Storico della Letteratura italiana, t. XXXVI–XLII (A. Linden records a notice, by Rostagno, of M. P. Brush, The Isopo Laurenziano). Revista pentru istorie, archeologie şi filologie, X–XII (M. R.). Studi glottologici italiani, VI (M. R.). Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, XXXV, 4–6, XXXVI, 1 (F. Rechnitz, St. Stroński et M. R.).

Chronique. Obituary notice of Alphonse Bos. French MSS at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire (fragment of a fable by Marie de France). Publications annoncées. Collections et publications en cours.

Comptes rendus sommaires. 29 titles. Percival Bradshaw Fay, Elliptical partitiv usage in affirmativ clauses in French prose of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (H. Yvon). Aucassin et Nicolette, édité par G. Tournoux ("jolie curiosité typographique"). Carl Zipperling, Das altfranzösische Fablel du vilain mire (A. Långfors).

Avril.

Giulio Bertoni. Denominazioni del "Ramarro" (lacerta viridis) in Italia. 13 pages. A dialectical and etymological investigation abounding in minute details.

Am. Pagès. Poésies catalanes inédites du ms. 377 de Carpentras. 30 pages. 1. Conte d'amour. This poem was composed towards the end of the fourteenth century. It begins somewhat in the manner of the Lanval of Marie de France, and gives both a physical and a moral portrait of the lady, in the midst of which the poem suddenly breaks off. 2. Chansons en l'honneur du sacré-cœur de Jésus. These poems are dedicated to Cardinal Jacme d'Aragon, which fact places their date between the years 1387 and 1392. They are based largely on Provençal tradition, and are a curious attempt to adapt the latter to a religious subject.

Louis Brandin. Le livre de preuve. 51 pages. The author of the French text does not mention his own name; but he gives his poem as a translation of a Latin work composed at Pampelune by an illustrious astronomer named "Rigaus". The editor attempts to identify this unknown author with a Jewish astronomer of the eleventh century, whose works

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were well-known in Spain. As an appendix there is published a similar Latin text from a Paris manuscript.

Mélanges. O. Bloch, Notes de lexicographie lorraine et franc-comtoise: 1. Grief et ses dérivés. 2. *Novelaison. A. Jeanroy, A propos d'une récente édition de Folquet de Marseille. M. Esposito, Prière anglo-normande en quatrains. Henri Chatelain, Notes sur le Mistere de Saint Adrien. A. Thomas, Un manuscrit perdu du Roman du comte d'Anjou.

Comptes rendus. W.-N. Bolderston, La vie de saint Remi par Richier (Emmanuel Philipot). Arthur C. L. Brown, On the Independent Character of the Welsh Owain (A. G. van Hamel). W. Foerster, Wilhelm von England (A. Smirnov). Jules Gilliéron et Mario Roques, Etudes de Géographie linguistique (Albert Dauzat). Kr. Nyrop, Grammaire historique de la langue française, t. 4 (Lucien Foulet).

Périodiques. Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, CXXII-CXXVII ("A. Tacke, Eine 'Rettung' der Marie de France. Corrige une erreur de M. Warnke, éditeur des œuvres de Marie de France, et commente la fable du lion qui va à la chasse avec la chèvre et le mouton. Dans une note additionnelle M. H. Morf discute l'identification, récemment proposée de la poétesse avec Marie, abbesse de Shaftesbury".—Arthur Långfors). Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 13e année (Lucien Foulet). Répertoire d'art et d'archéologie (M. R.). Revue des Langues romanes, t. LIII-LV (Lucien Foulet). Revue de Philologie française et de littérature, t. XXVI (H. Yvon).

Chronique. Obituary notices of Honoré Champion and Carl Wahlund. Publications annoncées: Table de la Romania, t. XXXI–XL, par Lucien Foulet. Collections et publications en cours: Analysis of the Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, nos. 1–20.

Comptes rendus sommaires. 15 titles. The Enueg by Raymond Thompson Hill ("Le sujet est intéressant et nouveau".—A. Jeanroy).

Juillet.

Lucien Foulet. Le poème de Richeut et le Roman de Renard. 10 pages. Doubts are expressed as to the correctness of the commonly assumed early date, and the supposed historical allusions are discussed at some length.

Ernest Langlois. La traduction de Boèce par Jean de Meun. 39 pages. There have been preserved to us in manuscripts now in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris eight translations of Boëthius, De Consolatione Philosophiae, in at least forty-seven manuscripts. To these must, of course, be added

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many manuscripts in other libraries. Two of the translations mentioned are in prose, two partly in verse and partly in prose, and four in verse. Scholars have entertained various theories concerning the origin of these versions, and these are carefully examined by the author of the present article. The chief point of interest in the whole question is the possible authorship of Jehan de Meün, the celebrated author of the Roman de la Rose. Questions of plagiarism and literary falsifications greatly complicate a situation already sufficiently complex in itself, and many problems still remain unsolved.

Antoine Thomas. Étimolojies françaises et provançales. 60 pages. The etymologies of thirty-four words and groups of words are here discussed in detail. They belong to quite a variety of linguistic domains on French soil.

Mélanges. Carlo Salvioni, Versioni valdostane della parabola del figliuol prodigo tratte dalle carte Biondelli. A. Jeanroy, Notes critiques sur Hueline et Aiglantine. A. Thomas, Gui de Tournant, chançon de jeste perdue.

Comptes rendus. V. de Bartholomaeis, Liriche antiche dell' alta Italia (G. Bertoni). F. de Gélis, Histoire critique des Jeux Floraux depuis leur origine jusqu'à leur transformation en Académie, 1323–1694 (M. R.). Alfred Jeanroy, Les chansons de Guillaume IX, duc d'Aquitaine, 1071–1127 (Giulio Bertoni). Julius Schmidt, Le Jugement d'Amours (Edmond Faral).

Correspondance. M. R. replies to M. Jean Acher, Sur l'x finale des manuscrits.

Périodiques. Bulletin de dialectologie romane, I–IV (G. Millardet). Revue de dialectologie romane, I–IV ("A. M. Espinosa, Studies in New Mexican Spanish . . . . Son étude est sérieuse et remplie de renseignements inédits sur les parlers d'une région qui lui est particulièrement familière".—G. Millardet). Studi medievali, III (A. Parducci). Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur, XXXIX, 1re et 2e parties (Edmond Faral).

Chronique. Obituary notice of Gustav Körting. Mélanges Émile Picot.

Publications annoncées. M. R. Thompson Hill prépare une édition de la Vie de sainte Euphrosyne d'après les mss. de l'Arsenal, de Bruxelles, La Haye et Oxford.

Comptes rendus sommaires. 11 titles. John M. Burnam, Palaeografia iberica, 1er fasc. ("Nous étions jusqu'ici assez pauvres en fac-similés de mss. espagnols et surtout portugais, le recueil de M. B. sera donc le bienvenu".—M. R.) J.-P. Wickersham Crawford, The Catalan Mascarón and an episode

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in Jacob van Maerlant's Merlijn ("L'étude de M. Crawford a le mérite d'attirer de nouveau l'attention sur un sujet intéressant; malheureusement, l'auteur, travaillant en Amérique, n'a pu connaître qu'une partie des textes".—G. Huet).

Octobre.

A. Jeanroy. La "Sestina doppia" de Dante et les origines de la sextine. 9 pages. The true sextine is based upon three metrical principles, but Dante has in this poem only applied two of the three. The modifications introduced by Dante are discussed at some length. Riquier was not the inventor of this poetical form, but merely its most celebrated and frequent user.

Lucien Foulet. Notes sur le texte de Villon. 27 pages. Villon is the most original and perhaps also the most difficult of Mediaeval authors. In spite of the notable investigations of prominent scholars there yet remains much that is obscure in his text. These difficulties may be divided into four main categories: 1. Historical allusions that escape us largely at the present day; 2. The uncertainty of the text tradition as found in the manuscripts and early editions; 3. Faulty interpretation of passages themselves correct in form; and 4. Misunderstanding of the language, fashions and affectations of the time. Villon was a habitué of the taverns and low places, and his works throw a curious light on the elegant life of the time on its seamy side. The study of his many idiomatic phrases is most intricate and demands a wide range of reading in contemporary literature for purposes of comparison.

Pio Rajna. Intorno a due antiche coperte con figurazioni tratte dalle storie di Tristano. 63 pages. Some twenty years ago Contessa Maddalena Guicciardini found in the town of Usella a curious quilt representing in relief scenes from the romance of Tristan with descriptive wording in Gothic characters. Strange to say, a very similar quilt was found a few years later to be on exhibition in the South Kensington Museum in London; and a comparison between them is now made possible by means of the excellent facsimiles published with the present article. The London quilt is larger than that at Usella, and a comparison of the two shows that the latter has lost its border on one side. Thus the London quilt has fourteen scenes, only eight of which are to be found in the other. The scanty text on both quilts is also published in this article, and discussed at great length both from a literary and a linguistic point of view. The dialect forms employed appear to point to Sicily and the end of the fourteenth century.

Mélanges. Oscar Bloch, L'article Entefiner de Godefroy. J. Jud, Mots allemands d'origine romane. Artur Långfors, Nouveau fragment de la Vengeance Raguidel. George L.

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Hamilton, L'histoire de Troie dans l'art du moyen âge avant le Roman de Troie.

Comptes rendus. Félix Arnaudin, Chants populaires de la Grande-Lande et des régions voisines; musique, texte patois et traduction française, tome I (Georges Millardet). Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis, 1. La "metgia" di Aimeric de Peguilhan; 2. Il "conselh" di Falquei de Romans a Federico II imperatore; 3. La canzone "Fregz ni neus" di Elia Cairel; 4. Osservazioni sulle poesie provenzali relative a Federico II (René Lavaud et A. Jeanroy). Joseph Bédier, Les légendes épiques; recherches sur la formation des Chansons de geste (Ferdinand Lot). Erhard Lommatsch, Gautier de Coincy als Satiriker (Arthur Långfors). F. Melcher, Fraseologia rumauntscha (J. Jud). F. Melcher, Rapport generel davart l'idioticon retorumauntsch (J. Jud). H. Schuchardt, Nubisch und Baskisch (J. Jud).

Périodiques. Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie, 23e–25e année ["'Zur altfranzösischen Fabelliteratur'. Sous ce titre G. C. Keidel analyse L. Sudre, Les Fables (dans Petit de Julleville, II, 1–13), Faguet, Histoire de la littérature, 55–8, Suchier et Birch-Hirschfeld, Geschichte der fr. Lit., 201–2; il publie une version inédite du coq et de la perle extraite de l'Image du Monde de Gautier de Metz (B. N. fr. 24428, f° 7 v°, col. 1) et discute contre G. Paris les rapports entre l'Ysopet I et II de Paris et l'Ysopet-Avionnet".—G. Cohen. Brief notices of R. Weeks, The primitive Prise d'Orange; Origin of the Covenant Vivien; John J. Schlicher, The origin of rythmical verse in late latin; L. F. Mott, The provençal Lyric; Karl Pietsch, Preliminary notes on two old Spanish versions of the Disticha Catonis.]. Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, X. XVI, 2–6 (Notice, by L. Foulet, of G. L. Hamilton, La sour c d'un épisode de Baudouin de Sebourc).

Chronique. Obituary notices of Stanislas Bormans, Arthur Graf, Florian Melcher, L. Passy and Baron Charles de Tourtoulon. Publications annoncées. Collections et publications en cours.

Comptes rendus sommaires. 9 titles. Among them 'la cinquième édition de la Littérature française au moyen âge de Gaston Paris", of which "les notes bibliographiques ont été considérablement augmentées par M. Paul Meyer".

GEORGE C. KEIDEL.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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BRIEF MENTION.

The sentimental observance of birthdays, universal on the Continent, is still somewhat exceptional in England. In the German annual, Minerva, the birthday of each professor is religiously recorded, not as a *memento mori* for the teacher, but as a hint to the taught, and the French *jour de fête* tells its own story. When my coëval, Frederic Harrison, rounded out his eightieth year, he is reported to have celebrated the occasion by taking a long solitary walk and afterwards entertaining chance callers at tea in his rose-garden. But the solidarity of the nations—I remember when the phrase was born—is making itself felt more and more, and tributes of respect and affection in the form of collected essays, so common in France and Germany, are making their appearance more and more frequently in England and America. A busy life of sixty or seventy years, the completion of twenty-five years of academic service, these dates furnish opportunities for manifestations of regard, and occasions of bewilderment to the reviewer. What one reviewer, for instance, would be equal to a characterization of the fifty odd contributions which make up the superb volume of *Essays and Studies* dedicated to that rare genius, WILLIAM RIDGEWAY, on his sixtieth birthday, 6 August, 1913 (Cambridge, At the University Press)? The cover is adorned by an escutcheon—the crest a camel couchant, the motto MIHI GRAVATO DEUS. Nothing more appropriate, crest and motto both, for the average editor in view of all this wealth of content, which no one, I venture to say, could take up so lightly as the honoured scholar to whom the volume is dedicated, himself equally at home in Classics and Archaeology, Mediaeval Literature and History, himself a dominant figure in Anthropology and Comparative Literature. 'Take up so lightly', I have written, for it is the easy mastery of each subject and the flash of native genius that commend RIDGEWAY'S writings to those who can only learn from him. As GODLEY says in his dedicatory verses:

> Of tedious pedants though the world be full,
> While RIDGEWAY lives, Research can ne'er be dull!

A list of these fifty *Essays and Studies* would give the aspect of a catalogue to the pages which I reserve for the

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quisquiliae of *Brief Mention*, and the fewest of these *Essays and Studies* fall within the narrow range in which I may be supposed to have some right to an opinion. In the whole volume there is scarcely anything that deals with Greek Syntax. True, in his essay on the *Evolution of Primitive Thought*, Mr. S. A. Cook quotes with approval the saying of Driver: 'The great masterpieces of Greek literature were all familiar to the scholars of the sixteenth century, and yet some of the most serious blots on the Authorised Version of the New Testament are due to the translators' ignorance of some quite elementary principles of Greek syntax'. But what are the elementary principles of Greek syntax depends very much on the point of view. 'Serious blots' often appear on unauthorized Greek versions of English poems (A. J. P. XXIII 3), and, unwilling as I am to mar the effect of my cordial reception of the volume to which I owe some happy hours of enjoyment and enlightenment, I cannot refrain from one of those reminiscences to which old age is so prone. Nearly a score of years ago an American epigraphist translated ΔΙΑ ΣΩΤΗΡΑ 'By the Saviour' (A. J. P. XVIII 119). The rendering was greeted with shouts of derision by European scholars, whereupon ensued a lamentable attempt to shift the responsibility of what was considered a gross blunder, and that outburst of mockery seems to have had a chilling effect on future publications of the whole series of inscriptions. And now comes Mr. E. Harrison, who in a discussion of the famous ΔΙΑ ΛΙΘΟΝ admits a possibility of the very rendering that was scouted all those years ago, and indulges in renderings that show a sad vagueness as to the uses of διά c. gen. and διά c. acc. (A. J. P. XXIV 104).

Among the strictly philological articles that make up the Ridgeway volume is an essay on the *Platonic Canon*, in which Professor J. L. Beare has undertaken to readjust the order of the dialogues according to the rôle played in each of them by the famous identification of ἀρετή with ἐπιστήμη. Having just emerged from the reading of Max Pohlenz, *Aus Platos Werdezeit* (Weidmann, 1913), I am not in a fit condition to discuss Mr. Beare's thesis, and content myself with noting that as a natural consequence of his reconstruction, the Menexenus is contemptuously banished to the limbo of the spurious dialogues, whereas Herr Pohlenz has consecrated fifty odd pages to the study of the Menexenus as an important document of Plato's early views of history and political life. Such are the variations of Platonism, worse even than the variations of Protestantism. As usual, the great trouble is the ter-

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minology. ἐπιστήμη is as hard to translate as Mr. Bury, the Younger, (A. J. P. XXXI 237) found ἔρως to be. Neither 'knowledge' nor 'understanding' is satisfactory, and ἐπιστήμη has been taken over bodily into our metaphysical pantheon like one of Usener's 'opaque gods' (A. J. P. XVII 363), and we speak familiarly of 'epistemology'.

In order to awaken in wider circles an interest in Archaeology, the Archaeological Institute of America has undertaken the issue of a new magazine, *Art and Archaeology*, the plan of which is set forth in the first number, which happily initiates the new enterprise:

> The purpose of *Art and Archaeology* is to give people, in an interesting and attractive way, the information they wish to have in the wide realm embraced by its name. This information is imparted by interesting reading matter prepared by men and women who are masters in their several fields, and by beautiful pictures produced by approved modern processes. Human interest, timeliness and literary merit are the tests applied in the selection of articles, and artistic quality and appropriateness are the standards in the selection of illustrations.

The late Mortimer Lamson Earle, instead of saying that the style of a certain writer, like olives, was an acquired taste, compared it to the palm-pith in the Anabasis (2, 3, 16), with its ἰδιότης τῆς ἡδονῆς. Earle knew the ripe olives of Greece. No acquired taste are they. He was merciful enough not to continue the quotation, καὶ τοῦτο κεφαλαλγές. The Anabasis is not often quoted. Like the commentaries of Julius Caesar, the associations are too painful. Outside of 'Gallia omnis' and Κῦρος ἐξελαύνει, which serve the purpose of 'Arma virumque', there is seldom an allusion to either of these classic engines of torture. The boasted ἀφέλεια of Xenophon does not commend itself to the average schoolboy; the humour is very thin, and it is only the advanced student that tastes out the foreign tang in the honey of the Attic bee, or takes to heart the encomium of Aristeides. When it was my fortune to teach the Anabasis and correct Greek exercises based on the Anabasis, a favorite pedagogic device, I prepared, as much I must confess for my own sake as for the alleviation of my pupils, a special series of my own in which I narrated the adventures of a camp-follower of the Ten Thousand, whose report, couched in the language of Xenophon and treating of the same events, was not over-favorable to Themistogenes. My restlessness under the task made me anticipate Dürrbach.

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There is one passage, however, that everybody knows and everybody cites, the θάλαττα θάλαττα passage (4, 7, 24). One would think that celebrity and brevity would secure the famous cry from misquotation, but I was shocked the other day to find it cited as θάλασσα θάλασσα. At first the change seems to be a brutal change, but such are the refinements of modern scholarship that I asked myself whether it had not been made wittingly, and σσ substituted for ττ because of the Arcadians and other rough fellows who composed the Ten Thousand and who were not up to the refinements of the new Attic dialect. In the περὶ τολιτείας of Herodes cited in the last number (A. J. P. XXXV 231) there is a πράσσειν which may be interpreted either as a conscious archaism or a genuine bit of Old Attic.

Quite apart from the scientific results of such secular discussions as those that revolve about the Homeric Question and the Platonic Canon, there is a human, a cultural, a national interest that attaches to the various stages of these debates. The biographies of the disputants, even those of less prominence, would be of service in determining the personal equation. Then the spirit of the times, the stamp of the nationality, must be taken into account. Some years ago I suggested as the subject of a doctoral dissertation—more fruitful than most—a comparison of the Choephoroi of Verrall and the Choephoroi of Blass (A. J. P. XXX 225). Teichmüller's Literarische Fehden was a more living book to me because I was not unacquainted with the philological feuds of Germany. A peaceful soul, I am at the same time a sympathetic soul, and whilst Teichmüller's identification of Dionysodoros in the Euthydemus with Lysias is one of those 'ingenious but not convincing' (A. J. P. XXXIII 490) theories that provoke dissent as well as challenge admiration, I never read that Shrovetide play, as Gomperz calls it, without adding some feeble arguments of my own in support of Teichmüller's cryptic theory. Lysias was named after his grandfather Lysanias, of which Lysias is only 'for short'; and λυσανίας (Nub. 1162) is a fitting epithet of Dionysos, even if it is not one of the regular eponyms like the kindred Λυαῖος. This is a line of study which does not demand the genius that von Stein requires of the student of Plato—'that ideal author for ideal readers.' The only requisite is a susceptibility for plays on words, which is denied to few of my countrymen. There is a special treatise by Max. Scholl, De verborum lusu ap. Platonem, Bayreuth Programm, 1899; but Scholl cannot be said to have exhausted the subject.

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Here is a note written before Havers (A. J. P. XXXIV 237) had adopted my 'sympathetic dative' and introduced it into learned society. It may still have a little more than personal interest.

In Greek, I said to myself, we must look to the ruder language of inscriptions for glimpses of the popular feeling. 'A whip for the horse, a bridle for the ass and a rod for the fool's back' (Prov. 26, 2). To us these are simple datives, but we are a little startled when we find inscriptional datives that tell of 'nails for the door' (Meisterhans[3], p. 209). Even in the personal domain scholars have balked at the dative *οἱ*, and would fain make it a genitive, not appreciating the intrusion of the dative into the very sphere in which it most abounds; so that we are told that in tragic address the dative, not the genitive, is in use, that it is not *τέκνον μου* but *τέκνον μοι*. 'C'est à moi' is good French, 'maître à moi' is negro French. I thank the negro for that (A. J. P. XXIII 42). This is one of those devices by which the tragic poet introduces into higher art the language of the people in the interest of life. The tragic poet makes the best of both worlds, hyperepicizes with the one hand and with the other avails himself of the thesaurus of popular speech, and as the *τραγικώτατος* of the Great Three, Euripides overdoes it. It is to the tragic poet that we owe the literary sanction of historical present and articular infinitive. Of course, this is a line of study which comparative grammarians are prone to treat with disdain as unscientific. Not long ago, to my delight, I was cast out of the synagogue of orthodox grammarians, followed, it is true, by bouquets of artificial flowers of rhetoric. Of course, syntax is not excluded from the domain of those who lead in the linguistic study of Greek, but they are puzzled by attempts to get a moral significance out of it by what may be called the aesthetic school, and so Kretschmer winds up his notice of Kieckers (A. J. P. XXX 234) with the remark: 'Der Imper. Aor. hat doch wohl für höflicher als der des Praes. gegolten' (Glotta III, 1912, S. 342). This is hardly in conformity with the usual statement as to the use of the tenses, but I am not in love with the usual statements. Aristophanes uniformly employs *βάλλ' ἐς κόρακας*—what I should call the present of impatience as contrasted with the aor. of urgency. There is not much question of courtesy in that case.

The latest contribution of that indefatigable explorer, M. Raoul de la Grasserie (A. J. P. XXVII 360, XXVIII 234), to

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the study of linguistics is entitled *Du Verbe, comme générateur des autres parties du discours (du phénomène au noumène), notamment dans les langues indo-européennes, les sémitiques et les ouralo-altaïques* (Paris, Maisonneuve). I give the title in full, as it saves the trouble of an analysis of the volume, the bulk of which is made up of long lists of verbal and nominal radicals taken from various authorities, all in support of M. DE LA GRASSERIE's main thesis. It is an old quarrel, this quarrel for precedence between the noun and the verb, and M. DE LA GRASSERIE cites high authority for either side; but he thinks that the evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of the verb, and there is no such compromise as in the droll Bellum Grammaticale of Spangenberg (A. J. P. VIII 253), or rather of Guarna. Spangenberg, it appears, was a German 'bummer', a term made familiar by our Civil War, who looted the Italian scholar (A. J. P. XXVII 10), and it was apropos of our Civil War that I gave in the Atlantic Monthly for September of 1897 the following summary of Spangenberg-Guarna:

> In Spangenberg's Grammatical War the nouns and the verbs are the contending parties. Poeta is king of the nouns, and Amo king of the verbs. There is a regular debate between the two sovereigns. The king of the verbs summons the adverbs to his help, the king of the nouns the pronouns. The camps are pitched, the forces marshalled. The neutral power, the participle, is invoked by both parties, but declines to send open assistance to either, hoping that in this contest between noun and verb the third party will acquire the rule over the whole territory of language. After a final summons on the part of the king of the verbs, and a fierce response from the rival monarch, active hostilities begin. We read of raids and forays. Prisoners are treated with contumely, and their skirts are docked as in the Biblical narrative. Treachery adds excitement to the situation. Skirmishes precede the great engagement, in which the nouns are worsted, though they have come off with some of the spoils of war; and peace is made on terms dictated by Priscian, Servius, and Donatus.

There is, I repeat, no spirit of compromise in M. DE LA GRASSERIE. True, he grants that there was a period of 'indivision' as he calls it, just such an indivision as I have indicated by the phrase, 'Freeze a verb and you have a noun. Melt a noun and you have a verb'. The process is going on every day in English. Any noun can be made a verb. Such phrases as 'father me no fathers'—much admired of foreigners—are of daily occurrence in the spoken language, and the vulgar daring by which the Greek articular infinitive worked its way into high society (A. J. P. XXIII 11) finds new exemplifications at every turn in our linguistic life. 'Never tempt the illicit rove', sings Burns; but 'rove' is illicit as much so as 'eats', which is one of the latest additions to our vocabulary. This flux and reflux—or, if you choose, melting and freezing—simplifies

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certain problems in the syntax of the cases, notably the regimen of the genitive; and the old-fashioned scholar who gives the lead to the noun and the newer school which claims precedence for the verb are not so far apart after all (A. J. P. XXIII 22). Not without interest in connexion with this whole question are the phenomena of 'mnemonic aphasia', as it is called by van Ginneken in his *Principes de linguistique psychologique* (pp. 72–3). It is a familiar fact that proper names, which as a rule make no image in the brain, fade first, as they are the first to go in incipient deafness; and proper names are followed in regular succession by the other parts of speech. All this is painfully reminiscent of the sign that haunted me in my daily promenades on the deck of La Bretagne years ago, 'L'ordre d'abandonner le navire'. Here, then, is the order of abandoning the ship of memory. First, as we have seen, the proper nouns, then concrete substantives, then adjectives, then verbs, and of the verbal forms last of all the infinitive. The first to come are the last to go, as often happens at entertainments. The order is the order of mobility. 'Things in motion sooner catch the eye than what not stirs'.

Unfortunately, we cannot speak of 'aretalogy', because 'aretalogus' has acquired a bad sense, as is set forth in Reitzenstein's Wundererzählungen (A. J. P. XXVIII 238), though Reitzenstein himself, in his review of Norden's Agnostos Theos (NJB 1913. 2) seems to have modified his view of the later use of ἀρεταί. If there is great virtue in 'if', there is also a great 'if' in 'virtue', or rather in ἀρετή. Indeed, I might take up several pages of *Brief Mention* with the mere rehearsal of recent discussions of the word; and in certain moods I am inclined to fall in with the dissolving views of that puzzle-headed young gentleman, Menon, before he was gymnotically electrified by Sokrates. There is one kind of virtue of man as there is another kind of virtue of woman. There is one kind of virtue in Pindar, another kind of virtue in Thukydides (A. J. P. XXXIV 232). In Wilamowitz's Sappho u. Simonides, wherein is stored material enough for all the *Brief Mentions* possible in my few remaining years, there is a chapter on ἀρετή in Simonides—illuminating as usual, though Wilamowitz's x-rays, like the other x-rays, are sometimes dangerous to the operator. Norden, as I have just remarked, has discussed the subject, and some years ago Deissmann devoted sundry pages of his Bibelstudien to it. Now, ἀρετή is what we call an 'abstract', and as I have often remarked (e. g., S. C. G. 41; A. J. P. XVII 356; XXX 235; XXXI 145), and doubtless quite superfluously, the Greek had no word for abstract. If we wish to be truly Greek, the best we can do is to make

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an ἄθροισμα, collect all the uses of ἀρετή, and open our senses to the impression of the composite photograph; the same process that I recommend in the study of the cases. Do not look for moral qualities. 'Die ἀρετή', says Wilamowitz, 'ist von Hause aus gar kein sittliches Gut'. It is no more moral in itself than ἁμαρτία (A. J. P. XXXIV 233). And do not talk of 'quality'. 'Quality' is an abstract. Plato apologizes for ποιότης and is compelled to make a periphrasis for 'relativity' (Theaet. 160 D). ἀρετή is a force that may be moral or not. In the Biblical sphere Norden calls it δύναμις θεοῦ—Deissmann 'Krafterweisung'. In the strictly Greek sphere I prefer 'efficiency', ἀρεταί 'manifestations of efficiency'. The agnostic translation 'prowess' is the best rendering, if there must be a rendering. The Thukydidean sense of 'generosity' is simply an exemplification of his pitiless insight, not to say sardonic humour. 'Generosity' is nothing but an assertion of superiority. Virtue, or rather ἀρετή, is distressingly aristocratic. Plato's τὸ τὰ αὑτοῦ πράττειν is a challenge to the rest of the world on the part of the superman.

ANGELO TACCONE, the well-known student of Greek lyric poetry (A. J. P. XXV 353), and editor of Bakchylides (A. J. P. XXVII 471), has published a special translation of the *Fourth Pythian of Pindar*—the ode that has tempted so many hands. In one of those pithy sentences that enliven his *Bibliographie pratique* (A. J. P. XXXV 109) M. Masqueray says: 'Pindare n'est grand poëte qu'en grec'; and apropos of Pindar I have been guilty of some reflexions on the subject of translation generally (I. E. xxvii). This pessimistic attitude, however, has not kept me from occasional lapses into the practice of that fascinating art, though I have left directions in hugger-mugger to inter all those specimens of a misplaced activity. A judgment of translations is almost necessarily limited to the transfer into one's native tongue, and I do not arrogate to myself any such similar sensibility to the idioms of the various foreign languages with which one has to deal in literary work. In the latest edition of his *Kunst des Uebersetzens* PAUL CAUER considers Wilamowitz's renderings as well as Bardt's eine erfreuliche Erscheinung. Hildebrand is of a different opinion. When noted scholars differ, who made me a judge? BARDT, for instance, whose rhymed translation of Horace's Satires has reached a fourth enlarged edition, may be right in choosing the 'Knittelvers' for his rendering of Horace's Iter Brundisinum instead of the normal decasyllable employed in other satires (C. BARDT, *Die Sermonen des Q. Horatius Flaccus*, Berlin, Weidmann). It 'crisps my nerves', but I am not entitled to an opinion. And so in TACCONE's case I can only

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say, as I said in the case of Fraccaroli (A. J. P. XV 502), that Italian seems to me an exceptionally good medium for a translation of Pindar. What interests me in TACCONE's version is his interpretation of the ode in which he emphasizes the rôle of Euphamos and avoids the blunder of identifying Jason with Damophilos. Jason, he says, is held up to Arkesilas as a model of generosity to an enemy, a worse enemy than Damophilos could ever have been. In the apologue TACCONE takes the oak to be Damophilos, but he reads into the parallel the suggestion made by other commentators in connexion with the Jason-Damophilos business that there is a covert warning lest Damophilos, if rejected, might make a desperate attempt to win his repatriation by force of arms. This carries an old man back to the time of the carbonari and the professional Italian *esule*.

That the Journal makes its appearance within the limit prescribed by the Post Office Department is due to the kind offices of my friend and colleague, Professor C. W. E. MILLER, who has superintended the present issue with his characteristic faithfulness and exactness. The copy for *Brief Mention* was furnished before my departure for England the end of June. Else that personal section of the Journal would doubtless have been affected by the atmosphere of the Great War. A bookman all my days, in an autobiographical sketch published many years ago I counted among my losses in Early's Valley Campaign the disappearance of my pocket Homer, and in the first stage of this war I was glad that my Homer was with me, though the matters that interested the contributors to the present number of the Journal did not appeal to me so much as did the parallels between the war before Troy and the war in Belgium. So f. i. when I read of starving Uhlans and defective commissariat, I thought of Odysseus' sage advice: *ἀλλὰ πάσασθαι ἄνωχθι θοῇς ἐπὶ νηυσὶν Ἀχαιοὺς | σίτου καὶ οἴνοιο· τὸ γὰρ μένος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀλκή.* However, literature soon palls at such crises of fate, and I actually resented an article in the London Times dealing with the rôle of the Low Countries in English fiction. The Civil War came back to me with all its horrors, and imagination reinforced memory. Here again I had an illustration of the curious way in which trivialities make and leave disproportionate impressions in times of stress. A postcard from Louvain which crossed and recrossed the Atlantic with a complaint of the tattered condition of one number of the Journal and the miscarriage of another, reached me only a few days before the University of Louvain ceased to be and perhaps the sender also,—an unforgetable incident.

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RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 30–32 W. 27th St., New York, for material furnished.

AMERICAN AND ENGLISH.

Aristophanes. The Acharnians of Aristophanes; as played by the Oxford University Dramatic Society of February, 1914; with a tr. into English verse by Rob. Yelverton Tyrrell. New York, *Oxford University Press.* 83 pp. 12°, pap., 40 c. net.

—— The Acharnians. Edited from the MSS and other original sources by R. T. Elliott. 286 pp. (H. Milford), *Clarendon Press.* 8°, 14s. net. New York, *Oxford University Press.* $4.75 net.

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I.—CAESAR, CICERO AND FERRERO.

I.

Νᾶφε καὶ μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν· ἁρθρα ταῦτα τᾶν φρενῶν.
—Epicharmos.

"Be sober and to doubt prepense:
These are the sinews of good sense".
—Sir William Hamilton.

Many things have been capitalized among us, of which Bishop Berkeley made no prophecy—but scholarship certainly is not one of them. On the concerns of the latter one who has spent more than eight *lustra* on such non-material pursuits, may write, I trust, without reserve and without any fear that his motives may be misunderstood. I must not here digress on the problem of the present prospects of classicism nor on that great and urgent theme, viz. the rehabilitation of Greek in America. But there is one simple and far-reaching cultural truth which I cannot, nay, must not suppress in this prooemium of a very serious study. What *are* the actual motives to stimulate and maintain wide as well as searching reading of classical texts? For it is the *texts* (often fairly buried under the strata of successive erudition) that we must cling to. Even whenever the ancient controversy between *Sachphilologie* and *Wortphilologie* is kindled afresh, even when the great figures of Boeckh and of Gottfried Hermann loom up once more in the historical perspective of our studies—, even there the simple appeal to the *texts* seems to make for peace. Now it is perhaps not necessary, perhaps not even wise, to insist too

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much on the distinction and discrimination between *matter* and *manner*. Did any form ever clothe a subject with such exquisite and puzzling felicity as the hexameter contained and transmitted the splendid legends of Gods and Men in the Greek epic, or the distich of Greek elegy commemorated the mighty dead, or present the monition of lasting verities, or where is there anything more directly symbolical than that swift measure, the Iambus, the projectile so to speak, of the invective of Archilochus? I do believe, however, that the more delicate sense of *form* is not very often laid in the cradle of any favored mortal, whether for the actual production of verse or for the sympathetic interpretation thereof.

> Quem tu, Melpomene, semel
> Nascentem placido lumine videris ....

but these are few and far between—*pauci quos aequus amavit*. It is, according to my lights, the *historical* concern, which postulates, which begets wide reading. It is this strain of interest, I believe, which will carry us far beyond the beaten and narrow range of didactic limitation and academic preserves. It is here, particularly, that we of the western world have been too long content to abide in a certain (mainly meek and receptive) attitude towards Europe and towards transatlantic production in general. But even among us a new day is dawning. Generous editions of certain lives of Plutarch, searching studies in Roman legislation and institutions, a delineation of Athens in the Hellenistic period and other works have appeared here in these latter years. Classic Grammar has achieved for itself, in America, a very positive and distinguished autonomy. May we not hope that a similar maturity may soon be recorded in many other fields of classical scholarship? *Ne multa*, the time has gone by when we will accept either work or the valuation of work coming to us from abroad without proper or competent examination of our own, or be content with reprinting or translating European books dealing with the classical world. It was this particular sentiment and reflection, which guided my pen, when some three years ago I wrote as follows: "..... may I not express a hope (not oversanguine it is true), that our British and Continental fellow-classicists may begin at least to realize, that first-hand classical study on this side of the Atlantic has reached a point of earnestness, a stage

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of exact and sustained effort which may deserve some attention from them too, and some return for the European pupilage, which among us is rapidly coming to an end".[1]

Such too were some of the sentiments very much alive within me, when I began to undertake a close and searching examination of a work, which, if it were true and correct, might permit us to lay aside Mommsen and Drumann and even Ludwig Lange.—No one can dispute or belittle the concrete, material, commercial success of Guglielmo Ferrero's History of Rome from Sulla downward. 'David Harum' probably netted much more for its author, not to recall the Waverley novels. *Nous autres* of course, whose choice of life and labor has been made long ago (and with a clear vision of the unworldliness of genuine scholarship)—*we* would hardly be ready or willing to echo valuations or appreciations evoked or determined largely by commercial success and bound up with all the familiar devices of publicity campaigns executed within the domain of modern journalism; for that is the soil in which factitious fame will grow fairly over night, like shoots of bamboo in East India in a certain season of the year. A work as comprehensive as Ferrero's postulates so wide a familiarity with, so constant a recurrence to, classical texts, that it may well be examined in some detail from the standpoint of classical scholarship. As to the non-scholarly qualities of the work, (some of the most salient are such) and the literary devices to hold the general reader, and as regards the underlying *Weltanschauung* of this enterprising writer, these will be brought to the surface in due time. I must, however, before I begin, say, and say it with the utmost deliberateness, that, as regards the assurance of unsupported affirmation, the setting aside of the results of examination and sifting and weighing made by a long series of eminent minds and infinitely painstaking observers,—as regards the beribboning and tricking out of many bare spots in the actual tradition with a meretricious make-believe of clear lines, bright pigments and a positive *haut relief* of figures—in all these respects, I say, I must write it down here that I have never read a more pretentious work.

When one soberly surveys, when one later on begins to study the fragments, and the sadly inadequate documents

[1] Annals of Caesar. 1911. Preface, p. viii.

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which in the main constitute Mommsen's "Trümmerfeld der Ueberlieferung", then one is reminded, nay, sharply admonished over and over again, not to forget that *Tenth Muse*, nay, that veritable *paredros* of Kleio herself to which Quintilian adverts (though in another connection), "*Est quaedam ars nesciendi*". It is true the correspondence of Cicero, from 68 down to 43 B. C. throws a light, paralleled nowhere else in ancient history, upon a period fairly conterminous with the latter disintegration and final collapse of what we have been accustomed to call the Roman Republic. Further it is a welcome coincidence that the connected and continuous tradition of Cassius Dio (so largely the preserver of Livy) begins for us almost at the same point of time. It is impossible to mention Cicero's correspondence without naming Tyrrell (and Purser) also. One of the most inexcusable faults (shall I say of commission or omission?) of Ferrero is this that he has not had Tyrrell's Cicero at his elbow throughout, that he is virtually ignorant of this primary and indispensable work, and unacquainted with the fair and precise characterizations of almost every personality of note occurring in that age . . As for myself, it is to me a source of lasting gratification that my independent study of this period has brought me, in the main, to conceptions or valuations very largely identical with those of Robert Yelverton Tyrrell. No one who has even slightly honored my things with any interest but knows that I would be the last to copy or transcribe anything except the ancient sources and these too only with a clear estimate of their relative dignity, substance and authenticity. For in endeavoring, with Ranke, to determine, "*wie es denn eigentlich gewesen ist*", we learn, while leaving no stone unturned, how to come pretty close to things, situations and minds, and we actually seem to ascend to the purer ether above the region of mists, clouds and storms, where objective historiography dwells. And I beg to append here a small but precious item from Ranke's life, for it contains or suggests the principles and methods which I am following in my critique of Ferrero. It was in 1824. Ranke was just then occupied with the preparation of his "Geschichten der romanischen und germanischen Voelker". The young historian was about 29 years old. 'Quentin Durward' had come out in the year before (1823). Ranke (like Sir Walter

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Scott) had been reading the memoirs of Commines: "Mein Gott",—soll er sich gesagt haben,—"Commines und die andern Relationen haben das ja ganz anders!"..... "Ich war gleichsam beleidigt im Namen der alten Fuersten, *denen er andere Gesinnung zuschreibt als sie hegten*,[1] immer unter ihren Namen. Ich empfand Widerwillen gegen den historischen Roman, namentlich in dieser Annaeherung an die Begebenheiten, und fasste den Beschluss, *dass in der Historie alles vermieden werden müsse, was von der beglaubigten Ueberlieferung der Thatsachen wesentlich abweicht*"..... "*In der Hauptsache und im Kern der Darstellung daran festzuhalten, was sie* (die Schriftsteller) *ueberliefern, dass ist für mich ein unverrückbares Gesetz*". Or let us hear of Niebuhr (ib. p. 19): "Die peinliche Gewissenhaftigkeit mit der Niebuhr lehrte, sich bei jedem Schritte mit der Ueberlieferung auseinanderzusetzen, hier sich von derselben zu entfernen, dort dieselbe festzuhalten, *und immer mit Gruenden die sich aus den Quellen ergaben die Quellen zu bekaempfen*,—darin lag offenbar ein neues, was auf den ganzen Betrieb befruchtend und umgestaltend eingewirkt hat".

In undertaking the present study I desired not only to exhibit the inner structure and substance of a work so largely dealing with the decisive epoch of Caesar and Cicero, but perhaps even to contribute a little towards advancing and quickening classical historiography in the United States, and not less so because I find myself somehow ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῷ. I have a positive horror of hasty and subjective judgments and so I took pains to read and weigh a very great number of reviews and critiques of Ferrero. Notable among them was a study by Maurice Besnier in the Revue Historique of 1907, an appreciation marked by those admirable qualities of the French genius, to wit: lucidity and pointedness. Besnier (writing in Paris I believe) calls Ferrero "Un des historiens les plus en vue de l'heure présente".—He says also: "M. Ferrero n'a reculé devant aucune audace". Further he observes that Ferrero "wishes to discover in the facts the justification of a system" (i. e. a materialistic and mechanical conception of history)—(p. 57): "Where everything is determined by eco-

[1] Italics by E. G. S.—cf. 'Leopold von Ranke' by Ottokar Lorenz, Berlin, 1891, p. 15.

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nomic necessity"—that "the struggle of classes is pursued without truce or mercy".—"Un mécanisme brutal détermine l'enchaînement des faits et l'action des individus".—The "masses" determine everything.—This mechanism of unconscious factors and forces is a doctrine, says Besnier, 'so convenient, easy and simple'. We may add here that anyone who can follow a newspaper article or a magazine sketch, can follow Ferrero with consummate ease and can appropriate the underlying social philosophy with the same ease; in fact we may say that Ferrero makes no greater demands on the intellectual collaboration of his readers than a novelist would, that is to say, none at all.—I find myself also in complete harmony with the following utterance of Besnier (p. 60): "L'historien doit se soucier uniquement des évènements eux-mêmes et des rapports de cause à effet qui les unissent; se cantonnant sur le terrain solide des réalités contingentes, il abandonne aux spéculations des théologiens et des philosophes le domain imprécis des possibilités transcendantes".—"L'infinie complexitè des faits ne se laisse pas ramener à une formule unique et sommaire d'explication" (p. 61). Further, Besnier says that Ferrero is a literary representative of "modernisme à outrance", that he strives to present everything in a novel way, "to rejuvenate the subject-matter which he treats", but that, in his itch for originality he jeopardizes the greater quality of being true. Besnier (p. 67) utters the sound monition: "*les textes, nos seuls guides sûrs*". As to the style of Ferrero: Ce jeu d'antithèses n'explique rien et sent un peu la rhétorique".[1]—"Le principal défaut de M. Ferrero, c'est l'exagération". Besnier notes Ferrero's "généralisations téméraires"—and also says: "insensiblement nous passons des faits certains aux déductions hypothétiques". It seems Paris was more appreciative of the young author than Turin, Florence or Rome. Among the earlier critics was Antonio Abruzzese of Padua, who in the Revista di Storia Antica (1903, pp. 187–200) dealt particularly with the phenomenon of artificial modernization, a paper of which I beg to excerpt a few utterances: "non manca di una certa fresca e moderna audacia"(187); "un acuto sapore di odiernissima novitá"...

[1] If Ferrero is rated a great historian among his original guild, the journalists, it is even more probable that he is esteemed a very effective journalist in the judgment of sober historians.

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"la grande sicurezza delle sue affirmazioni". A critical phrase of Henri Weil is utilized(189): "la désinvolture irrévérencieuse d'un journaliste". Abruzzese utterly denies the utility, nay the historical justification of the incessant parallelisms with today and yesterday, the virtual identification of Now and Then, of things or figures so remote, as when Sulla is actually compared with ——— Washington, or Cato with ——— Dante. Abruzzese properly holds that a historian has no warrant to equip distant figures with the modes or fashions of sentiment and thought of the actual men of the moment, for of what value or pertinency it is to say that ancient militarism "corresponded" (whatever that may mean) to modern industrialism? A. also refers to the emphasis laid on psychiatry.[1] In conclusion the Paduan scholar calls Ferrero's book the work of a "talented publicist". No doubt of that.

At the age of twenty-one or twenty-two young Ferrero was a reporter of criminal cases and criminal trials in different parts of Italy. Soon, with other criminological feuilletonists like Sighele and Bianchi, he began to publish, in a light and pleasing style, a series of pieces dealing with remarkable cases under the title of 'Il Mondo Criminale Italiano'. Evidently when a mere youth he was a clever and one may say a very precocious person. The journalist's trick (so much in evidence in his history) of catchy titles and superscriptions he revealed even then. Thus a report of a prisoner's crime was by the subtitle: "La Famiglia dei Borgia"; another where a nun had embezzled moneys collected for charities was headed thus: "I Fioretti di S. Francesco e una novella del Boccaccio in Tribunale". His criminological observations he expanded into sociological reflections with a glib assurance of generalization in so young a person which takes one's breath away. He was greatly influenced by the psychiatric theses of Lombroso. If one were to try to characterize this earlier journalism and the tendencies there revealed, one might say that here we have a reporter of twenty-two, who elaborates his reports of criminal cases in a quasi-novelistic way, deriving the given concrete act from underlying social conditions, largely elimi-

[1] F. is a son-in-law of Cesare Lombroso, and jointly with the latter brought out a criminological book in which among other exhibits the skull of Charlotte Corday is presented, as predetermining, somehow, her killing of Marat.

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nating the principle of personal moral responsibility, and jumping at conclusions and generalizations of the most sweeping character. Thus at twenty-two he compares Leo Tolstoy with ——— St. Francis of Assisi: "tanti in realtá (glib *realtá*) sono i punti di simiglianza tra i due riformatori, religiosi—l'italiano di *cinque* secoli sono e il russo di questi giorni". Very taking these parallels in a young journalist but quite unhistorical, and when subjected to a searching examination, quite inept. The assassination of President Carnot of France in 1894 (F. was 22) promptly induced him to generalize on political murder and also to tempt him to begin his quest of international fame by getting an article of his (cited by himself as "*Die* politische Mord") published in a Vienna magazine. Listen to a piece of the youth's ethics: "Ma in fondo la vera genesi del delitto si deve ricercare *in quella legge psico-sociologica*, secondo la quale la morale politica è nella sua evoluzione *sempre* (he is very fond of this adverb) in retardo sulla morale individuale". We perceive the matchless audacity in leaping at generalization which incessantly annoys us in his later work. Further we observe even at this earlier stage that chronic seeking and prompt finding of parallels which are to arrest or entertain the reader of the feuilleton, but whether this habit of arbitrary approximation furnishes any true insight may well be doubted.

Only seven years after these criminological and sociological papers of his youth Ferrero at twenty-nine (1901) put out the first volume of his new work, the challenge of Mommsen, Drumann and Lange, not to speak of Merivale or George Long, of which latter scholars F. apparently is ignorant. One may cudgel one's brain as to the precise bearing of "Grandezza e Decadenza". Where does the *Grandezza* begin and where the *Decadenza*? Or are they perhaps correlated like light and shade in a work of Rembrandt? At last it dawned on my slow and old-fashioned intelligence, I could joyously cry out with the famous scientist of Syracuse: εὕρηκα! εὕρηκα! A catchy title often like a girl's pretty face or well placed curl even, is a new book's fortune or half fortune: Montesquieu and Gibbon like Samuel when cited by the witch of Endor, slowly rose up before my critical gaze, now I had it at last.

"Ich sei, gewaehrt mir die Bitte,
In Eurem Bunde der Dritte"!

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And when finally I saw the personal signature of the newly fledged historian of Rome appended to the first volume as a guarantee of authenticity no less than a symbol of the author's deep sense of his achievement, then Horace at once occurred to me and that profound conviction of excellence bravely uttered to all time, which indeed is the very hallmark of classicity:

> Exegi monumentum aere perennius.
> Quod non imber edax non aquilo impotens
> Possit diruere etc. etc.

But if we are to take the work seriously, we must at least resume our habitual seriousness. All the ensuing notes deal with the Italian original (Fratelli Treves, Milano), for when one examines an important object one must avoid translations; one must not, perhaps standing on tiptoe, look at the object under examination through a window or screen.

To begin with, I am not sure whether the journalistic habits of the author help or hinder his historiography. Everything, every person, incident and particularly that algebraic symbol of sociological collective terminology, the *class*, appears actual, real, palpable, concrete—: i. e. the way he presents them. Often however we simply have no data in our texts, not the faintest warrant for such plastic definiteness, least of all for such *à tout prix* modernity. Then he fills in with sociological or psychological construction or invention, proceeding precisely in the fashion of a dramatist or novelist. Like an aviator he floats into space, leaving the terra firma of ascertained or ascertainable facts.

May I say a word here on the entire subject of *approximation*? Is it not a gigantic assumption to start in with the thesis of the substantial identity of human things and social consciousness at periods vastly remote from one another? It is, to speak plainly, simply not true nor tenable, that our own vision and perspective, our own set of political and social notions may be safely or properly projected or injected into the "ancient world" (a vague term of rather arbitrary generalization), or into ancient minds or individual persons, let alone classes, or what as a matter of academic convenience or convention we may be pleased to call social consciousness. Take the idea of a broad or common *humanity* (essentially unrecognized before the Stoics and not too firmly by them) or take the wider application

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of international law, take finally the incomparable and positively regenerative influence of Christianity, (vastly more important than the introduction of the Latin language and the Roman civil law into western Europe)—the greatest revolution (no evolution at all, as Paulsen expressed it) in universal history. The categories of Compte and Buckle are entirely unavailing here. The *humanity* of the Stoics is one thing, the humanity of St. Paul radically broader and deeper, while the cultural and conceited humanity of the Italian Renaissance again was something quite apart. No one should utter very broad judgments on social or human consciousness in classical antiquity who has not deeply read in Pausanias the Periegete. The 'religions' of the teeming Hellenic communities as well as of Rome were a very narrow thing, consisting largely of certain anniversaries; often merely commemorating some specific 'hero' in the pedigree of the given community; but all of these political units, each by itself faced the rest of the world with what we may call a distinctly *ethnic* or *regional*, not in any degree or manner with a *social* or *general human* consciousness—of these things young Ferrero had hardly any perception at all when he entered on so large and so bold an enterprise. Europe and the United States today have a unity of ideas of civilization comparable in compactness and definiteness to the unity of a single state and this through weight and efficacy much superior to the ideas held by any single state at any time of the past. No such set of ideas existed in the Mediterranean world in Caesar's time. The very term or political idea of *annexation* as foisted by Ferrero into the relation he gives of Caesar's conquest of Gaul, is inept, because essentially modern, as though it were a kind of defiance of our own international consciousness. A mere skimming of Cicero's *de provinciis consularibus* must reveal an absolutely different set of underlying political ideas.

We deny then at the very outset, any historical warrant whatever for the free use by Ferrero of social categories and of the very terminology of the social things of today and yesterday. We positively question the propriety of the manipulation of these "classes" as actual and conscious political elements, units or forces of Roman history. I can readily see that the *tout comme chez nous* sentiment is enormously convenient and attractive to the greatest possible mass of readers,

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of whom less than one per cent would even endure a single antiquarian page culled e. g. from Mommsen's Staatsrecht or from Madvig or Lange: but that sociological blanket with its pattern of today and yesterday is not historiography.

If only we could garb Cicero in a frockcoat and put a *pincenez* on his nose: if only we could put a telephone receiver into the hand of the "old banker, Crassus", or have the waiter bring in some Veuve Cliquot for Cleopatra and a box of Havanas for the towering Julius, while he is studying the pattern of the Armenian rug on the mosaic floor and is on the point of citing an appropriate sentiment from Sappho or from Anacreon—if this only could be done, then the whole would be even a little more Ferreresque, a little more modern than it is now: a *little* more, but not indeed very much more. We must then positively decline to follow Ferrero into his shop filled with social labels of to-day and yesterday which he spreads as calmly over that world of Italy and its Mediterranean empire as the housemaid spreads the counterpane when she makes up the beds. It is the journalist who simply goes on using the phrases his pen has long been familiar with, e. g. "cartaginese classi alte e medie, plutocrazia". The very calling of Italy or of the Roman and Latin colonies of the Hannibalian era (I 28) "una vera nazione agricola e aristocratica" is merely a very convenient unit of terminology. What shall we do with the other labels, "il medio ceto", il medio ceto rustico", "una borghesia nuova di capitalisti milionari" (I 16); the "ceto campagnuolo di tutta Italia". Whence does he derive the phenomena of universal enrichment or universal impoverishment of which we read from time to time? So too "la rivoluzione proletaria" (I 185). It is simply preposterous to "explain", or to pretend to explain the military occupation of Spain by Sertorius, by means of such fancies. It is fairly sufficient merely to quote a few more of these modern labels of the former journalist: "la borghesia Italica", "la borghesia capitalista".—We know that the great financiers of London, New York or Frankfort are often a bit nervous. Therefore Ferrero (I 315) writes of "l'eccitabile mondo della alta finanza". It is naïve, in speaking of the East of the Empire (I 329) to quote or refer to "la classe dei filosofi, degli scienziati", as they might figure in some university town of

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modern Europe or in Cambridge, Mass. But let us advert to a very positive, actual and historical thing, which one merely needs to *name*, to see how fanciful albeit how modern, is the so-called struggle of classes and classes for that time. We admit at once that such is the case in the Paris, the Milan, the Lyon and Marseilles, or the Barcelona of to-day, if you like, for since Danton's and Robespierre's day down to Carl Marx or Liebknecht the Red Republic has been and is a potential unit of our time. What then is it that we should merely *name*? The *Clientes* and the *Liberti* of Roman institutions, and the quasi-paternal relation maintained between them and their *patroni*. A Roman senator even in this period of disintegration often had such a relation to Italian municipia, nay even to some one entire province. A quasi-paternal relation, we said. Even in the XII tables the *patronus* was accursed who did an injury to his own *cliens*, as the Roman consciousness is revealed by Vergil.[1] Inept, nay audacious, we must briefly say, to abstract social points and social terms from our own time, and then use them as moulds or standards to make figures and forms for the epoch of Caesar and Cicero. And the institution of slavery meant a certain solidarity for all non-slaves. The sense, not merely of a certain dependency but even of a certain good will and mutual support between *clientes*, *liberti* and *patroni* was by no means extinct in that age and survived, entirely unimpaired, all the fierce contentions of the civil wars. Slavery and the slavery of skilled labor was too strong an element to permit us to conceive very much solidarity for the 'artisan classes' of Ferrero. To go to the bottom of the whole thing there was then no public press nor class journalism, there were no congresses or reunions, no easy and comparatively inexpensive means of travel, no swift telegraph, no universal faculty of reading, to bind such classes together or fill them with a social sense of solidarity. Men were bound in smaller units, as *sodalitas* in town, or of a *vicinitas*, *pagus*, *colonia*, *municipium* in the peninsula at large or *praefectura*, (cf. Quint. Cicero, de Pet. Consulatus 30). Folk in Italy felt themselves as Picentes, or Marsi, or Marrucini, or Paeligni, or Brutti, or Campani rather than as mem-

[1] Servius on Aen. 6, 609 patronus, si clienti fraudem fecerit, sacer esto—and (we may ignore the traditional etymology): "si enim clientes quasi colentes sunt, patroni quasi patres, tantundem est clientem quantum filium fallere.

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bers of a "class". Give Ferrero a little, no matter how isolated, an item; he will write a bright and lively page around it. And even where even such stray item is lacking, the sociological shuttle will none the less move to and fro, with clicking speed, and where textile substance is wanting, will feed itself on—air or clouds. One of his pet doctrines is that Imperialism was begotten by the craving for luxury and by the beginning of the "mercantile era". The Romans conquered and ultimately destroyed Carthage: the most earnest champion for the latter policy was Cato of Tusculum the author of the monograph on Farming. That the vanishing of the Phenician mercantile state metamorphosed Rome and Italy and produced a "mercantile era" there, I doubt. Neither Ostia nor Puteoli ever became an *entrepôt* for the general distribution of commodities to the mediterranean world at large. Italy probably never had a single port that could vie with Alexandria or Syracuse, perhaps not even with Massilia. Rome I believe never had the commercial-political consciousness of Rhodes or of the later Venice, Holland or Britain. The troubles of the Pirates were chronic and we are bound to infer that Rome did not feel the necessity in the interest of trade to police the seas. We may safely assume that the vast majority of bottoms trading from Gades to Alexandria and Byzantium were not owned by Roman citizens directly. The publicani advanced large sums to the government and contracted not only for the annual tax levy of entire provinces but also for mines, pastures and other collective concessions. In Cicero's day one could acquire shares in certain Spanish mines, and individual Romans enriched themselves by many forms of provincial loans with a high rate of interest. But the equestrian class was after all, not extensive numerically: cf. Quint. Cic. de Petit. Cons. 33 (Tyrrell). 'Iam equitum centuriae multo facilius mihi diligentia posse teneri videntur: primum cognoscito equites; *pauci enim sunt*'.

An easy survey in that quarter. More incisive and an element of decadence and demoralization were certain deep ulcers or cancers of Greek and oriental immorality which seem to have widely spread among the Roman aristocracy and which a writer like Ferrero, who seems to be more interested in generic than individual features might have emphasized in his

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introduction, as on I, p. 59 or p. 72.—Must we not assume that the *Lex Scantinia de Infanda Venere* was somewhat of a dead letter not so very long after 168 B. C. Of young Scipio Aemilianus Polybius (32, 11) writes as follows: *πρώτη δέ τις ἐνέπεσεν ὁρμὴ καὶ ζῆλος τῶν καλῶν, τὸ τὴν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ δόξαν ἀναλαβεῖν, καὶ παραδραμεῖν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει τοὺς κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ὑπάρχοντας. ὧν δὲ μέγας καὶ δυσέφικτος ὁ στέφανος, εὐθήρατος ἦν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ὁρμὴν τῶν πλείστων. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἐρωμένους τῶν νέων, οἱ δὲ εἰς ἑταίρας ἐξεκέχυντο, πολλοὶ δὲ εἰς ἀκροάματα καὶ πότους καὶ τὴν ἐν τούτοις πολυτέλειαν, ταχέως ἠρπακότες ἐν τῷ Περσικῷ πολέμῳ* (with Perseus of Macedon, ending with Pydna 168 B. C.) *τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος εὐχέρειαν.* And from that time to the later period when Cicero counselled with the grief-stricken elder Curio (about 70–68 B. C.) in connection with the unspeakable *liaison* of young Antony and Curio's son (2 Phil. 45)—somewhat less than—but almost a hundred years the decadence of morals and conduct within the Roman aristocracy had proceeded with fearful momentum: Facilis descensus Averno. Such symptoms should be emphasized rather than nebulous and intangible generalizations in social or economic spheres. Another label which F. has abstracted from to-day is "the political scepticism of the cultured classes". It is naïve to project this into Roman conditions and into a highly concentrated and very intense political life which certainly did occupy, nay preoccupy *le classi alte* pretty steadily. We must merely present to our minds the continuous circumvolutions of the electoral machinery and the enormous annual output of the same: two consuls, so and so many praetors, aediles, tribuni plebis, so many adoptions or rejections of leges and plebiscita, so many contiones for suasio or dissuasio—no one but *le classi alte* were intimately bound up with all this.

I do not believe in Comte: I could not belong to that cult, I do not believe in Buckle. I do not believe that History is chiefly an ebb and flow of billows which can be measured and thus predetermined or predicted, a recurrent exemplification of identical or unvarying social "laws" with a biological substratum. I refuse to accept a philosophy of History which denies all worth to the individual, as a mere incident owing everything to that academic fiction of these latter days, "so-

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ciety". It is of this school that Ferrero is a disciple. Things (le cose) move with a fatal necessity: "questo fatale andare delle cose (I 73); per la necessitá delle cose" (ib.); "il suo fatal cammino verso il dominio mondiale" (I 191). At bottom, or better, on the surface, history is merely a social "decomposition and recomposition", "decomposizione e ricomposizione sociale (I 105). Or: nelle etá (note the generic plural) di decomposizione e ricomposizione sociale" (II 260); or: nel disordine di una decomposizione e ricomposizione sociale l'equilibrio spirituale dei partiti e delle classi è così instabile, che etc. (II 293) or: il disordine nascente da una lunga decomposizione e ricomposizione sociale" (II 468). To me it all seems a pathological matter, an academic intrusion into the domain of actual free history, an audacious attempt at performing a kind of revaluation of everything and everybody, with the incubus of a pseudo science, a branch of zoology with certain phenomena of anthropological exudation, whose elements and forces are as substantially identical at all times and periods as are the axioms of physics and chemistry. Academically speaking it is the old contention between the *Weltanschauung* of Democritus and of Plato, or that of Zeno of Kition and of Epicurus.—This dealing with masses and classes emancipates the individual very largely from responsibility or from the elemental power of moral postulates. Ferrero is fond of saying: "*as always happens, when things resemble this*"—forgetting that this glib declaration of parallel or analogy is simply due to his assumption. E. g. "come *sempre* avviene di questi disegni in simili tempi" (I 86); 'come in *ogni età* di decomposizione sociale' (I 103); come *spesso* (I 126); i partiti dei ricchi sono *spesso* cosi deboli contro i partiti dei poveri (I 147); come *sempre* (sic) nelle consorterie tornate al potere dopo aver vinto una rivoluzione popolare" (p. 183). In the first place Sulla did not overcome any 'people's revolution' at all.—Or: "in parte per il ravvedimento civico, che segue *sempre* (sic) al miglioramento delle condizione economiche" (212). "La classe colta che *sempre* (sic) si forma nel ceto medio" (213). On Mithridates' attempt to introduce Roman armature: "come *sempre* (sic) avviene di simiglianti tentativi" (228); or when he compares Crassus with the type of Jewish bankers (250).

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But we have to pass on to another feature. It is the deep earmarks of journalism, a form of letters which seeks to hold and entertain the reader *à tout prix*, and not allow any indefiniteness, any remoteness of object to cause the interest of the broad average reader to lag or turn away. Thus we have *Texas* (I 15), the *Boers* (21), Italy after 1848 (23), the *United States* (23), una *highlife* Italica (197). Atticus, a *self-made* man of literature (particularly inept and absurd upon even slight examination) (I 32). The "impartial public",—who belonged to this class, for instance?

Crassus a "stockholder" (I 435) (azionista). The Triumvirs were "*bosses*" and "capi di un *caucus*" (447). The informer Vettius is simply put into the French class of '*Agent provocateur*' (vol. I 464). Clodius organizes his *Tammany Hall* (I 466). Infinitely easier to pen such a phrase than study Liebenam's books.—"The mercenary *bureaucracy* which governed Pontus" (I 369). All these labels no doubt would be called vigorous journalism, but hardly genuine historiography.—The following paragraph was published in 1891 but is particularly applicable to Ferrero: "Die journalistische Behandlung der politischen Dinge *verdichtet und vergröbert* den Geschmack für historische Erscheinungen und zeitigt einen *Realismus der Auffassung, welcher den Schwerpunkt des Geschehens immer mehr in Aeusserlichkeiten des Lebens verlegt*, während die massenhafte Lectüre von guten und schlechten Romanen ein Bedürfniss von Motivirungen und Beurteilungen erweckt, zu denen sich selbst der kühnste Geschichtschreiber nimmermehr verstehen kann".[1] But Ferrero then had not yet arisen.

But it is time to assume more specifically the point of view of the classicist in dealing with this Italian book. While writing of the epoch of 100 B. C., the age of Marius and Metellus Numidicus, he says (I 121): "*molti* signori si dilettarono di scriver libri, storie, trattati, poesie in Greco o in Latino". Will not Signor Ferrero enumerate and name these "*many*"? Lucilius was then not long dead, Accius an elderly writer of tragedy and as it seems a teacher of Greek and Latin letters. Rutilius Rufus an earnest devotee of the Stoic system. Who are the *molti*?

[1] Ottokar Lorenz, Leopold v. Ranke, 1891, p. 133.

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Or again (p. 122): "Every year there were opened, in Rome, in the Latin towns, in the towns of the Allies, new schools of Rhetoric". Is it even necessary to cite the facts? In Rome we know only of the Latin Rhetoric School of Plotius which Cicero was not permitted to frequent,[1] and soon closed by the censorial edict of Domitius and of L. Crassus (92 B. C.). The Greek schools of rhetoric were not interfered with, and we know that in them at this time there dominated the *status*-system devised by Hermagoras—the rest, in Ferrero's paragraph, is simply fervid invention.

Cicero's father bought the house in the Carinae and brought his two sons away from Arpinum, because there was *no* "splendid education" (F., p. 197) in the municipia. Ferrero's broad inference from that much quoted edict (issued by the foremost orator of his time, too), (F. 128, n. 1) is mere affirmation. Young Cicero went to Rome for the soundest of reasons. On the same, p. 128 of F., we read: "more than one ancient student, having sold his MSS of Homer and Plato (which of course at that time were as common as Teubner texts are now) had embarked upon a pirate ship". Novelistic paragraph. The "students" in the schools of the grammatici were very young boys, say between 8–14 years of age. Perhaps the former reporter thinks of the Quartier Latin in Paris or of Russian students in Zürich. Who were the "millionaire parvenus" of that time? does he know any Trimalchios for this epoch? It is true M. Aemilius Scaurus (cons. 115 B. C. and princeps senatus) is much utilized by F. as a clothes-horse for sociological generalizations,[2] but, though in the three generations preceding him this ultra-aristocratic family had been in obscurity through impoverishment, still Scaurus, to the Roman consciousness of Cicero's time, represented the essence of aristocratic distinction. He resembled Sulla in this respect. Ferrero's trick of impressive headings and superscriptions we have noted: "Mario e la grande insurrezione proletaria" (120) is one of the audacious and pretentious titles. As a matter of fact Marius was no more a conscious social reformer than he was a pupil of Rousseau or St. Simon.

[1] Sueton. de Rhet. 2.

[2] Cf. Pauly-Wissowa Aemilii, No. 140; cf. M. Gelzer, Die Nobilität der Röm. Republ. Teubner. No date.

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He was a man who strove socially upward, married in middle life a Iulia, and became immensely rich. Plutarch (Mar. 28) says expressly that Marius was no politician at all and cut but a poor figure in *contiones*. What he did do in the social line was this: He began the device of securing a lasting provision for his *veterans*.[1] In his ingenium, *vindictiveness* ruled supreme, but he was utterly innocent of social or sociological speculations or policy. It is wide of the mark also (I 171) to speak of "*l'impassibile* Sulla". That dynast who caused the ashes of Marius to be thrown into the Anio, and had Marius Gratidianus put to death after shocking tortures. And one of the most salient strains in his memoirs was the effort to belittle, on every occasion, the military prestige of his old commander.[2]

If then we follow Comte somewhat less and the texts of antiquity very much more, one simple fact stands out above all others: the development of a class of mercenary legionaries attached to those commanders who had or secured the deeper purse—this was among the chief causes of the disintegration of the old city-republic; whereas, at the same time, it positively aided the conservation of that city-republic's patrimonium, viz. the provinces, the empire. To relate all this was the burden, the sad theme of Livy's aging years. We have an impressively wide survey and a setting forth of a large conception in Plutarch Sulla 12 a *passus* comprehensive, earnest, almost pathetic, almost *oratorical* in its fervor (§ 8): ταῦτ' ἐξήλαυνε Μάριον, ταῦτα—ταῦτα κτέ. There is an intensity here which seems to point to Livy.

When Ferrero reaches Verres, he avails himself of an Italian monograph by Ciccotti, and his own treatment is evidently second hand work. Indeed almost throughout (apart from a partial and fragmentary acquaintance with Cicero's correspondence), we miss everywhere in Ferrero any firm grasp, any close vision of Cicero's books. Nor is he familiar with the career of Cicero preceding the Verrines. What social themes and splendid generalizations would *pro Roscio*

[1] A device in which his example was followed by Sulla, Pompey, Caesar and Augustus.

[2] For an illustration see Plutarch's relation of the battle of Vercellae. Plut., Mar. 25.

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Amerino have suggested to this facile pen! What would he have made of the wheat-industry of Sicily and the curious complications bound up with it? What of Verres in Syracuse and the progresses of the rose-crowned governor amid his loving provincials! For these three records and documents, Verres in Sicily, Quintus Cicero in Asia, and Marcus Cicero in Cilicia—all due to Cicero's pen, furnish us the only close vision of these things.—The page on Cicero and Hortensius (I 274) is written in his realistic and journalistic manner, but he should have gotten something from Cicero's Brutus. He inspected that important record later when he came to the year 46. To speak of Cicero in 70 B. C. as a "young man in whom was the hope of the Forum" is quite inept. Even in 81 (pro Quinctio), he had deliberately begun to measure himself with Hortensius. And in the survey made by Cicero in his sixty-first year he says of that half-decade (75–70 B. C.): "Cum essem in plurimis causis *et in principibus patronis* quinquennium fere versatus"..... (Brut. 319). I was greatly disappointed by the slight use which F. has made of the Verrinae.—Lucullus was still in the east, Pompey Consul, Crassus likewise. While the Arpinate was deeply and constantly engaged, mainly in civil litigation, and while in this field more and more he was coming to be *the* patronus of the equestrian class, the great case of Verres placed him in the forefront of current events, and the termination of senatorial monopoly of jury-service was, no doubt, greatly furthered by Cicero's victorious management of that case. It is one of the bald affirmations of F., that the aristocracy from Sulla downward was a mere coterie, ever dwindling in numbers. They certainly up to 59 B. C. did control the government and to them went the great emoluments of the provinces. "At istorum villae sociorum[1] fidelissimorum plurimis et pulcherrimis spoliis ornatae refertaeque sunt. Ubi pecunias exterarum nationum esse arbitramini, quae nunc omnes egent, cum Athenas, Pergamum, Cyzicum, Miletum, Chium, Samum totamque Asiam, Achaiam, Graeciam, Siciliam tam in paucis villis inclusas videatis"? (Cic. Verr. 5, 127.) The aristocracy then, in 70 B. C. was still the most influential element in determining the administration both in city and empire.—

[1] The current euphemism for designating the provincials.

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Cicero indeed sought not so much to bring down that ancient bulwark of caste as to compel his admission. Caesar indeed, from the beginning with matchless adroitness and consistency laboured for the political discomfiture of the very class to which he belonged by birth. His *social* feeling and consciousness however had simply nothing of Mirabeau in them while Cicero from the start strove, by his mental superiority, to force recognition from the Marcelli, Metelli, Domitii and the rest—whom he had so brilliantly overshadowed when among them, attending grammaticus and rhetor: δι' εὐφυΐαν ἐκλάμψας—(Plut. Cic. 2), and when a candidate for his first office, λέγεται νεανιευσάμενος εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἀγωνιεῖται τὸν "Κικέρωνα" (i. e. the name) τῶν Σκαύρων καὶ τῶν Κάτλων ἐνδοξότερον ἀποδεῖξαι. And these smaller data in this *vita* seem to have been in great measure communicated by the orator to his secretary and biographer *in spe*, Tullius Tiro. Cicero, I say, declined equestrian matches for his daughter, in this point refusing to follow the suggestions of his bosom friend.

The consulate was still laid in the cradles of the aristocracy.—It is ridiculous, Cicero complained, (Verr. 5, 181) with what ease they attain to the honors of the state: "ad quos per ludum et per neglegentiam pervenistis". Early in 55 B. C. Cicero wrote to Atticus (4, 8b, 2) of the consular candidacy of Domitius: "quid enim hoc miserius, quam eum, *qui tot annos quot habet, designatus consul fuerit*, fieri consulem non posse"? Of course, Ferrero must maintain his thesis of "una aristocrazia in dissoluzione" (I 185), and the less of positive detail he can bring forward, the more impressive, and for the uninformed reader the more authoritative, are these superb and sweeping generalizations, while his use of *tutto* and *sempre* is wonderful.—Lucullus is furbished up to be the "creator" of Roman imperialism, which indeed antedated Lucullus much. Ferrero cannot be very familiar with the Roman spirit and character.

The characterization of Cato (I 371–372) is painfully inadequate. Evidently the author has no first hand knowledge of the Stoic system and his references to Ancient Philosophy are as a rule merely declamatory and sophomoric; e. g. (I 202) when Aristotle is called a veritable Cyclopaedia for the Romans—generalizations made quite untenable by the ascertainable facts of Cicero's life.

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The *prooemia* of Cicero's philosophical books show how stony a soil true philosophy had among the Romans. To this add the notable passage, in a letter from Cicero in Cilicia to Cato (in January 50 B. C., Fam. 15, 4, 16) speaking of their mutual interest in philosophy: "Haec igitur, *quae mihi tecum communis est,* societas studiorum atque artium nostrarum, quibus a pueritia dediti ac devincti *soli propemodum nos* philosophiam veram illam et antiquam, quae quibusdam otii esse ac desidiae videtur, in forum atque in rem publicam atque in ipsam aciem paene deduximus". . . . . .

What authority has F. for saying that Catiline's task (viz. to accomplish the abolition of debt) was *easy* or would have been *easy* (I 308). The Twelve Tables and all the vast interlacing structure of the Civil Law reared upon them, the jurisdiction of the praetor urbanus,—all these things, the very root and fibre of things Roman, were a mighty bulwark against repudiation.

The character of Crassus is simply abstracted (how easy!) from the bankers' type of to-day. (I 271) "invice Crasso era diffidente, *come uno vero banchiere*". A recent writer says aptly: "Die Darstellung der Quellen, die in jedem Satze die Farben *ihrer Zeit* tragen, gewissermassen einen Zeitgeruch ausströmen, versetzt unmittelbar in die Epoche aus welcher sie stammen . . . . . *und verhindert so die* FAELSCHLICHE UEBERTRAGUNG DER EIGENEN ZEIT *in die entfernte Vergangenheit*".—Clodius and the Bona Dea intrigue. Cicero (fragm. 5 in Clodium et Curionem) scornfully describes Clodius' preparation for this adventure, assuming female garb. At once, *proprio motu* Signor Ferrero generalizes (I 418): "it was one of his greatest pleasures to dress like a woman"—that Clodius was effeminate in tastes: he was probably a somewhat robust malefactor. Clodius is brought into the psychiatric waiting room and a proper diagnosis is made out. Lombroso is cited in a footnote.

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II.—SPANISH INSCRIPTIONS—ADDITIONAL COMMENT.[1]

I. Forms.

Details in Declension.

2d Declension.—A Genitive plural ending *-um* instead of *-orum* is found in these inscriptions, as it is elsewhere, for *o* stems.[2] In addition to its being the ending of nouns—like *deus*—recurring with greater or less regularity, *-um* also appears as the apparent ending of a large class of proper nouns, all presumably tribal. It is evident that the resemblance to an *o*-stem ending is only apparent and that Hübner is right in regarding it as a foreign termination.[3]

Corovescum, 5730; Bedaciquum, 5789; Metturicum, 5854; Aminicum, 5862.

3d Declension.—The classic norm is usually observed in the use of *e* and *i* in the Ablative singular of nouns and adjectives. Words ending in *-ensis* practically always have *e*: *i* however appears in a few cases, though the usage varies at times even in the same inscription.

Aritiense, 172; Conimbrici(n)se, 5264; Conimbriense, I. H. C. 235; Dumiense, I. H. C. 245, 261; Astoricense, I. H. C. 245; Iriense, Lamecense, Lucense, I. H. C. 261. But: Legionensi, Salmaticensi, I. H. C. 245; Corduvensi, I. H. C. 469; Olbensi, 5406; Cluniensi, 6093.

We may note further the following words: Pellis has the Ablative form pelli, 2660[e]; it is cited in one other passage, but this is a conjecture of Neue.[4]

Proles on the other hand, after the analogy of many common words ending in *is*, has moved over to a type like *turris* show-

[1] This article is offered as a supplementary study to the dissertation: Notes on the Syntax of Latin Inscriptions found in Spain, published 1909, by the same writer. The subject matter is found in C. I. L. II, Ephem. Epig. 8 and 9, and in the volume of Christian inscriptions of Spain, edited by Hübner.

[2] Carnoy, Le latin d'Espagne d'après les inscriptions, p. 216.

[3] Monumenta Linguae Ibericae, p. CXXXVII.

[4] Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache, I, p. 342; Lucr. 6, 1270.

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ing *is* in the Nom. singular and *i* in the Abl. The former is cited by Neue,[1] the latter not at all.

Prolis, I. H. C. 265; proli, I. H. C. 232.

The presence of a superfluous letter *s* at the end of *Bellerophon* is easy to explain. After *ph* began to be written *f*, the *s* was added by analogy to, or rather confusion with, *fons*.[2]

Belerofons in equo Pegaso occidit Cimera, 6338p.

4th Declension.—Relatively few nouns of this declension are found in inscriptions and many of those indicating things have made their way into the 2d declension. This is, of course, the one feature worthy of note, but it may deserve mention that in one instance *u* is found doubled to denote length in the Gen. singular. If we accept the statement of Lindsay,[3] *uu* for *ū* in any case was not written before the 1st century, A. D., and was not common in the Gen. singular till the time of the elder Pliny. Vergil's MSS do not show it and, though statistics are not at hand, neither do inscriptions afford numerous examples, as those cited by the editors[4] seem to prove. In view of this our example assumes importance.

Lucretia fida sacerd(os) perp. Rom(ae) et Aug. conventuus Bracaraug. d. 2416.

Shifts in Declension.

Aditus. As a result of the leveling tendency, *aditus* has the plural *adita* in: adita patebunt. I. H. C., 333. The participle *aditum* is not to be thought of. Since this is a late inscription, the ending is either a barbarism or *aditus* is felt as a neuter.

Christicolus. Some uncertainty in regard to declension of nouns of common gender seems to have been felt and the difficulty was apparently solved in isolated cases by remaking and declining masculines according to the 2d or 3d declension, feminines according to the 1st declension. This helps to account for the writing *Christicolus* as against *Christicola*. The literary form is *-cola*, e. g., *silvicola*. In the particular instance to be cited, the feeling for *-colus* was intensified by the proximity of other forms in *-us* and by its adjective value.

Martinius hu(c lapid) e tectus Chr(isti)colus et crismate unctus. I. H. C. 463.

[1] L. c., 1, p. 281.
[2] Cf. Hübner's note on inscription.
[3] Latin Language, p. 10, par. 9.
[4] Cf. note, C. I. L. II. 2416.

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Clavus.—Since it is not uncommon in vulgar Latin to find *o* stems with the consonantal ending *-ibus* in the Ablative,[1] the example given below is recorded rather to show the ludicrous results of the confusion than to maintain that *clavus* has really changed its declension.[2] It will hardly do to say that the writer was momentarily confused by *clavis*, key.

Qui aput Gerundam clavibus transfixi martirium passi. I. H. C. 192.

Martyr. This word illustrates the remarks made about *Christicolus*. Though in its present form it applies equally well to persons of both sexes, *martyr* was felt to be masculine only, and a 1st declension form *martyra* was invented to apply to females. This form appears also in the Latin of Gregory of Tours and elsewhere.[3] The change may have been helped along by the fact that when *martyr* was declined in Greek fashion it corresponded to Latin 1st declension in certain forms, e. g., *martyras*.

Depositio bone memori(e) martire d(omini) Felicis. I. H. C. 18.

Salus. Salutae. Pro meritis parvum munus hoc redd(o). 5910. Though this is the text, we probably have a questionable reading for *Salviae*, the emendation of the editor.

Saxum. The examples of Carnoy[4] prove that *saxum* in the form *saxa* has in certain Christian inscriptions become a feminine singular of the 1st declension. We may strengthen this conclusion by an example in which it is declined in the plural also, in the 1st declension (Nom.(?) being used for Acc.(?)).

Edis ruina(m) a fundamentis erexit et acte saxe exaravit, etc.

I. H. C. 275.

To these may be added a few nouns which in classic Latin were declined in more than one way, but which in these inscriptions move in declension to a set type, popular and not favored by best usage. Such are:

Compago. The best form is *compages-is*. Later *compago--inis* appears.

[1] Carnoy, l. c., p. 222. [2] Lindsay, l. c., p. 404 (top).

[3] Bonnet, Le latin de Grégoire de Tours, p. 365, n. 7; Forcellini-de-Vit, Lexicon.

[4] L. c., p. 227.

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Compago sacra. I. H. C. 239.

Contagium. *Contagio* is the better form.[1]

Depulit contagia carnis. I. H. C. 413.

Delicium. Practically all the examples of *delicium* as against *deliciae* are taken from inscriptions.[2]

Mercurialis, delicium meum, 1852.

Miscellaneous.

In no particular class belong two expressions that possess some element of interest, though they establish no principle:

Alpes Cottiae is a phrase that is practically invariable.[3] The author says *Alpes Cotti* in one instance. No doubt he is influenced by such expressions as *regnum Cotti, fines Cotti.*

(. . Faus)tino . . . commentar(i)ensi . . . item provinciae Baetice, item Alpium Cotti, 6085.

Plus minus occurring in pagan inscriptions in expressions of time, is used as an adverb and is therefore indeclinable. It means simply *ad* or *circiter*, but it is placed after the limited words. In Christian epitaphs it may take a prior position. (vixit) pl(us) m(inus) annis, I. H. C. 82, 367, cf. vixit annos plus minus LX. I. H. C. 369. Finally it is felt as an adjective and the first member may be declined. Since it is often abbreviated, it is perhaps not accurate to say that the adverbial sense predominates.

Leontius . . q(ui) vi(xit) annos plures vel minus LXXXII, etc., I. H. C. 94.

Changes in Gender.

No reference is made here to the fall of the neuter. This has received due attention at the hands of Carnoy.[4] Apart from this, however, there are indications of change taking place between masculine and feminine words,[5] of a readjustment of gender according to sex rather than according to the artificial distinctions of declensions. This is distinctly noticeable in nouns of general character, which although applying equally to both sexes, yet had their gender fixed by declension. The following may be noted:

[1] Neue, l. c., 1, p. 644; Festus, p. 42 (de Ponor); Bayard, Le latin de St. Cyprien, p. 205.

[2] Neue, l. c., 1, p. 693.

[3] Cf. de Ruggiero, Dizionario Epigrafico. [4] L. c., p. 226.

[5] Pirson, Langue des inscriptions latines de la Gaule, p. 157.

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Cinis. The gender of *cinis* according to the grammarians varies in the literature between masculine and feminine. If we may judge from the examples given by Neue,[1] its use as feminine is for the most part late. It is feminine once in Spanish inscriptions, obviously because it is felt as another term for the person of a woman.

Abundantia famula dei, etc.; nam cinis est magna, I. H. C. 366.

Plebs. Though in its proper sense feminine, a word of this kind would in common parlance be felt as masculine as the following example shows:

Plebs aere conlato huius tituli honore contentus impe(n)sam remisit. 34.

Proles. The change in gender of *proles* is due to the fact that it has ceased to be poetical and has become plain prose for *filius*, or in the plural, *liberi*. Examples are numerous enough to show that the change is not exceptional, but authoritative. Meos proles. I. H. C. 12; suorum prolium. I. H. C. 149; proli suo. I. H. C. 231.

Slightly different are others in most of which the gender follows declension, but individual explanation is preferable.

Caelum, Pelagus. Here fall of the neuter is illustrated. *Pelagus*[2] naturally would not maintain itself as neuter. *Caelum*, however, is masculine more than once even in Petronius.[3]

Transgrediens celos . . verbum repperit, etc., I. H. C. 361c; Undivagumque maris pelagum habita (re suetos) haula tenet homines, etc. I. H. C. 484.

Dogma. A word of this type borrowed from the Greek would naturally fall into 1st declension and be treated as feminine.[4] Per omnia inlustrissimi viri affatim fuit dogma sancta. I. H. C. 234.

Frons. The citations of *frons*, masculine, practically all come from the older period of the language.[5] Among these is included the one example from these inscriptions, an epitaph dating about the 2nd century, A. D. Elsewhere in Spanish in-

[1] L. c., 1, p. 978.

[2] Bonnet, l.c., p. 217, n. 3, and p. 375; Neue, l. c., 1, p. 503.

[3] 39. 11; 45. 6.

[4] Pirson, l. c., p. 156; Carnoy, l. c., p. 227; Petronius, 44. 16; 45. 28.

[5] Neue, l. c., 1, p. 982.

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scriptions *frons* is feminine. We are therefore dealing with an archaism; unless one prefer to think of the influence of *mons, pons,* etc. cum fronte templi ... vetustate corrupto, 4085.

Ordo. We should expect *ordo* to weaken, since it is masculine by exception. Judged by its modifier it is feminine in one example. Since it is masculine as a rule here and so in its French derivative, one might suggest the analogy of *virgo, multitudo,* and other feminine words in *-o* temporarily at work and affecting the gender in this case.

Per ordine(m) sexta(m). I. H. C. 149.

Tumulus. Words of this type occur in connections where it is not possible to tell their gender, e. g., in hoc tumulo. An exception to this is found in a mutilated epitaph of the 7th century. It is best to draw no inference.

Tumulum (Nom.) Mauru, etc. I. H. C. 61. cf. Hic tumulus, 5478.

Use of Singular for Plural.

Anta. M. Egnatius Venustus . . . statuam et scamna marmorea et antam marmoravit de sua pecunia dedit. 1066.

The use of this word in the singular is unique,[1] and is due to a simple change in the meaning rather than to confusion or arbitrary mistreatment. From pillars or columns in front of a temple, it passed by an easy and natural gradation to the meaning, *ostium* or *vestibulum*, and hence the change to singular was obligatory. Other readings are suggested and the idea is an afterthought, but the text is authoritative.

Flabrum. In the use of *flabro* for *flabris*, the writer has become callous to the sense of *flabra* as puffs or successive blasts of wind; to him it has lost its poetic force and has a singular, which is synonymous with *spiritus* or *flatus*. One other example is cited.[2]

Divino et flabro animas creas. I. H. C. 385.

Conjugations.

Spanish inscriptions do not differ from folk Latin in general in the confusion between different conjugations. Whether one prefers to say that the change is merely in orthography, or is conversational, or a means of applying pronunciation in writing, the phenomena are, within bounds, everywhere the same.

[1] Cf. Thesaurus Linguae Latinae; Neue, l. c., 1, p. 675.
[2] Neue, l, c., 1, p. 695.

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ĕ replaced by ĭ.[1]

Liciat, 6327[a]; lugit, I. H. C. 123; iacis, 3453.

Disappearance of i before a vowel.[2]

Blandens, I. H, C. 214.

Rarely in these inscriptions does the imperfect *-ibam* for *-iebam* occur. The change is conversational and as it appears elsewhere[3], we should expect to find many examples here. Only one is at hand.

Servibat. I. H. C. 227.

Forms due to Extension.

The tendency to level verb forms by extending perfects in *v* is noticeable in two ways.

1. In that class of verbs of the 4th conjugation which in the literature admit of a perfect in *ii* or *ivi* both forms are found, but the latter has the preference in inscriptions more recently found. Although the form in *ii* was popular, Bonnet[4] has found the same true of Gregory's Latin; this extension is a vulgar Latin principle.[5]

Transivit. I. H. C. 138, 148; sepelivit. I. H. C. 335; obdormivit. I. H. C. 21; subivit. I. H. C. 132, 222; munivit, 3270. But: adierit, 1963; exierit, 1964; audierit, 5439 [3. 2. 12]; petiit, I. H. C. 223 and obiit always. Though *redivit* is the reading in: redivit in pace. I. H. C. 403, and the form is not impossible,[6] the phrasing shows that *requievit in pace* is almost certainly correct.

2. One verb, *pono*, has a perfect both in *ui* and *vi*.[7] Posivit, 147, 6302.

Remaking of Irregular or Defective Verbs.

It was entirely in keeping with folk Latin usage to make over and employ as regular verbs certain irregular ones, or to supply the parts of defective verbs.[8] The principle is not new

[1] Meyer-Lübke, Grammaire des langues romanes, 2, p. 160; Carnoy, l. c., p. 38; Bonnet, l. c., pp. 427 and 428.

[2] Carnoy, l. c., p. 44.

[3] Bonnet, l. c., p. 419, n. 1; Lindsay, l. c., p. 491; Nyrop, Grammaire historique de la langue française, 2 pars. 156 and 159.

[4] L. c., p. 439; Lindsay, l. c., p. 506.

[5] Nyrop, l. c., 2, par. 170. [6] Neue, l, c., 3, p. 432.

[7] Carnoy, l. c., p. 252; Pirson, l. c., p. 151.

[8] Densusianu, Histoire de la langue roumaine, p. 155, par. 72; Meyer-Lübke, l. c., 2, pars. 247 and 248; Carnoy, l. c., p. 105; Pirson, l. c., p. 149; Bonnet, l. c., p. 434, n. 1 and refs.

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and needs no discussion here. However, it displays itself in striking fashion in two verbs in Spanish inscriptions:

Offero. Hoc opus a nobis offertum idem ecclesiae perenni sit iure concessum. I. H. C. 259.

Romance derivatives require such a form, and it is posited by scholars, but starred by certain ones as not existing.[1]

Ferio. The same ignorance or bold daring is exhibited in giving to this verb a past participle; but when none existed in classic Latin, one was made in vulgar Latin. No other examples of this have been collected.[2]

Exceptus spiritus arce dominica, Piscator obiit prilula feritus, etc. I. H. C. 213.

Forms due to Analogy.

Adesse gives the Future aderit 5439 [1. 4. 12], a form cited by Rönsch [3] and others. It is a late form [4] and is no doubt a generalization from the other persons.

Audere. If the reading be correct *auserit* appears in one inscription. Though unusual, it is not impossible.[5] Buecheler (cf. note on inscription), however, objects to the reading and suggests *hauserit*, which creates other difficulties. Si qui de meis super eos annos auserit post obitum meum . . . (removere . . .) Eph. Ep. 8. 30.

Canere. This verb written *canui* can apparently be explained by the influence of the compounds on the simple verb. Servius [6] while naming the form *canui* seems to have in mind the compounds, as his citations show. Only one other example of this form is given.[7] Furthermore the compounds were not common outside of poetry.[8] But apart from this, reduplicative perfects tend to lose reduplication and new perfects are made modeled after the majority which are regularly formed. Just as *cado* gives *caduit*,[9] so might *cano* give *canuit* and this is offered as a possible explanation

[1] Cf. Körting, Wörterbuch; Nyrop, l. c., 2, par. 106. 5°; but cf. Grandgent, An Introduction to Vulgar Latin, par. 435 (end).

[2] Grandgent, l. c., pars. 108 and 434.

[3] Itala und Vulgata, p. 521; Lindsay, l. c., p. 510. par. 53.

[4] Neue, l. c., 3, p. 603.

[5] Neue, l. c., 3, p. 109.

[6] Georgics, 2. 384; Neue, l. c., 3, p. 371.

[7] Cf. Thesaurus.

[8] Neue, l. c., 3, p. 372.

[9] Lindsay, l. c., p. 509; Nyrop, l. c., 2, par. 196; Grandgent, l. c., par. 430.

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of the form. A first impulse is to think of confusion with the verb *caneo*,[1] but this is remote and the verb not common.

(Hic) recubat . . . Samuel . . . (q)ui canuit of(f)icium. I. H. C. 214.

Scandere. Scendens Chr(istu)s in altum captivam duxit captivitate(m). I. H. C. 255.

The participle written *scendens* at once suggests the influence of *conscendere*; all the more so, since the phrase is a stock one and *conscendo* is the verb used. Cf. qui temnens fluida conscendit lucida caeli. I. H. C. 218; aethera . . . conscendere. I. H. C. 219. It is probably not a question of spelling, as Carnoy[2] has shown that the vowel *a* is well preserved in Spanish inscriptions. The text is also intact at this point and the prefix *con* seems not to have been lost.

Deponent Verbs.

The peculiarities of deponents are largely those of folk Latin everywhere.[3] The results only are recorded.

1. Deponents with passive meaning.

The number is not large, and is limited practically to compounds of *fari*, all of which occur in the past participle. However the examples in the literature are late.[4]

Prefatus rex revertens . . . obiit, etc. I. H. C. 474; Quis nobit suprafatum . hunc . . . mundum totum despiciad. I. H. C. 214. Also praeconari.[5]

Hic macte celeber libris preconatus et ymnis. I. H. C. 218.

2. Deponents that have assumed active form.[6]

Hanc imitare velis. I. H. C. 258; Depreco vos. I. H. C. 496.

The reverse process, when a verb non-deponent in classical Latin becomes deponent,[7] is more rare. It is archaic and appears to have been kept up by later writers. Petronius has a certain number of examples.[8]

Si quis voluerit rogare . . . ut eis veniam co(n)cedatur d(ominu)s. I. H. C. 284.

[1] Bonnet, l. c., p. 423.
[2] L. c., p. 17.
[3] Carnoy, l. c., p. 252; Pirson, l. c., p. 153 and refs.
[4] Neue, l. c., 3, p. 44.
[5] Kühner, Ausführliche Grammatik, 2, p. 83. 8.
[6] Carnoy, l. c., p. 252.
[7] Bonnet, l. c., p. 411.
[8] Arminius a Guericke. De linguae vulgaris reliquiis apud Petronium et in inscriptionibus parietariis Pompeianis. Diss. 1875, p. 50.

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II. Vocabulary.

Extension of Meaning.

It will be seen that most of the words to be considered here are drawn from Christian inscriptions; the idea in them is usually figurative, yet developed in such a way that the classic or fundamental meaning is generally in sight. It is therefore preferable to think of development or extension rather than of actual change of meaning. Many of these terms are but attempts to translate expressions from the Vulgate. Christian writers found no terms in classic Latin to express the new and spiritual concepts of their faith and were forced to employ well known words in an altered sense to convey their meaning.[1] Thus the vocabulary of war, of the arena, of politics, of everyday life is called upon to this end.

Substantives.

Aevum, Meta. These two words illustrate very well two opposite tendencies in extension; the first, use of abstract for concrete; the second, of concrete for abstract. *Aevum* from age, generation, easily passes into the meaning of world, and in ecclesiastical writers is synonymous with *mundus*.

Anerius famulus, etc.—migravit ab hoc aevo. I. H. C. 378.

Meta is seen in good Latin with many figurative meanings, beneath all of which lies the idea of goal. But, though the poets use it with the Gen. *aevi* as a periphrasis for *annus*, *meta* seems to have gone not quite so far as in the following epitaph where it is used absolutely for *annus*.

Hic requiescit . . . . . cui decies quina(s et duas per) metas regendi monacos incubuere, I. H. C. 390.

Athleta. From its signification as wrestler, the word even in classic Latin had come to be applied to one who had become proficient in anything, or gained the mastery by dint of struggles. It is apparently only in the Church Fathers that the idea developed of one who was careful to strive after virtue, a spiritual champion.[2]

Athletis . . . iungitur rite celestibus. I. H. C. 213.

Centuria. This word was employed not only as a military term, but by Varro and others was used in connection with a

[1] Goelzer, Etude lexicographique et grammaticale de la latinité de St. Jérome, p. 242.

[2] Cf. Forcellini-de-Vit.

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plot of ground containing a certain number of acres. No doubt this is the point of departure for the meaning district, canton, in which sense it seems to be found in Spain exclusively.[1]

Centuriae Ores(is), Manens(is), etc. . . . posuerunt. 1064; ex ↄ (centuria) Ulia Inca, etc. Eph. Ep. 8, 110, 126, 128.

Codex. Nec per multiplices abaco splendente gavessas Ponentur nitidae codicis arte dapes. I. H. C. 379b.

This inscription was found in a dining room and *codex* apparently means table. The application seems new, but comes from the sense of *codex* as board. It is like our "festal board".

Corpusculum. A word used by Plautus as a term of endearment and by the philosophers as atom. In inscriptions it signifies body of the dead, corpse, in which sense the idea of endearment is not lost.[2]

In isto sarcofago reco(n)ditu(m) iacet corpusculu(m) . . . Levanto, etc. I. H. C. 523.

Cupa. It is only in inscriptions and largely in African inscriptions[3] that *cupa*, strictly speaking a cask or wine vessel, develops the subsidiary idea of urn or niche for the ashes of the dead. It is therefore exceptional in sphere and meaning.

Caelia Quartilla fecit patri cupa(m), 6178.

Exitus. Marin(ia) Catina exitum et memoriam fecit Silicio Donato, 6109. Probably concrete for *sepulcrum*; Olcott,[4] *exsequiae*. Its meaning is partly fixed by the context, since it is coupled with *memoria*.[5]

Funus. None of the classic meanings apply with perfect accuracy in the sentence which follows, yet the difference is slight. It may best be rendered, wound or grief,[6] the idea being that it is so poignant as to cause death.

Fletibus ecce tuis renovasti funus opertum. I. H. C. 34a.

Fossa, Hospitium. From the idea lodging-place, *hospitium* becomes synonymous with *domus*,[7] but also in ecclesiastical Latin it develops the further notion of monastery and finally tomb. Rendered exactly in this last connection, it is "last

[1] Cf. Hübner's note on inscription, 1064.

[2] Cf. Thesaurus; Bayard, l. c., p. 129; Olcott, Studies in Word-formation of the Latin Inscriptions, p. 251.

[3] Cf. Thesaurus; J. Schmidt, Philologus, 46. 163; Kübler, Archiv, 8. 188. [4] L. c., p. 42.

[5] Pirson, l. c., p. 259. [6] Pirson, l. c., p. 256. [7] Forcellini-de-Vit.

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resting place". Not different, though less complimentary, is *fossa.*

Aneni Ammedi per mag(istrum) Flaisicum hospitio Ammi, etc., 5763; Respicis angustum praecisa rupe sepulcrum, hospitium Honorii, etc. I. H. C. 49; Ista vorax fossa... Dominici continet ossa. I. H. C. 129.

Inimicus. This word is applied in a special sense by writers of the Christian inscriptions to the great enemy, the Devil. It is, therefore, an attempt to give the personal idea of the Vulgate and is only one of many pseudonyms [1] used by the Church Fathers. This is a narrowing of its meaning, but is interesting as furnishing the exact basis for the Romance derivative, which in certain early poems maintains the precise force of the original.[2]

Ut cognoscens inimicus confusus abscedat. I. H. C. 334.

Lacus. Limited almost exclusively in classic Latin to a reservoir of some kind for liquids and in late Latin applied to a receptacle for grain. Developing along this line it could be employed by churchmen to denote any cavity and so in the Vulgate renders pit, den, etc.[3] It is thus synonymous with *specus.*[4]

Ubi Daniel missus est in lacum leonum. I. H. C. 370, 466.

Lavacrum. In reality post-classic for bath. In Christian terminology it readily assumed the meaning of baptismal font and further might denote the act of baptism itself.[5]

Nondum quos dominus vocavit purgatos unda labacri. I. H. C. 12.

Libra. Used of equipoise of mind and symmetry of character.

In te libra morum, in te modestia tenuit regnum. I. H. C. 413A.

Lictor. Tyberius (l)ictor famulus dei vi(x)it annos plus minus XIII. I. H. C. 314.

In Hübner's view [6] this word represents either a church

[1] Bayard, l. c., p. 272; Goelzer, l. c., p. 231.

[2] Commol ovo ganar el mortal enemigo—Poema de Fernan Gonzalez, 6c. Assy guiso la cosa el mortal enemigo. Ibid. 216, and often.

[3] Forcellini-de-Vit, Joseph . . obsistente Ruben, in lacum demissus. Gen. 37.

[4] Pruden. Cath. 4. 65.

[5] Goelzer, l. c., p. 91; Prud. Peristeph. VI. 29.

[6] Cf. note on inscription.

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officer or a public official. If the former, we are possibly considering an interesting example of the passing over of a pagan technical term into ecclesiastical usage with a new meaning. As a matter of fact, *lictor*, in the Vulgate, means almost any attendant or messenger.[1] But one wonders if *lector* may not be meant.[2]

Machina. The notion of complication, involved appliance usually lies in *machina*, the fundamental idea in which is mechanical contrivance. Not even Lucretius' *machina mundi* is free from this interpretation. Below it stands for edifice, temple.

Resurgit a preceptis divinis hec machina sacra. I. H. C. 149.

Maiores. Equivalent to *parentes* (?). This meaning is plausible. but not certain. If correct, *maiores* is used because the reference is to a slave, who could not be said to have *parentes*, and from this point of view the example is uniqe.[3]

Corinthus Sex. Marii ser. ann. XX quem sui maiores superaverunt. 2269.

Memoria, papilio. In Spanish as in Gallic inscriptions,[4] *memoria* has developed into tomb.

Hic est memoria ubi requiescit benememoria Meliosa, I. H. C. 186. *Papilio* developed in two directions: appealing to the eye, it expressed both tent and butterfly, as they bore some resemblance. As chrysalis it could also express soul or spirit of the dead, a meaning it has only below:[5] ut . . . volitet meus ebrius papilio, 2146.

Nympha. Bath. A good example of the appropriation of poetical words and uses by such writers. He is within his rights, however, as it occurs in a metrical inscription.

Qui . . . instituisti nymphas calidas, 6102.

Obtutus. The examples here represent a slight advance in the use of *obtutus*. In good Latin it means glance of the eye and in most cases the complement, *oculorum*, is expressed. Bonnet[6] questions the concrete use of the word and certainty is hard to attain. Bayard[7] renders *visus* and we are safe in

[1] Forcellini-de-Vit, Misit Saul lictores ut David raperent, 1 Kings, 19. 20.

[2] Du Cange, Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis.

[3] Cf. note on inscription.

[4] Pirson, l. c., p. 259.

[5] Olcott, l. c., p. 86.

[6] L. c., p. 261, n. 4.

[7] L. c., p. 25.

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so taking it here. The writer is trying to convey the idea "sacred in thy sight".

Clareat hoc templum obtutubus sacrum demonstrans, etc. I. H. C. 149.

Corusco fruitur caelitus gaudio obtutu domini. I. H. C. 213.

Pedatura. First a definite space measured off in feet; then a plot or field, especially one suited to planting of vines. Finally a place for burial.

Paedatura T. I(ulii) Valentis, 2651.

Pietas. As *pietas* expresses abstractly the affection of child for parent, so it is not remote for it to become concrete and denote one of the two persons entering into that relation. Italian *pietà* implies such a usage. In late Latin it was also applied as a title of respect to emperors.[1] Below it is the same as *filius*.

Victor pater sue pietati fecit. Eph. Ep. 9. 56.

Princeps. It is doubtful if *princeps*, in the early period of the empire at least, was the equivalent of *rex*. The line of distinction is close, but it is perhaps better to say that *princeps* was a euphemism for *rex*. Such a distinction would gradually be lost and perhaps earliest in the provinces. In very late inscriptions of Spain, say 7th or 8th century, *princeps* is no longer "first man", but is synonymous with *rex*, as its conjunction with *regina* shows.

Adefonsus princeps cum coniuge, . . regina, etc. I. H. C. 252, 254, 465. Cf. Ego Sanccius rex . . . cum uxore mea Urraca regina. I. H. C. 283.

Sepultura. By substitution for the thing resulting, *sepultura* becomes *tumulus* or *sepulcrum*.[2]

Quisquis conspicis hoc sepulturae opus. I. H. C. 336.

Suffragium. The steps here are: vote, prayers to the saints for one's-self or the souls of the dead below, and finally the sacraments.[3]

Pro anima nostraque orare non pigeat qualiter vestris adiuti suffragiis . . . habeamus, etc. I. H. C. 283.

Virtus. Hic iacent . . . ossa quorum virtute deus quotidie multa fecit miracula. I. H. C. 244.

[1] Du Cange.
[2] Du Cange, Glossarium; J. E. Church, Archiv, 13. 427.
[3] Forcellini-de-Vit.

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The process[1] by which *virtus* moved from the classic Latin meaning bravery to that of "relics", among the Church Fathers, can be traced by the help of this inscription. Its connection in Romance is close enough to make citation worth while.[2]

Verbs.

Aedificare. Equivalent to *exstruere*. Such examples are wanting in the literature, but are plentiful in ecclesiastical Latin and especially in inscriptions.[3]

Chr(ist)e . . . qui aedificasti hanc haram . . . ex(audi) eos. etc. I. H. C. 483.

Dare. *Donare* was not infrequently used in classic Latin with the meaning and construction of *dare*; the reverse is not so evidently true and certainly not in the stereotyped phrase given below. One would expect the distinction not to be preserved.

L. Fonteio . . . aedilicis honorib(us) ab ordini dato, 6095.

Glutinare, Migrare. Taken alone these verbs have their strict meaning, but as a part of phrases they deserve attention. The one is used in a periphrasis referring to burial and has no particular rendering, the other refers to death and may be translated "departed this life", "journeyed from this world", etc.

Levanto quod humo glutinatus est. I. H. C. 523. Anerius . . . migravit ab hoc aevo, etc. I. H. C. 378.

Perorare. In literal value a legal and rhetorical term. In ecclesiastical Latin it reverts to the idea of the simple verb *orare*. Lector . . . . nunc flecte, peroro. I. H. C. 219.

Supervivere. Rarely used in the literature, but conveying the idea of outlive growing out of the prefix *super*. In a late epitaph it means live and is equivalent to the simple verb.

Maria fidelis Chr(is)ti . . . quattuor deni uno supervixit annos. I. H. C. 117.

[1] Goelzer, l. c., p. 230.

[2] Que y les ayudasse la vertud sagrada. Poema de Fernan Gonçalez, 464. Vala me, dixo, Christo la tu vertud. ibid. 495.

La Gloriosa lo metió in el agua. Do banyado era el rey del cielo y de la tierra. La vertud fue fecha man a mano. Metiol gafo e sacol sano. Libro de los Reyes de Oriente, 83 ff.; cf. Godefroy's Old French Lexicon for numerous examples.

[3] Cf. Thesaurus; Goelzer, l. c., p. 235; Krebs, Antibarbarus.

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Indeclinables.

Contra. As applied in personal relations *contra* was the exact opposite of *erga*. But, since friendly feelings may be said to be directed towards a person in the same way as hostile, *contra* would inevitably be influenced by *erga* and confused with it. That the distinction between the two was remarkably well preserved is proved by the fact that only a few examples of this misuse of *contra* have been gathered from the language.[1] The meaning of opposition also lies in the Spanish derivative *contra*.

Haec qualis fuerit contra patronum patronam . . . monumentum indicat. 3495.

Erga. The original notion, opposite to, seems to have been local, yet only two or three examples are given.[2] We cannot infer that it had ceased to be used.[3] In a late Christian inscription it approaches this local idea and may be rendered "alongside of", or "over against".

Hoc loco erga meos elegi quiescere proles. I. H. C. 12.

Qualiter. In ecclesiastical writers, *qualiter* serves to introduce indirect questions like *quomodo*[4] and is about our "how that". But in these writers are also found examples of *qualiter* after verbs that require an object clause introduced by *ut*, yet in such a way that the proper meaning of *qualiter* is preserved.[5] The point is that it was brought into connection with such verbs. In the following example *qualiter* seems to be the equivalent of *ut*; the sense is satisfied by regarding the clause as the object of *orare* or in the light of purpose. Its meaning is approximately "in such sort as" or "such sort that".

Igitur vos omnes obsecramus qui haec legeritis pro eiusdem anima nostraque orare non pigeat qualiter vestris adiuti suf(f)ragiis vobiscum patriae . . regnum habeamus. I. H. C. 283.

[1] Draeger, Historische Syntax, 1, par. 262. 1 (a); cf. Thesaurus.

[2] Draeger, l. c., 1, p. 596, par. 263. 1.

[3] Bonnet, l. c., p. 207; Bayard, l. c., p. 137, n. 1.

[4] Bonnet, l. c., p. 677, n. 4.

[5] Orosius, 7. 26. 10. Ut etiam clament nosque ad reclamandum lacessant; sollicitos fieri, qualiter conticescant. Faustus, IV, Sermo XVI (1. 3, p. 284, Engelbrecht). Dominus et Salvator noster, qualiter ad eum post multas neglegentias venire debeamus, nos hortatur et admonet, etc.

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Quare. In late Latin *quare* became *quia*[1], a result arising from its use in interrogative and consecutive clauses. This was known to occur in the Latin spoken in Gaul and was supposed to take place only there.[2] One example, however, is found in a Spanish inscription recently found.

Et castiga illum, quare somniclosus est. Eph. Ep. 9. 176.

Words new or rarely used.[3]

Adjectives.

Auraticius. Equivalent to *auratus* and as such is probably the only example.[4]

Tuam equestrem auraticiam poni, 6338[a].

Benemerens. The frequency with which the two members are written separately is proof that at first each had its own force. Further it was placed in appositive position and probably began with *merenti*, cf. Herennia Secundina, etc. Felix ospi(ti) mer(enti) pos(uit). 18; heres patrono beneme(renti) (f.) c. 496; Aelius Po(nt)ianus . . . maritae beneme(renti) fe(cit). 1139, 1703. Finally it is placed before its noun, is used as any simple adjective and the phrase becomes stereotyped.

M. Herennius . . . feci(t) me vivo memoriam . . . mihi et Herenniae . . benemerenti libertae et uxori simplicissimae. 4299; benemerenti Modestus coniugi sue posuit. 89.

Iduarius (?). Collegia kalendarium et iduaria duo civi gratissimo posuerunt. 4468.

"For celebrating rites on the ides", Olcott.[5] If correct, a very unusual word. It is taken by Forcellini to be corrupt for *Iduariorum*; on the other hand, the editors[6] consider it as giving the date of the assembling of the College and deem it to be correct.

Perpetualis. G. Annius pont(ifex) perpetualis mun(e)ris. 2343.

[1] Goelzer, l. c., p. 431.

[2] Cf. note on inscription; Wölfflin, Sitzb. M. Akad. 1894, p. 104; Gröber, Archiv, 5, 127; Meyer-Lübke, l. c., 3, pp. 659 and 651.

[3] It has not been thought necessary to extend this list to great length. A few words of more unusual character will be given and the discussion limited as much as possible.

[4] Cf. Thesaurus; Olcott, l. c., p. 216

[5] L. c., p. 155.

[6] Cf. note on inscription.

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A word coined and used by Quintilian and equivalent to *perpetuus*.[1] Mommsen would prefer to read: pont(if.) perpet. (II) v(ir)alis (cur.) muneris, etc.

Plaustrarius. Guider or maker of a plough, or having to do with a plough. Cited by Georges[2] twice for the entire language, but appears with some frequency in late Latin.

In iumenta plaust(r)aria iuga . . . decernant. 5439[3. 3. 28].

Nouns.

Acertas. Qui meliori(s) acertatis erit. 6278[36].

"Shrewdness", Olcott.[3] Hübner, while retaining the reading of the original, has thought of *aetatis*.

Adiutorium. Taken by Olcott[4] to be equivalent to *adiumentum*. It is at a later period that it becomes concrete and refers to a definite sum of money paid to a nobleman or to gifts, as *adiutorium natalis*.

Auf. Celer et Cornelia Flaviana . . . adiutorio parentu(m). 742; Q. Annius . . . adiutorio Q. Anni Fabiani d. d. 3358.

Adsidua, C. M. . . . Sulpicia Quinta adsidua eius merentissimo fecit. 3035.

Here *assidua* has apparently assumed noun value, as the Genitive following seems to show, and as such has an entirely different meaning from the noun *assiduus*, which is technical. The Thesaurus gives no other example. We might render "his devoted wife or attendant".

Antepagmentum. An architectural term meaning finishings for houses.[5]

Cum ante(pagmentis) et statuis, 5167.

Assisterium. Monastery.[6]

In suo assisterio era MLXXII. I. H. C. 212.

Cacabulus. Cacabulus sacris Augustis vernac(u)lus nuntius maior. (Cf. Eph. Epig. 8. 198.)

A bell, here almost certainly used for sacrificial purposes. Hirschfeld[7] took it as an epithet of *vernaclus*.

Circumgestator. Occurs in a mutilated inscription and its exact meaning is difficult to fix. *Circumforaneus*, one who

[1] Olcott, l. c., p. 234.
[2] Handwörterbuch; Olcott, l. c., p. 162.
[3] L. c., p. 59 and note. [4] L. c., p. 194. [5] Olcott, l. c., p. 128.
[6] Cf. Thesaurus, v. asceterium.
[7] Cf. note on inscription; Olcott, l. c., p. 253.

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travels about and sells wares, given by Forcellini, and carrier given by Olcott[1] are substantially correct. This idea is strengthened by examination of the examples in which the verb *circumgesto* is used,[2] and by the context in the following inscription.

Situlari . . . ser. circumgestator, 3442.

Comptor. A decorator, taken literally. By metaphor conveys the idea, finisher, maker.[3]

Limifex testacei estas qui corporis comptor. I. H. C. 385.

Deienitor. An obvious compound for "seeker after God", but apparently is found nowhere else;[4] cf. *deicola, deiferus, deiloquus*, late compounds given by Du Cange.

Ut deienitores suos . . . iis veniam co(n)cedatur d(ominu)s. I. H. C. 284.

Denudator. Denudator gimanasius Arescu(sae). 6328.

A new word[5] whose meaning is stripper in the gymnasium, as *gimanasius* helps to show.

Flator. Occasionally found as blower of wind instrument, rarely as caster of metals.[6]

Excipiuntur servi et liberti flatorum argentariorum aerariorum qui, etc., 5181 [56].

Limifex. Intima qui penetras cunctorum arviter verax Limifex testacei estas qui corporis comptor Divino et flabro animas creas (?), etc. I. H. C. 385.

Taken literally, a maker of clay. This, as an epithet of the Creator, is as new as it is peculiar, but illustrates very well the need of and fondness for new compounds. The inscription is written in acrostics and this may help to obscure its meaning; reflection, however, shows that the writer is struggling with the notion "man is a creature of the dust" and has really concentrated an entire clause in one word. The creature himself is referred to by the terms *limicola* and *limigenus*.[7]

Misolium. Popular for *mausoleum*.

[1] L. c., p. 94.
[2] Cic. ad Q. Fr. 1. 2. 6; Apul. Met. 8. 26.
[3] Georges, Handwörterbuch.
[4] Olcott, l. c., p. 97.
[5] Olcott, l. c., p. 97.
[6] Georges, Handwörterbuch; Olcott, l. c., p. 101 and note.
[7] Forcellini-de-Vit; cf. aurifex, L'Année Ep., 1902, No. 86 and armifex cited by Du Cange.

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Hic misolio sub ascia est. 5144. Cf. Hoc maesolium Sempronia Rufina mater d. suo faciendum curavit, 214.

Relicticium. Occurs in an inscription not easy to interpret, and some doubt attaches to the reading. Perhaps the meaning is "fulfilment of vow",[1] and the word may be akin to the verbal *relictio*, "bequest", cited by Du Cange.

Deo Endovellico sacr. ad relicticium. 129.

Scribta. Undoubtedly a barbarous form of *scriptura*.[2] It could also at this period easily be *scripta*, the plural of *scriptum*, shifted to 1st declension.

Floresindus d(ia)conus fecit hanc (s)cribtam. I. H. C. 454.

Sessus. Rare verbal, referring in this instance to the session of a court.

In eo loco sedeto neve quis alium in ea loca sessum duci iubeto, etc., 5439[4. 1. 23].

Viratus. C. Flavius . . . ob(hono)rem viratus d. d. 3335.

This is the text, but obviously *viratus* is put for *seviratus* (written viratus) and is really not a word at all.[3] The numeral vi could easily be suppressed followed as it was by a similar group. Cf. *IIvir*, *IIIvir*, etc., for *duumvir*, *triumvir*.

Verbs.

Bervaliam. Q. Alfius Iulianus h. s. e., etc. Bervaliam. 1210.

The form is unusual and may be corrupt, but the inscription seems well attested. Mommsen[4] suggests be(ne) r(equiescas) valiam. Cf. Italian *be'* for *bene*.

Concustodire. This rare verb is cited by Georges from an inscription and a passage in Plautus,[5] but some MSS read *custodire* in the latter.

ius iurandum adigito . . . sese pecuniam publicam eius colon(iae) concustoditurum. 5439[2. 3. 20].

Mellificare. To make honey.[6] A verb that never became common.

Floribus eternis mellificabit apis. I. H. C. 389.

Suprafari. Quisquis novit hunc suprafatum. I. H. C. 214.

The rather free use of *fari* in compounds and especially

[1] Olcott, l. c., p. 219.
[2] Cf. note on inscription.
[3] Olcott, l. c., p. 50.
[4] Cf. note on inscription.
[5] Aul. 723; cf. Leo's edition, crit. ap.
[6] Forcellini-de-Vit.

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praefari in inscriptions and Church Latin[1] points to the revival of a word used in poetry and formal documents.

Particles.

Exundique. Equivalent to *undique*, but is intended to be more comprehensive. It is clearly the result of the feeling that the simple *undique* was neither adequate nor strong enough. The tendency is more interesting than the compound; it strikes its roots far back into classic ground, as *exinde, exadversum, desuper* and others show. But real freedom, almost abandon, in such formations[2] comes later, as new compounds and Romance derivatives prove.

Hoc templum decorum . . . exundique amplificatum erigitur. I. H. C. 469.

Sed-vero. This collocation appears in the literature, but examples are rare at any period.[3] It is a conversational phrase and its use here helps to show that such pleonastic expressions must have entered very largely into daily speech, as the reading of Plautus and Terence proves.

Sed siquis vero hoc monumentum meum inquietare voluerit, etc. I. H. C. 336.

H. MARTIN.

WELL'S COLLEGE, AURORA, NEW YORK.

[1] Du Cange, v. suprafatus.

[2] Cf. circumundique, Draeger, l. c., 1, p. 126; exsuper, Carnoy, l. c., p. 266; ex tunc, Rönsch, l. c., p. 233; ex invicem, Souter, Archiv, 10, 412.

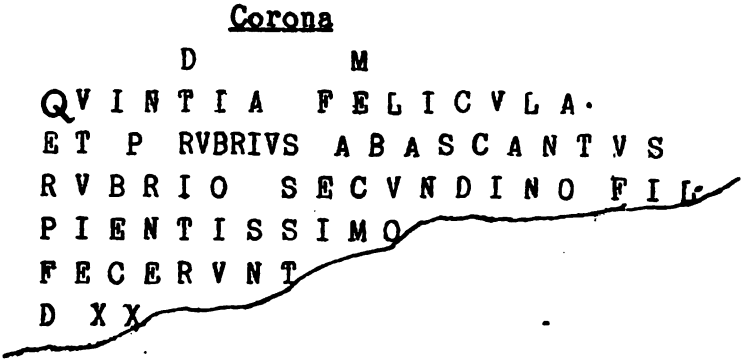
[3] Draeger, l. c., 2, p. 99 (b).

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III.—LATIN INSCRIPTIONS AT THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

VIII.[1]

112. Fragment of a marble slab, 0,20 m. wide and 0,20 m. high, roughly broken at top and bottom.[2] The body of the inscription is enclosed in a conventional incised moulding, and the introductory formula, with a wreath above it, occupies the triangular space like a pediment, which is marked off by a similar moulding at the top. The line of breakage at the top passes through the middle of the wreath, and the part of the stone missing at the bottom has carried away almost all of the last line and considerable parts of the two lines preceding. The text is as follows:



The letters are small, from a centimeter to a centimeter and a half in height, are very much crowded together, and are cut in a most vulgar style of a late period. Among the individual letters F E L I and T are only slightly differentiated, and are as a rule difficult to distinguish from one another. In the fifth and sixth lines, at the end, traces of following letters may be seen, but identification is impossible. In the last line,

[1] The preceding articles of this series appeared in this Journal, XXVIII, 1907, pp. 450 ff.; XXX, 1909, pp. 61 ff., 153 ff.; XXXI, 1910, pp. 25 ff., 251 ff.; XXXII, 1911, pp. 166 ff.; XXXIII, 1912, pp. 168–185.

[2] In the absence of any statement to the contrary, this and the following inscriptions may be regarded as of Roman origin.

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the first letter might possibly be P, though D seems reasonably certain, and the numeral that followed may have been larger than twenty, for about half even of the second X has disappeared.

113. Small tablet of white marble, 0,22 m. wide and 0,125 high, now broken obliquely from top to bottom into two pieces. The two holes for the nails, by which it was attached to the wall of the columbarium, are placed unsymmetrically at the beginning of the second line and at the end of the third. The inscription is as follows:

RESTITVTVS·
nail hole ○MATR·TETTEDIA
CALLIOPAE ET ○ *nail hole sic*
SOROR·TERTVLLAE OL I *sic*

Both the errors in the text and the cutting of the letters, which are much cramped, especially at the ends of the second and fourth lines, mark this inscription as the work of an ignorant and unpracticed graver. The letter T rises above the other letters in three instances in the first line and one in the second. In the last line the final E of Tertullae lacks the middle horizontal stroke.

114. Fragment of a white marble tablet, 0,11 m. wide and 0,06 high; the hole for the nail at the right side is preserved. The inscription, so far as it is preserved, is as follows:

VIA·ROSCI
ET·HORTENSIAE
VIX·ANN·VII·

The letters are fairly well cut, though in a somewhat vulgar style. If the name of the dead child was Salvia, one might be tempted to identify her father Roscius with L. Roscius Aelianus Paculus Salvius Iulianus, the son of Vibia Salvia, mentioned in V, 4353 (Brixia). Under the circumstances, however, no identification can be suggested.

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115. Tablet of white marble, 0,46 m. wide and 0,15 high, once used for an architectural purpose, as the smoothly rounded edge at the top shows. Both the nails by which it was attached to the wall of the tomb are preserved. The inscription is as follows:

L· SAENIVS FAVSTVS
VMBRICIA·L·L· HELENA

The first line is cut *in rasura*: of the earlier letters there remain only faint traces, none of which can be identified. The letters of the earlier hand seen in the second line, though less deeply cut, are more regular and of better form, and display less tendency to vulgarity of style than those of the later hand preserved in the first line.

116. Small tablet of white marble, 0,20 m. wide and 0,12 high, bearing the following inscription cut in rather small letters of the best monumental style of the early empire:

D· M·SATVRNINAE
VIX·ANN·III
TI· CLAVDIVS
ECLECTVS
PATER·F

It is barely possible that Ti. Claudius Eclectus is the same as Ti. Claudius, Aug. libertus, Saturninus, procurator vicesimae hereditatium, who with his wife Saturnina is mentioned in VI, 8443, though it is more likely that the similarity of names is a mere coincidence. The use of the apex over a consonant to indicate an abbreviation, seen here in the last line—F́(ecit)—was long ago explained by Kellermann.

117. Small tablet of white marble, 0,195 m. wide and 0,15 high, with parts of both nails preserved. The inscription, enclosed in a frame made by double incised lines, is as follows:

P· SEPTICI· DIONYSI
P SEPTICI· NVAE
SEPTICIAE· ANTHIS

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The letters are well cut in a style that tends toward the scriptura actuaria. Worthy of remark are the cognomen NVA, which I have not observed elsewhere, the genitive ANTHIS, the three instances of the I-longa, and the Y extending below the line. The inscription belongs to the early imperial period.

118. Small marble tablet, 0.13 m. wide and 0.09 high, with both the nails by which it was attached to the wall preserved. The inscription, enclosed by a conventional incised pattern, is as follows:

S É S T I A · P · L ·
L V P E R C A ·

Luperca as the name of a freedwoman is found also in V, 580 and VI, 13923; its use as the cognomen of an *ingenua* is of course more common. The most famous P. Sestius is the one defended by Cicero, but on account of the date of the inscription, which belongs to the earlier part of the imperial period, he may not be considered even as a possibility in this connection.

119. In the Notizie degli Scavi, 1904, pp. 436 f., is recorded the discovery near the via Salaria of a large number of small columbaria, which came to light when the new Corso di porta Pinciana was opened. In one of these chambers considerable portions of the stucco wall facing, which was decorated with paintings, were still preserved, though in a rather faded and damaged condition. Two fragments of this stucco, measuring 0,245 by 0,27 m. and 0,38 by 0,36 m. respectively, together with a metrical inscription from the same chamber, are now to be seen in the Museum of the Johns Hopkins University. Across the top of the former fragment runs a band of green, bounded at the bottom by a narrower band of black. Below this on a white field can be distinguished a male figure painted in a reddish brown color, now much faded, and beside the head can be read in well-formed letters the words:

D I T E P A T E R

The other fragment preserves the lower part of a female figure, with green drapery, walking to the left and holding in her left hand a branch, while an animal that resembles a wild

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boar runs in the opposite direction. Below in fine black letters on the white field is the word:

CERES

In the same chamber were found five sepulchral inscriptions, the most interesting of which refers to the god of the nether regions, whose form was painted on the wall above. The text is cut in small but finely formed letters on a tablet of white marble 0,285 m. wide and 0,195 high, with holes for the nails by which it was attached to the wall:

ECCE·SVB HOC·TITVLÓ SITA SVNT·SÓTÉRIDIS OSSA
CONSVMPTA·INMITI MORTE·SEPVLTA·IACET
NÓNDVM·BIS TERNÓS·AETAS COMPLEVERAT·ANNOS
CVM·IVSSAST·NIGRI·DITIS·INIRE DOMVM
MATER QVÓS·NÁTAE·DÉBÉBAT·TRÁDERE·LVCTVS
TRÁDIDIT·HÓS·MÁTRI·NÁTA·REPENTE SVAE

A noteworthy feature of this inscription, in addition to the four examples of the I-longa, is the extensive use of the apex over long vowels, especially in the last distich. A. Stein (Bursians Jahresbericht, 144, 1910, p. 216) calls attention to one alleged exception, NATÁ in the sixth verse, but he, like Gatti in the Bull. Com., 1905, p. 176, has merely copied the error of the original copy, also made by Gatti, in the Notizie degli Scavi. The stone has quite clearly NÁTA. A few comments and parallels will indicate the literary and epigraphical background of these verses.

1. Sub hoc titulo: cf. Buecheler, Carm. Epig. 104, 2, hoc sub tumulo iacet.

2. Consumpta inmiti morte—iacet: apparently derived from Tibullus, I, 3, 55, hic iacit inmiti consumptus morte Tibullus.

3. Nondum—annos: a commonplace method of giving the age of the dead, both in literature and in inscriptions, e. g. Sil. X, 492 f., bis Cloelia senos nondum complerat—annos; namque bis octonos nondum compleverat annos; Carm. Epig. 447, bis binos vix dum compleverat annos; ib. 398, quae nondum septem compleverat annos; ib. 1132, nondum bis denos aetas com[pleverat annos].

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4. Nigri Ditis inire donum: Dis pater, who was represented along with Ceres in painting on the walls of this tomb, is frequently mentioned in the metrical epitaphs, as Wissowa points out in Relig. u. Kultus, p. 312 (ed. 1912). For example, see Carm. Epig. 80, Ditis rapuit infantem domus; ib. 393, 395, 442, 492, 501, 1034. Pluto and Proserpina are, of course, usually associated as divinities of the lower world; in Carm. Epig. 1058 Pluto and Ceres are both mentioned, though in different connections.

5. The thought of this and the following verse is one of the commonplaces of the metrical epitaph, which is illustrated by J. A. Tolman, A Study of the Sepulchral Inscriptions in Buecheler's Carmina Epigraphica Latina, Chicago, 1910, and by B. Lier in Philologus, 1903, p. 456. Some of the closer parallels are Carm. Epig. 367, caroque viro dedit luctum; ib. 654, liquisti—aeternos fletus obiens invenalibus annis; C. I. L. VI, 10096, reliqui fletum; IX. 6281 (=Dessau, 7671), aeternasque lacrimas reliquit Carpo parenti; Kaibel, Epig. Graec., 116, ἔλιπον λυγρὸν ἐμοῖς τοκέσι.

120. Small tablet of grey marble, 0,23 m. wide and 0,145 high, with the following inscription arranged in two columns:

STEPHA
NVS

M· SVLP
ICIVS· M· L·
PRIMVS
VIXIT· A
XX

The cutting is shallow and poor, and the style vulgar in the extreme.

121. Small tablet of white marble, 0,20 m. wide and 0,12 high, with the following inscription:

T· TETTIENVS·T·L·ANTIOC
T·TETTIENVS·T·F·THEOPHILVS
TETTIENA·T·L·NICE
TETTIENA·T·L PAEDRIO

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The letters are fairly well cut, though they suffer from crowding, one result of which is the omission of final S in the first line, and the writing of PHI as a ligature in the second. The persons commemorated were probably freedmen and freedwoman of T. Tettienus Serenus, who lived under the emperors from Vespasian to Trajan. Names ending in -ienus are especially common in Umbria and Picenum: Tettienus, for example, occurs in XI, 1940, 4114, 4988, 4990, 5372. Compare Schulze, Zur Geschichte d. lat. Eigennamen, pp. 55 and 242. The cognomen Paedrio, which looks like a masculine of the same sort as Primio and Trophinio, for example, I have not met with elsewhere. The initial P probably represents the Greek aspirate, but the female slave name Φαίδριον could scarcely appear in Latin of 100 A. D., as Paedrio.

HARRY LANGFORD WILSON.

At this point the manuscript of Professor Wilson stops. He was stricken suddenly with pneumonia in Pittsburgh, Pa., on February 21, 1913, and died there two days later, on February 23.

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122. Circular urn cover of white marble, 0,24 m. in diameter, with the usual perforations, five large and four small holes, in the middle. The rim on which the letters are cut is 0,06 m. wide, and the letters are 0,022 m. high. The inscription runs entirely round the rim, the letters being very evenly and carefully spaced. The text is:

D I S · M A N · T I T I A E · L O C H I A D I ·

The letters are well cut and fairly deep. The wide D, round O, and square M and N are worthy of notice. The inscription would seem to date in the first half of the first century A. D. The same slave name belonging to another freedwoman appears in an inscription at Larinum, IX, 762, Ortoriae Lochiadi.

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123. Small tablet of white marble, 0,17 m. wide and 0,09 high, with the following inscription:

T R E B O N I A
L · · L ·
E R O T I S

The letters are rather roughly cut. The inscription belongs to Dr. R. V. D. Magoffin, and is on loan to the University Museum.

124. Small tablet of marble, 0,24 m. wide and 0,095 high, with the following inscription:

C · V A G E L L I V S
C · C · L · G E M E L L V S
H S · E

The letters are well and deeply cut, and there is nothing unusual to call for remark. A Vagellia Tyche appears in Not. d. Sc., 1902, p. 40.

125. A tablet of grey marble 0,24 m. wide and 0,07 high, with the following inscription:

C · V A R I V S C · L
A L E X S A N D E R

The letters are fairly well cut. Holes for nails appear as usual at both ends of the tablet. A number of men with the name C. Varius with different cognomina are to be found in VI, 28338 ff.

126. Tablet of white marble 0,225 wide and 0,12 high, with the inscription:

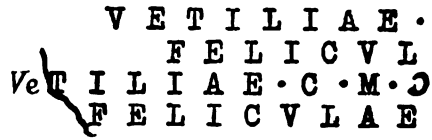
L · V E N N O N I V S ·
L · L · D I O G E N E S ·
ANN · LV ·

The letters are well and deeply cut. The nail at the right end of the stone is still in place. This inscription belongs to Miss Esther B. Van Deman, and is a loan to the Museum of this University.

127. Marble columbarium tablet 0,285 m. wide and 0,135 high of the conventional *ansata* type, with the nail at the right

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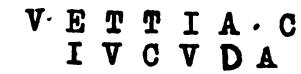
side still preserved. The lower corner of the stone on the left side is broken away. The letters are lightly and gracefully cut, but the work was done off hand, for the spacing is irregular and the lines are not straight. The inscription is as follows:



It is impossible to say why the inscription of lines 1 and 2 is repeated in lines 3 and 4. Lines 1 and 2 fill about the usual space on a tablet. Lines 3 and 4 are in letters only two-thirds as high as those above, and are crowded close to the bottom of the tablet. All four lines, however, seem to have been cut by the same hand.

Several men of the gens Vetilia are mentioned with various freedmen and freedwomen in VI, 28640–28644. The name Felicula used as a cognomen as here is also to be found in VI, 34146 (Octavia Felicula); and in the form Felicla in Bull. Com. 1906, p. 116, and again in Not. d. Sc. 1910, p. 415.

128. Marble tablet 0,29 m. wide and 0,145 high, with the nail still preserved at the left side. Along the edges of the tablet, outside the regular straight lines which mark off the field for the inscription, runs a decorative wavy line. The inscription is as follows:

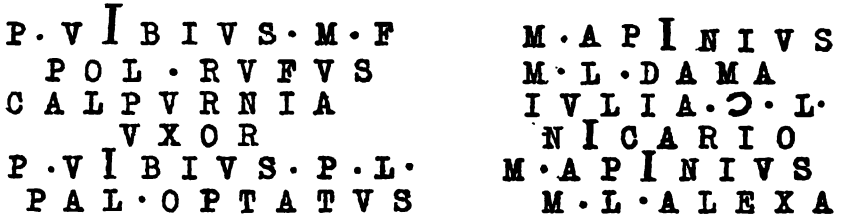


The letters are well and deeply cut. A C. Vetius appears in VI, 28665; C. Vettius in VI, 28685, and C. Vettius Sabinus in L'Année Épig., 1901, 165. In VI, 28695, there is a Vettia C. f. Chrysis. The cognomen Iucuda for Iucunda seems to appear in but one other place, IX, 6106, and in the index of that volume the form IVCVD has an asterisk before it. It is likely that there as here we have an accidental misspelling of the name.

129. Large tablet of white marble 0,57 m. wide and 0,40 high. The letters are most beautifully cut, as the accompany-

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ing illustration shows. The inscription would seem to date in the early part of the reign of Augustus. The text is as follows:



The lettering is almost unmatched in beauty of form and cutting. The five cases of I-longa are to be noticed. The letter P, which appears nine times, is in every case cut with the open loop. The spreading Ms and the round Os show an invariable grace of the best form of those letters.

The nomina, Vibius and Apinius, which appear in this inscription, merit a brief notice. De Vit, in his Onomasticon, says Apinia is the name of a Roman gens which owes its origin probably to a town Apina, and he gives two inscriptions from Muratori 1519, 3, in which this nomen appears. The indices of the C. I. L. show a few Apinii in Cisalpine Gaul (C. I. L. V), and an Apinius Tiro is mentioned in Tacitus Hist. 3, 57, 76; but it is clear that the nomen is one very seldom found. On the other hand, Vibius is a nomen found in nearly every part of the Roman world. The indices of the C. I. L. give the names of scores of Vibii. In fact, there is a Q. Vibius Sp. f. Rufus in C. I. L. IX, 5627, a M. Vibius M. f. Ru . . . in C. I. L. X, 3775, an N. Vibius Rufus in C. I. L. XII, 5231, a C. Vibius Rufus in C. I. L. XIV, 2556, 2557, 2558, and in 2590 a . . Vibius Rufus. Rohden and Dessau, Pros. Imp. Rom. III, p. 424, think it hardly possible to claim a relationship between these last Vibii Rufi Tusculani and the C. Vibius Rufus, curator riparum et alvei Tiberis of C. I. L. VI, 31544 (=1237). It seems impossible to fix any family connection for the P. Vibius Rufus of our inscription. The second Vibius of our inscription shares his cognomen with two other men, T. Vibius T. l. Optatus, C. I. L. V, 6574, and A. Vibbius Optatus, C. I. L. IX, 2027.

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The cognomina Dama and Alexa of the Apinii of our inscription are not unknown. Alexa is found in C. I. L. X, 3718, XII, 5038, XIV, 2475; and Dama in VIII, 3567 (used as a nomen), X, 867, 1, 21, XII, 3828, 4472, XIV, 4134, Not. d. Sc. 9, 1912, p. 48, 10, 1913, p. 24.

130. Small tablet of marble 0,165 m. wide and 0,12 high. The lettering is very well cut. The inscription is as follows:

M·VIPSANIVS
ISOCHRYSVS
VIX·ANN·VIII
MENS·III·DIEB·XIIX

This boy was probably the son of one of Agrippa's freedmen, and belongs possibly to the same group as the fourteen year old M. Vipsanius Ianuarius of C. I. L. VI, 29000, and the five year old M. Vipsanius Lupulus of VI, 36557.

The cognomen Isochrysus, written in our inscription with an *i* longa, is found quite often, e. g. in C. I. L. V, 562, 3296, VI, 3985, IX, 1052, 3710, X, 779, XII, 4542, 5112, XIV, 339, 2408, III, 10, 2846, 4070. It is also found written Hysocrysus in C. I. L. IV, 1655, and in its Greek form Ἰσώχρυσος in IV, 1289.

131. White marble cover of olla with cup 0,45 m. wide, 0,37 high, and 0,08 thick. The diameter of the cup 0,115. The accompanying illustration shows the style of letters and cutting. The inscription runs:

VOLVSENA
CINERIBVS)L)
VOLVSENIEVMENES)
MELENIS) PATRONO

The name Volusenus is not very frequent. There are two Voluseni mentioned in C. I. L. V, 6796, a L. Volusenus Sp. f. Victor in VI, 29513, and a L. Volusenus Lucifer in VIII, 492.

The cognomen Eumenes belongs also to a freedman mentioned in C. I. L. X, 5299, and is found besides in XII, 729, XIV, 1104, 2686, 2687.

The form Melenis I have not found except in this inscrip-

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tion. There is a Maeternia L. l. Meline in Not. d. Sc. 6, 1909, p. 458, and a Melenina in C. I. L. VIII, 1758.

132. A marble tablet 0,475 m. wide and 0,365 high, with the following inscription:

arbor D M *arbor*

VOLVSIAE ROMA
NAE MATRI PIAE
VIX·AN· LXX·
BONONIVS·SYNTROPHVS
ET VOLVSIVS ASCLEPIADES F
SIBI SVISQ IN·A·P· VIII IN F
P VIIII

133. A large slab of porta santa marble 0,59 m. wide, and 0,295 high. The letters are very roughly cut, in fact they are hardly better than deeply scratched. The two lines of the inscription slant upward from left to right. The text is as follows:

COSTANTIA *dove with olive branch*
IN PACE

For a Constantia in the Cemetery of Priscilla (via Salaria) see Not. d. Sc. 3, 1906, p. 309, no. 15.

134. A marble slab, 0,505 m. wide and 0,20 high. There are four straight ruling lines across the stone as a guide for the engraver. The inscription runs:



VICTRISQVE VIXIT ANNIS
VIIII DEPOSITA|ES| PRIE NON
HS AGUSTAS MANET IN PACE ET IN CRITO (sic)

This would seem to be the inscription published by Marucchi in Epigrafia cristiana (Hoepli, 1910), p. 306, no. 353. The first and last words of the last line of the inscription are, however, cut as in the reading given above: H S and C R I T O.

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135. A large white marble slab 0,77 m. wide and 0,20 high, broken in two pieces. The inscription, the letters of which are very poorly cut, is as follows:



For the use of pausare in this sense, see C. I. L. XII, 673 (= Dessau, Ins. Lat. 2788): bene pausanti in pace; Not. d. Sc. 6, 1909, 433: locus ubi requi . . . annis LX pausa . . . ; and Marucchi, Epig. crist. Tav. VIII. In the acrostic funerary inscription, which dates 336 A. D., found in Bull. Com. 1904, 161, pausat is used in another way: Si scire vis lector, qui pausat, ca[pita] versorum require.

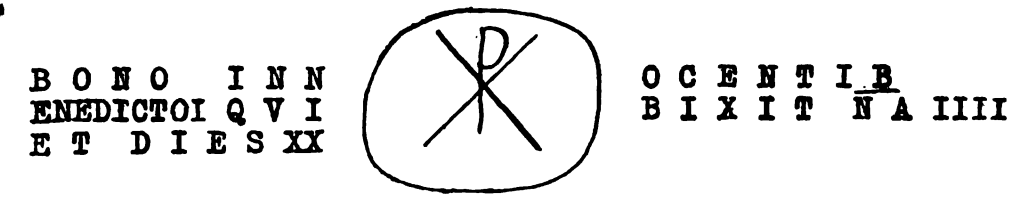
136. A tablet of marble 0,44 m. wide and 0,205 high, broken in two pieces, with the following inscription:



137. A marble tablet 0,33 m. wide and 0,19 high, with the letters cut in a most vulgar style. The inscription runs:



138. A marble tablet 0,32 m. wide and 0,12 high. The lettering is of a vulgar type. The inscription runs:



It is hard to say whether or not a proper name or names are to be read here, in the light of C. I. L. 25408: Restitutus animula bona et benedicta; and Not. d. Sc. 1903, 282: Iulius

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Benedictus; and Bull. com. 1905, 309: Innocentio qui vixit etc.

Numbers 139 and 140 are falsae, but are published here again for the sake of completeness.

*139. A travertine pigna cone from Palestrina. Published by Magoffin in A. J. A. 1910, 53, no. 13. The inscription, which is not ancient, is:

M · MASSEZIS · V

*140. A travertine pigna from Palestrina. Published by Magoffin in A. J. A. 1910, 55, no. 23. The inscription, which is not ancient, is:

T · VIBVLIÆ.

HARRY LANGFORD WILSON, *Deceased.*
RALPH VAN DEMAN MAGOFFIN.

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IV.—STUDIES IN THE VEDA.

1. The instrumental with verbs of ruling: AV 4. 27. 4, 5.

This construction seems certainly to have existed in Indo-European. (See Delbrück, Grundriss III[1]: p. 248 f. Later, but less complete than Delbrück, and almost wholly dependent on him, are the remarks of Brugmann, Grundriss II[2]: 2, p. 534.)

It is regular with most verbs of ruling in the Slavic languages. Delbrück gives sufficient examples for OBulg. and Servian. I may add—since Delbrück does not mention it—that to this day it is the only possible construction with the verb *vlad'et'* "to rule" and its synonyms in Modern Russian. There are some, though not many, clear cases of it in Old English, and perhaps in other Teutonic languages; these Delbrück duly records. The Greek language cannot be regarded as offering safe evidence, because of lack of certainty that the dative after verbs of ruling represents an older instrumental. The Latin *potior*, however, seems a clear case, since there is no reason to doubt that the ablative found after this verb represents an instrumental—especially in view of the striking parallel with the Vedic *patyate*, the etymological equivalent of *potior*, which also takes the instrumental.

Thus far the only example of this construction from Vedic that has been recorded is the denominative verb *patyate* "lord it over, rule", to which reference has just been made. The construction is duly recorded already in the Petersburg lexicon s. v., and is noticed by Delbrück in his Altindische Syntax, p. 133, where he adds (what may be inferred from examining the passages quoted in the Pet. lex.) that the verb more frequently takes the accusative. His explanation of the psychology of the construction ("eigentlich Herr sein vermittelst") applies to the Indo-European rather than exclusively to the Vedic usage, and seems likely to be correct. The example quoted by Delbrück is one already found in the

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Petersburg lexicon, viz. RV 3. 54. 15: *índro víçvāir vīryāiḥ pátyamānaḥ*, "Indra der über alle Heldenkräfte verfügt". This translation of Delbrück's undoubtedly reproduces the original better than those of some other commentators, e. g. Grassmann, who, in order to make it fit more familiar uses of the instrumental, tortures the meaning of the verb ("mächtig oder reich sein an"). The Petersburg lexicon does not translate the passage, but by its general definition of the word appears to agree with Delbrück rather than with Grassmann. Geldner (Glossar, s. v.) agrees with Delbrück; Ludwig does not quite get the point right ("Indra der herrscht durch besitz aller heldenkraft").

Evidently, however, the case would be stronger if there were found some passage in the Veda in which another verb of ruling is thus construed with the instrumental. This has up to the present time never been done. I hope to show in this paper that the verb *īç* (*iṣṭe*) is so used in AV 4. 27. 4 and 5. If true, this will not only confirm Delbrück's interpretation of *patyate*, but form an addition to Vedic lexicography, and furnish the correct interpretation of an AV passage which has never been rightly understood.

The definitions given in the Petersburg lexicon for the root *īç* may be summarized as follows: 1) zu eigen haben, Eigentümer sein; mit gen.—zu eigen sein, gehören. 2) verfügen über; vermögen, mächtig sein; Herr sein einer Sache; (mit gen.) 3) gebieten über, herrschen; mit gen.—mit acc. (post-ved.)

No essential part of this definition is changed in later lexicons; in particular, no intimation is ever found that *īç* may take the instrumental.

Consider now the AV passage in question.

AV 4. 27. 4: *apáḥ samudrā́d dívam úd vahanti*
divás pṛthivī́m abhí yé sṛjánti
yé adbhír īçānā́ marútaç cáranti
té no muñcantv áṅhasaḥ.

AV 4. 27. 5: *yé kīlā́lena tarpáyanti yé ghṛténa*
yé vā́ váyo médasā saṁsṛjánti
yé adbhír īçānā́ marúto varṣáyanti
té no muñcantv áṅhasaḥ.

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Verse 4: "They draw up the waters from the ocean to the sky—and who pour it down from the sky upon the earth; the Maruts who move *ruling over the waters*—may they deliver us from evil".

Verse 5: "Who give delight with nectar, with ghee—who unite strength with fatness (in, *i. e.* for, their favorits); the Maruts who, *ruling over the waters*, cause rain to fall—may they deliver us from evil".

The arguments for the proposed interpretation of *adbhír ṭçānāḥ* hardly need to be presented after all that has been said. Remembering the Vedic use of *patyate* with the instrumental; the clear, if somewhat sporadic, traces of the use of the same case after such verbs in many of the I-E. languages; and particularly its standard and perfectly regular use[1] in the Slavic languages, the only other branch of the I-E. languages which has preserved the instrumental in full force—we can hardly avoid recognizing that we have in this expression a lingering trace of what must have been in prehistoric times a much commoner construction. Note that even with *patyate* the usage is moribund in the Veda.

I think it will strengthen our position to observe the attempts of earlier investigators to interpret these AV words in other ways. Whitney says "the Maruts who go about lording it with the waters": and in the next verse, "the Maruts who, lording it with the waters, cause to rain". This translation, if it may be called one (it is hardly more than a mosaic of words), either means nothing at all, or it is a half-hearted step in the direction of our interpretation. Griffith says "the Maruts who move mighty with their waters" and "who rain mighty with their waters"—making the instr. purely associative, it would seem, though the second phrase is slightly ambiguous. Weber says "durch die Wasser, herrschend, wandeln die Maruts", and similarly the other verse, "Welche Marut, durch die Wasser, herrschend, Regen bringen". The punctuation seems to imply that Weber meant to separate *adbhíḥ* entirely from *ṭçānāḥ*, and make it an instrumental of means with the following verb: but how is this possible with *cáranti?*

[1] To use any other case than the instrumental after the Russian *vlad'et'* "to rule" would be as bad an error as to say "ich danke Dich" in German.

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All these translations (which appear to be the only interpretations of the hymn thus far published) show by their mutual divergence, as well as their common awkwardness and lack of clarity, that the verse has needed further light. I trust the present note has removed one more passage from the still formidable, though ever decreasing, limbo of Vedic *cruces* by showing that *adbhír ṭçānāḥ* means *tout simplement* "ruling the waters".

2. AV 4. 5. 7=RVKh. 7. 55. 1.

svápna svapnābhikáraṇena sárvaṁ ní ṣvāpayā jánam
otsūryám anyánt svāpáyāvyuṣáṁ jāgṛtād ahám índra
ivāriṣṭo ákṣitaḥ.

The verse is found at the end of the famous sleep-charm, AV 4. 5, most of whose verses are also found in RV 7. 55. This verse is not found in that text, but is added as an appendix to it, among the *khilāni*; see Scheftelowitz, Die Apokryphen des Rigveda, p. 86. Scheftelowitz reads the verse thus:

svápnas svapnādhikáraṇe sárvan ní ṣvāpayā jánam
*á sūryam anyán svāpáyāvyuṣáṁ *jāgṛyám ahám*

Pada e is lacking.

We are concerned here only with the first two padas of the verse, or more narrowly still, with the noun *svápna* or *svápnas* and the verb *ní-ṣvāpayā*. The form *svápna* has always been interpreted as vocative, and the AV line has been rendered substantially as follows: "O sleep, with the incantation of sleep put to sleep all the people".

But there are grave doubts as to whether the AV reading is really a vocative. In the first place, several of Shankar P. Pandit's manuscripts of AV read at this place *svápnas*—a nominative; and this appears to be the reading of all authorities in the equivalent verse of RVKh. In the second place, even if *svápna* be the true AV reading here, it is by no means certain that it is meant for a vocative; it may perfectly well be a nominative (for *svápnas* before sibilant plus consonant). Although the rule in most Vedic texts requires the dropping of final *s* only before initial *s* plus a *surd* consonant, this rule is by no means strictly followed out. See Whitney's note to AVPrātiç. 2. 86 on the impossibility of formulating definite

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rules in this particular. Professor Bloomfield's and my Corpus of Vedic Variants, based on his Vedic Concordance, will contain some interesting data on this point, showing that in most Vedic texts there are at least sporadic instances of the dropping of a final *s* before a sibilant plus sonant.

In view of these two facts—viz. the likelihood that the original AV text read *svápnas*, and the possibility of interpreting even the form as it stands in our editions as a nominative—it seems in the highest degree probable that the AV understood this form as a nominative, in agreement with RVKh.

But what is the construction of this nominative? It is so awkward to construe it with the second person imperative *niṣvāpayā*—"being sleep, do thou put to sleep the people"!—that it is difficult for me to believe that this is the original reading of this verse,—in view of the fact that there seems to me to be a very easy escape from the difficulty.

I propose for *ṣvāpayā-jánam, ṣvāpayāj-jánam*. This is so slight an emendation—*jj* for simple *j* after a long vowel—that it needs little defense. In the period of oral tradition it is probable that the two readings would have been hardly, if at all, distinguishable. For after a long vowel it is highly improbable that any marked distinction could have been made between the pronunciation of a double *j* and that of a single *j*.

We should then have a simple and consistent reading: "Let sleep . . . put to sleep all the people".

Whether the emendation be considered necessary or possible or not, I regard it as certain that the form *svápna(s)* is to be interpreted as a nominative, and that all previous interpretations of this verse in the AV are to be corrected accordingly.

3. *Apaskambhá*, AV 4. 6. 4.

This verse occurs in a hymn against poison, especially against the poison of poisoned arrows. Except for this one word, there would be no difficulty about the verse. It reads:

yás ta ásyat páñcāṅgurir vakrác cid ádhi dhánvanaḥ
apaskambhásya çalyán nír avocam ahám viṣám.

"What five-fingered one hurled at thee from some curved bow—from the dart of the *apaskambhá* I have exorcized the poison".

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The Pāippalāda version (folio 78a) is very corrupt in spots; the word *apaskambhásya*, however is correctly preserved in it, and for *çalyán* it has the important variant *bāhvor*—"from the *arm* of the *apaskambhá* I have exorcized the poison".

The word *apaskambhá* has been the despair of all commentators. Whitney does not render it in his translation; in his note he thinks of trying to make it a part of the body—being influenced by the Ppp. *bāhvor* for *çalyát*; he thinks, e. g. of *apa skandhasya bāhvor*, 'from shoulder and arms', i. e., from wounds in them. This emendation would be more attractive if the word were ablative instead of genitive.

Bloomfield renders the word "the tearing (arrow)", but says in his note that this rendering is "mere conjecture": it is "based upon the supposition that *apa-skambh* may mean 'uproot', or the like, as the opposite of *skambh*". The Petersburg lexicon says "Befestigung (vielleicht der Pfeilspitze an den Schaft)". Zimmer, AIL., p. 300, says "die Verbindung (des Pfeilschaftes an die Spitze heisst) *apaskamba* (sic!) *çalyasya* 'Befestigung des Schaftes'", evidently meaning to follow the Pet. lex., but carelessly misspelling the word, and changing the ablative *çalyát* of the text into a genitive, thus exactly reversing the real construction of the words. Weber says 'Widerhaken', and in his note merely refers to the Pet. lex. (apparently regarding his rendering as an equivalent of BR's?). Ludwig likewise says 'widerhaken', without comment or explanation; Whitney rightly describes this as a mere guess. Griffith, likewise, says "the fastening band"—making the word, however, depend on *viṣám*, not on *çalyán*. Cuny, in Mélanges Sylvain Lévi, p. 79, adheres to the Pet. lex. interpretation.

It will be evident from this (I believe) complete array of all previous attempts to explain the word that no commentator has heretofore arrived at an understanding of it which was quite satisfactory, even to himself.

In approaching our interpretation of the verse, let me first call attention to a stylistic fact whose importance for the interpretation of this verse seems not to have been realized. The first line of the verse is a relative clause—'what five-fingered one hurled at thee from some curved bow'—. By all the laws of Vedic verse construction we should expect to find

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the "antecedent" of the relative—that is, the noun to which it refers—expressed, or at least *very* clearly understood, in the second half of the verse. I admit there are cases in the Veda where this is not the case—where there is a distinct break or anacolouthon between the two halves of such a verse, the relative being left unexplained. But those are not the type: they are distinctly bad verses. I am sure all Vedists will agree that an interpretation of this verse which finds in the second half-verse the noun to which *yás* refers will be much stronger than one which fails to do so.

Now neither *çalyán*, 'dart', nor *viṣám*, 'poison', will satisfy this requirement, because of the sense; *yás* is the subject of *ásyat*, 'hurled', and the adjective *páñcāṅgurir*, 'five-fingered', agrees with it. It must, therefore, refer to some person or thing which can be spoken of as five-fingered, and as hurling something. It is difficult to see how the words 'dart' or 'poison' could fulfil this double requirement.

If, then, the canons of Vedic verse construction have not been violated here, we ought to find that *apaskambhá*, the only remaining noun in the second half-verse, is the word to which *yás* refers, and consequently the logical subject of *ásyat*. Concretely speaking, the verse would then mean: 'what five-fingered *apaskambhá* hurled at thee', etc., 'from his (or its) dart', etc.

The adjective *páñcāṅgurir* gives us a further tip. It can obviously mean nothing but 'five-fingered', and it is therefore scarcely possible that it refers to anything except the hand or arm of a person, or (by extension therefrom) to the person himself. Consequently, if *apaskambhá* refers to the same thing that *páñcāṅguri* does, it must likewise refer to a hand or arm, or the owner thereof. It is certainly difficult to see how it could refer to any part of an arrow—as all previous interpreters except Whitney have taken it.

The word *apaskambhá* is not found except in this passage, but its etymology seems clear. It must come from the root *skabh* or *skambh* with *apa*. This root occurs, both in verbal forms and in nominal derivatives, not infrequently in the Veda. By the side of it, frequently confused with it, and always indistinguishable in meaning, occurs a root *stabh* or *stambh*. The parallelism between these two roots is most

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striking, and is so familiar to Vedists that it needs no illustration. It extends also to some derivatives of the two roots (*stambha* and *skambha* for instance).

The Petersburg lexicon recognizes the identity of meaning between these two roots, and further observes (s. v. *skabh*, end) the interesting fact that the root *skambh* gradually loses ground to its rival, and in the later language comes to be almost unknown. The same is true of its derivatives; *stambha*, first recorded in KS., becomes very common later, while *skambha*, which is a not infrequent word in RV, is scarcely found after the AV.

The two roots *stambh* and *skambh* are, in fact, so inextricably confused in the consciousness of the language that no clear or general division in meanings can be made between them. They both mean 1) to support, and 2) to obstruct, impede. These two shades of meaning are carried out (of course with many finesses in detail) in numerous derivatives of *stambh*; the root *skambh* has fewer derivatives, and being, as we have seen, practically restricted to the earliest period of the language, it has less chance to develop. But that it has both these meanings in a clearly marked way may be seen from BR. We quote here merely one example of the meaning which interests us most in this paper: RV 10. 76. 4 *skabhāyáta nírṛtim*, 'Put a check to Destruction!' (addressed to the pressing-stones).

Now no verbal compound *apa-stabh* or *-skabh* occurs; and except for this one word, no noun is found containing *apa* and *skabh*. Neither are there any derivatives from *stabh* with *apa*, except one or two dubious nouns which are more in need of explanation themselves than likely to help explain other words (*apastambha* or °*ba*, an alleged organ in the chest, and *apastambhinī*, name of a plant). We shall therefore be compelled to seek help from the uncompounded roots and their derivatives.

All commentators on this stanza thus far have made the concept of 'support' their starting-point. It seems to me, on the contrary, extremely clear that we have to start from the other basic meaning of *skambh*—'obstruct' or 'impede'.

Namely: the root *stabh*, particularly, in various of its forms and derivatives, is distinctly associated with obstruction by

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magical or uncanny means. More especially, it appears to refer to the laming or paralysis of members of the body—by any means, but especially by magical or uncanny ones. Thus the past participle *stabdha*, according to the Petersburg lexicon, nearly always means 'steif, starr, gelähmt, unbeweglich'. The causative *stabhāyáti* shows distinct relations to magic in RV. 6. 44. 22 (misprinted 6. 44. 2 in BR.):

ayáṁ deváḥ sáhasā jā́yamāna índreṇa yujā́ paṇím astabhāyat
ayáṁ svásya pitúr ā́yudhānīndur amuṣṇād áçivasya māyā́ḥ.

"This god (Soma), brought forth by might, together with Indra held fast (by magic) the Paṇi: he stole his own father's (Indra's) weapons, and the magic arts (*māyā́*) of the Evil One." The occurrence of *māyā́ḥ* in the context makes it clear that magic obstruction is connoted by the root *stabh* here. The classical causative *stambhayati*, according to BR, only rarely means 'support': it is defined as occasionally meaning 'steif-, unbeweglich machen, lähmen', but most frequently of all 'anhalten, hemmen, festbannen (durch Zauber)'. The noun *stambha* likewise, besides its common meaning 'pillar, column' (derived from the idea of 'support'), is frequently used in senses closely related to those just mentioned. See BR, definitions 3 (Erstarrung . . . des Körpers, Lähmung), and 4 (Hemmung, Bannung durch Zaubermittel)—both fairly common.

This noun *stambha* is, indeed, not found in any work as early as the AV: but that precisely this sort of 'obstruction' —namely, paralyzing of the limbs by magic or uncanny means —was one of the meanings of the root in the earliest times is shown by a number of RV examples. One of the best was quoted above (6. 44. 22). Another is found in 2. 11. 5: *apó dyā́ṁ tastabhvā́ṅsam áhann áhiṁ çúra* . . . "O hero, thou smotest the dragon who had paralyzed—stopped by his black arts—the waters and the heaven". Vṛtra is of course the dragon, and we know from numerous other passages that it is by black art (*māyā́*) that he restrains the waters.

Now the root *skabh* is as we have seen much more limited

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in scope than *stabh*, and in fact practically dies out at an early period of the language. The total number of recorded occurrences of it and its derivatives is limited: most of them show the other phase of the meaning of the root—the meaning 'support'. That *skabh* might mean also 'obstruct' is nevertheless clear; cf. RV. 10. 76. 4, quoted above, and RV 1. 39. 2, where the infinitive *prati-ṣkábhe* is used of the weapons of the Maruts—'for blocking (hostile attacks)'. I have not, indeed, found any case where a derivative of *skabh* can with *certainty* be said to be used of magical obstruction, or of paralysis of the limbs. Both the passages just quoted *may* be so interpreted, but the context does not prove it. But the otherwise perfect parallelism between *skabh* and *stabh* makes it indubitable that this particular kind of 'obstruction' must have been at least a potential, even if possibly latent, phase of the meaning of *skabh*. In the plain and straightforward language of Boehtlingk and Roth, '*stabh=skabh*', and a meaning which is so markedly developed in derivatives from *stabh*, and which is really only a specialized case of a meaning which is proved to have belonged likewise to *skabh*, surely cannot be denied to *skabh*. The two roots are semantically indistinguishable.

I believe, then, that *apaskambhá* is a noun of agent formed with the primary suffix *-a* (Whitney Grammar 1148c) from the root *skabh* or *skambh* compounded with *apa*.[1] The meaning of the word is 'one who hinders or obstructs (in particular, it may be presumed, the motion of the limbs of another) by uncanny means'. I think as a handy translation that 'paralyzer' does fairly well. The uncanny means in the present instance is, of course, the poison. The *apaskambhá* may refer simply to the hand of the person who hurls the poisoned dart (cf. *páñcāṅgurir*); but in view of the Ppp. reading *bāhvor* for *çalyáṅ* perhaps it would be better to suppose that it means (by an easy transference) the person whose hand did the hurling.

[1] As to the use of the prefix little needs to be, or can be, said. The general use of *apa* fits the proposed meaning of the word well enough; but the entire lack of other compounds of *apá* with these roots (for the classical *apastambha* and °*bhinī* are themselves problematic, and give no aid) leaves nothing to say about *apa* in this isolated word.

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The verse then means: "The five-fingered (hand—of the paralyzer) which did hurl at thee from some curved bow—from the dart of (this) paralyzer I have exorcised the poison". Or, if we supposed that *apaskambhá* is applied directly to the hand itself, which is also possible: "The five-fingered (paralyzer, sc. the hand) which did hurl at thee", etc.

The Pāippalāda reading, which has *bāhvor* for *çalyán*, must understand *apaskambhá* of the person, not of the hand: "The five-fingered (hand) which did hurl at thee from some curved bow—from the arm of the paralyzer", etc. With this reading it is best to consider that *yás* in pada a refers to the hand or arm (*bāhu*), which the epithet *páñcāṅgurir* (in Ppp. °*lir*) thus fits directly, without any transference.

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V.—ARISTARCHUS OF SAMOS.[1]

A work by Sir Thomas Heath dealing with Greek mathematics may be sure of an appreciative circle of readers, fit though few. On the purely mathematical side the present reviewer could not hope to say much that would greatly concern either the author or his readers, even if a philological journal should be thought a suitable means of bringing it to their attention. But the author has done much besides giving us an admirable new edition of an interesting document for the history of Greek mathematical astronomy, which indeed forms a minor part of the present volume; he presents what may safely be called the best history of Greek astronomy and cosmology in any language. In his Preface Sir Thomas relates the genesis of his work, which is typical of the growth and extension of a true scholar's studies, once he has conscientiously begun the exhaustive consideration of a theme which, like all things human, looks backward as well as forward.

Of the scope of the treatise the title page gives an accurate description, except that it affords no hint of the detailed study contained in Ch. IV of Part II, "Later Improvements on Aristarchus's Calculations". Mention should be made also of Ch. XIX of Part I, "Greek Months, Years and Cycles", in which a useful summary is given of Ginzel's researches in Greek mathematical and technical chronology.

It is to our author's survey of Greek astronomy and cosmology that we naturally turn; and since it has been already said that the book is the best in its field, the reviewer may be pardoned if he now directs attention to a number of points at which he believes our author to be in error. There are many other matters on which the writer cannot agree with Sir

[1] Aristarchus of Samos, the Ancient Copernicus. A History of Greek Astronomy to Aristarchus, together with Aristarchus's Treatise on the Sizes and Distances of the Sun and Moon, a New Text with Translation and Notes. By Sir Thomas Heath. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1913. Pp. viii + 425.

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Thomas and the historians generally, but some of these are of such importance and require so much discussion that they must be reserved for fuller consideration at another time. Here, therefore, minutiae will chiefly occupy the writer.

P. 7 our author says, "according to Hesiod, an iron anvil would take nine days to pass from the heaven to the earth, and again nine days from the earth to Tartarus". Of course the "iron" anvil is a mistake, the reference being to Theog. 722,

ἐννέα γὰρ νύκτας τε καὶ ἤματα χάλκεος ἄκμων κτλ.

But I have long wondered whether even χάλκεος is correct. One naturally thinks of Hom. Il. A 590 sq., where Hephaestus (ὁ χαλκεύς) is hurled from the divine threshold and after falling all day drops at nightfall on Lemnos. The difference in time may be accounted for by the changed location of the abode of the Gods, Olympus in the Iliad being presumably the mountain, later, as in the Odyssey, the outer heaven. But may not the Hesiodic parallel be a revision of the Homeric? In that case the smith's anvil would allude to Hephaestus, and we should then read χαλκέος, in Hesiod surely an allowable Boeoticism.

P. 9 instead of saying "as Hesiod *was* the first to call it", would it not be better to say "is"?

P. 24, n. 7 Heath's suggestion of κεῖται for κινεῖται should be attributed to Montucla; see Diels, Vorsokr.[3] I. p. 20, l. 20 sq.

P. 26 Heath renders Hippol. Refut. 1. 6. 1. (Vorsokr.[2] I. 14. 1) λέγει δὲ χρόνον ὡς ὡρισμένης τῆς γενέσεως καὶ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ τῆς φθορᾶς, "And in speaking of time he has in mind the separate (periods covered by the) three states of coming into being, existence and passing away". On this passage see Zeller IA, 232, n. 3. Zeller says the language is curious, perhaps corrupt. In order to understand it we should compare Diog. L. 8. 84 (Vorsokr.[2] I. 29. 22) with regard to Hippasus, ἔφη δὲ χρόνον ὡρισμένον εἶναι τῆς τοῦ κόσμου μεταβολῆς, and Theophrastus on Heraclitus (Vorsokr.[2] I. 58. 11) ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ τάξιν τινὰ καὶ χρόνον ὡρισμένον τῆς τοῦ κόσμου μεταβολῆς κατά τινα εἱμαρμένην ἀνάγκην. These passages show conclusively that both Heath's interpretation and Neuhäuser's, who regarded the words as a definition of time, are erroneous. The meaning is simply that Anaximander's theory implied the existence of time, since origination, exist-

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ence, and decay are determinate, as each has a definite period set to it. On the same pages Heath gives the traditional rendering of [Plut.] Stromat. 2 (Vorsokr.² I. 13. 34 sq.), which I have several times attempted to set right; see On Anaximander (Class. Philol. VII), p. 229, n. 2 and On Certain Fragments of the Pre-Socratics (Proceedings of the Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sciences, XLVIII), p. 687. But our author apparently has never heard of my studies. Numerous other corrections which I have made from time to time are ignored, but I shall not repeat what I have said elsewhere.

P. 42 our author suggests *ἐνίους* for *ἔνιοι* in Aët. 2. 14. 4 (Vorsokr.² I. 19. 38) *ἔνιοι πέταλα εἶναι* [sc. *τοὺς ἀστέρας*] *πύρινα ὥσπερ ζωγραφήματα*. In Dox. Gr. Diels set off these words as possibly referring to other philosophers, not to Anaximenes. In Vorsokr. he refers them to Anaximenes, but questions *ἔνιοι*. It is more likely that we should read *ἔνια*, whether we supply *ἄστρα* or suppose an attraction to the predicate. That Anaximenes was intended is made highly probable by Vorsokr.² I. 20. 5, to which Diels referred in Dox. Gr. The passage is, however, somewhat blind, for *ζωγραφήματα* rather suggests the constellations (zodiac), while the meaning of *ἀστήρ* for Anaximenes is never clear. Apparently he distinguished between planets and fixed stars, though calling them all "stars". Heath, p. 43, concludes "that Anaximenes was the first to distinguish the planets from the fixed stars in respect to their irregular movements"; but this seems far from certain. If Burnet is right, as I believe he is, in regarding the "infinite worlds" of Anaximander as referring (at least in part) to the fixed stars, which are thus removed beyond our cosmos, the distinction here assigned as an innovation to Anaximenes is assured for his predecessor; but even more, the bare mention of *ἕσπερος* and *ἑωσφόρος* in Homer, whether or not they both refer to Venus, ought to give one pause. Furthermore, it seems certain, as I shall try to show elsewhere, that the solstices were well known from early times (indeed Heath himself finds them in Hesiod), and with the knowledge of them went for the early Greek scientists the distinction between the ecliptic (sun, moon and planets) and the equator (fixed stars). The 'dip' of the zodiac is a datum of prime importance to Greek cosmology, apparently from Anaximander onwards. But to pursue this

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topic would lead us too far. Suffice it to say, that if the knowledge of the distinction is assumed, many otherwise blind statements in regard to early Greek philosophers become intelligible.

P. 43 in rendering Aët. 2. 11. 1 (Vorsokr.[2] I. 19. 34) our author, following Tannery, translates *περιφορά* with "rotation"; it is more probably "periphery" or "circle", a meaning which the word often bears. The same error recurs p. 233, *ἡ ἐσχάτη περιφορὰ τοῦ παντός*, where *περιφορά* means periphery). The whole passage, however (*Ἀναξιμένης καὶ Παρμενίδης τὴν περιφορὰν τὴν ἐξωτάτω τῆς γῆς εἶναι τὸν οὐρανόν*), deserves to be reconsidered. Tannery and Heath make *τῆς γῆς* depend on *ἐξωτάτω*, which gives an acceptable sense, but (unless *οὐρανός* is here used in a special, technical meaning) one which is so trivial as to be hardly deserving of mention. It was certainly not the way in which Ps. Galen, Histor. Philos. 54 understood Theophrastus; for we read *Ἀναξιμένης τὴν περιφορὰν τὴν ἐξωτάτην γῆν εἶναι*, which Zeller, IA, 247, n. 1, pronounces a *lapsus calami*. That there is an error of some kind in the latter passage is quite probable; however, it inclines me to think that Theophrastus meant something quite different from that which Tannery and Heath suppose. First of all we must probably omit the reference to Parmenides, whose name does not occur in the parallel account of Ps. Plutarch, and whose views were sufficiently different from those of Anaximenes, although he also regarded the circumference, like the centre, of the cosmos as solid. But I suspect that Theophrastus had in mind the statement of Aristotle De Caelo II. 13, 294 b 13 sq., respecting the reasons why, on the view of Anaximenes and others, the earth does not fall. The earth, though it rests on air, is said to be broad and to shut in the air beneath it, serving as a lid (*ἐπιπωματίζειν*): *διὰ γὰρ τὴν στενοχωρίαν οὐκ ἔχων τὴν πάροδον ὁ ἀὴρ μένει διὰ τὸ πλῆθος* (sc. *τῆς γῆς*). To make this scheme work heaven and earth must be practically coterminous. I need hardly say that in my opinion both Aristotle and Theophrastus grossly misrepresented the thought of Anaximenes.

P. 56 Heath renders *κενεμβατοῦντα* in Aët. 2. 24. 9 (Vorsokr.[2] I. 43. 6) with "stepping on emptiness". This is of a piece with Burnet's version (Early Greek Philosophy[2], p. 135), who says that when the sun suffers eclipse, according to Xeno-

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phanes it "tumbles into a hole". What Xenophanes appears to have meant is that, since the sun is constituted of ignited vapor, when it is eclipsed, it is because it has entered a region where there is a void, that is to say, where there is a want of evaporation.

P. 61 our author discusses Heraclitus, fr. 120 Diels, and quite ignores the final words. Since it is a matter of some interest to science, I may refer to my explanation of this passage in my essay On Certain Fragments of the Pre-Socratics, p. 714 sq.

P. 66 instead of "The earth, he [Parmenides] said, was formed from a precipitate of condensed *air*", it would be better to speak of "vapor", which is commonly the meaning of ἀήρ in early Greek thought, as Burnet has rightly insisted. It is the typical meteoric process that is described. On the same page begins a rendering of Aet. 2. 7. 1 (Vorsokr.[2] I. 111, 5 sq.). On the whole the version is accurate; but I cannot accept Heath's interpretation of ἐπαλλήλους as applied to the wreaths or crowns of Parmenides's cosmological construction. Burnet, Early Greek Philosophy[2], p. 215 renders ἐπαλλήλους with "crossing one another", explaining in a note that ἐπάλληλος is opposed to παράλληλος. Proclus on Plat. Crat., p. 6. 25, shows that this interpretation is permissible. See also Donaldson, New Cratylus, p. 325, and Jebb on Soph. Antig. 57. Diels, in his review of Burnet, Deutsche Litteraturz. Dec. 5, 1908, Col. 3090 sq., disputes this interpretation; but Plato, Tim. 36 BC confirms it. I believe, moreover, that we should read περιπεπλιγμένας ἐπαλλήλους, not περιπεπλεγμένας, ἐπαλλήλους, as Diels prints. With this text, where περιπεπλιγμένας is my conjecture, the meaning is clear, and ἐπαλλήλους is reinforced by περιπεπλιγμένας. The close of the passage—and this is due not to the translator, but to the excerptor,—assumes a contrast between fire and aether, which is certainly false. This is due to the loose usage of early writers who equate 'aether' now with fire, now with air. The final test lies in the relative positions they occupy in the cosmos; for there is not a particle of evidence that Greeks ever assumed a different order than earth, water, air, fire, whatever embellishments they may otherwise have introduced. After Aristotle, who identified his fifth element with αἰθήρ, further confusion came into accounts of earlier thinkers.

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P. 88 Heath writes: "Apparently connected with this theory of the two hemispheres is Empedocles' explanation of the difference between winter and summer. It is winter when the air (forming one hemisphere) gets the upper hand through condensation and is forced upwards (into the fiery hemisphere), and summer when the fire gets the upper hand and is forced downwards (into the dark hemisphere); that is, in the winter the fire occupys less than half of the whole sphere of heaven, while in summer it occupies more than half". This is an interpretation of Aët. 3. 8. 1 (Vorsokr.[2] I. 163. 16) *Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ οἱ Στωικοὶ χειμῶνα μὲν γίνεσθαι τοῦ ἀέρος ἐπικρατοῦντος τῇ πυκνώσει εἰς τὸ ἀνωτέρω βιαζομένου, θερείαν δὲ τοῦ πυρός, ὅταν εἰς τὸ κατωτέρω βιάζηται.* Diels explains that one is to supply *τὸν ἥλιον*, which was probably clearly indicated in the original context, with *βιαζομένου*, and refers for the Stoic view to Diog. L. 7. 151 *τῶν δὲ ἐν ἀέρι γινομένων χειμῶνα μὲν εἶναί φασι τὸν ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀέρα κατεψυγμένον διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου πρόσω ἄφοδον . . . θέρος δὲ τὸν ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀέρα καταθαλπόμενον τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου πρὸς ἄρκτον πορείᾳ.* Neither explanation appears to me satisfactory. Heath's view seems quite impossible, and the comparison instituted by Diels does not explain the mechanics of the process. For some years I have held it probable that the text is to be corrected by transposing *τοῦ πυρὸς* and *θερείαν δὲ*, when the passage reads simply, 'Winter comes about when the air (which the Greeks generally regarded as cold) gaining the upper hand (in the cosmic *πόλεμος* in which now one element, now another gets temporarily the mastery), the fire by the condensation (and consequent settling) of the air is forced upwards, and summer when (the fire) is forced downwards'. I communicated this suggestion to Diels, but he neglected it in his third edition.

P. 97 Heath correctly renders Aët. 3. 13. 1 sq. (Vorsokr.[2] I. 237. 46) thus, "Others maintain that the earth remains at rest. But Philolaus the Pythagorean held that it revolves round the fire in an oblique circle in the same way as the sun and moon". P. 100, however, we read, "The earth revolves round the central fire in the same sense as the sun and moon (that is, from west to east), but its orbit is obliquely inclined; that is to say, the earth moves in the plane of the *equator*, the sun and moon in the plane of the zodiac circle. It would no doubt be in this way that Philolaus would explain the seasons". This is a

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strange construction to put on κατὰ κύκλον λοξὸν ὁμοιοτρόπως ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ, which must mean, if anything, just what Heath's version says. To be sure Heath's interpretation gives us sense where the text gives nonsense: but why should one take very seriously the spurious fragments and doxography of Philolaus?

P. 98 "Outside it is infinite void which enables the universe to breathe, as it were". Our author, like many others, has no conception of the meaning of the "cosmic breathing" of the Pythagoreans. For his information I may refer to my Antecedents of Greek Corpuscular Theories (Harvard Studies, XXII), pp. 137–140.

P. 105 our author seems to me to treat with too much respect Boeckh's suggestion, supported by goodly scholars, that the movement attributed by Philolaus to the fixed stars was the precession of the equinoxes. It may be true, if we conclude (as I think we must on all accounts) that "Philolaus" is a later forgery; but the discovery of the precession by Hipparchus is too well ascertained seriously to think of it in connection with earlier scientists. From De Caelo I. 3, 270 b 13 sq. it is evident that Aristotle had never heard of such a thing.

P. 124 "Democritus was the first to recognize that the earth is elongated, its length being 1½ times its breadth". This is a close rendering of Agathemerus 1. 1. 2 (Vorsokr.² I. 393. 10) but may mislead the reader. Agathemerus is a geographer and is speaking of the inhabited or inhabitable land, ἡ (οἰκουμένη) γῆ, although he does chance to say simply ἡ γῆ.

P. 125 In the translation of Hippolytus, Refut. 1. 13. 4 (Vorsokr.² I. 360. 16) ἀκμάζειν δὲ κόσμον ἕως ἂν μηκέτι δύνηται ἔξωθέν τι προσλαμβάνειν, we have this curious phrasing, "A world is at its prime *so long as it is no longer* (italics mine!) capable of taking in anything from without". Of course the meaning is that its ἀκμή continues until such time only as it may no longer be able to take on anything from without—a case of cosmic nutrition, a variant of cosmic respiration!

P. 127 our author interprets [Plut.] Stromat. 7 (Vorsokr.² I. 359. 48 sq.) in such sort that Democritus is made to explain the origin of sun and moon by the theory of capture. This view is held also by Zeller, IA, 895 and by many others. The re-

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port is, however, unintelligent and in part corrupt. As Heath's rendering is at many points incorrect, I will give my own. "He says that sun and moon had a beginning. They move [this is faulty, as on any view *φέρεσθαι* should not refer to present conditions] singly [*κατ' ἰδίαν*: possibly *κατ' ἀρχήν* stood in the original, though *πρότερον ἔτι* would at first blush seem to militate against this view; however, the condition referred to in *πρότερον ἔτι* clearly lies before the real beginning of sun and moon as separate entities, as we shall see] having as yet no heat at all nor yet any brightness [*λαμπροτάτην* MSS: I have long read *λαμπρότητα*, a conjecture which Diels also proposes in Vorsokr.[3]], on the contrary being in character like to that of the earth; for even earlier each of them had severally [*κατ' ἰδίαν*, which is probably the source of the previous *κατ' ἰδίαν*] been the raw materials of a cosmos, but subsequently as the circle of the sun increased in size the fire was enveloped in it". The assumption that a capture theory is here proposed rests on (a) *κατ' ἰδίαν φέρεσθαι*, (b) *γεγονέναι γὰρ ἑκάτερον τούτων πρότερον ἔτι κατ' ἰδίαν ὑποβολήν τινα κόσμου, ὕστερον δὲ μεγεθοποιουμένου τοῦ περὶ τὸν ἥλιον κύκλου ἐναπολῃφθῆναι ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ πῦρ.* As to (a) this point has been already met. Even if we read *κατ' ἰδίαν*, it does not naturally imply that there was no relation between sun and moon or between them and the cosmos, as the subsequent use of *κατ' ἰδίαν* sufficiently shows. In regard to (b) we may note two points. First, *ὑποβολήν τινα κόσμου*, as *γάρ* shows, is intended to explain the facts mentioned in the preceding clause, and can therefore hardly mean the nucleus of a separate cosmos, but must characterize the matter, of which sun and moon were in due course made, as the bare potency of a world: in other words, speaking in the language of Democritus, they were constituted of atoms and void. Then the last clause harks back to the statement that at the beginning sun and moon were neither hot nor bright, and explains that as the circle of the sun increased, fire, which produces heat and light, became enveloped in it. In view of the general haziness of the report it remains in doubt whether "the circle of the sun" means the circle on which the sun is placed or the disc of the sun itself. The language, both here and in *ἐναπολῃφθῆναι ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ πῦρ* suggests a close parallel to the sun of Anaximander; but there is no other evidence for such a view as re-

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gards the Atomists, and it would be idle to build upon this. I hope to have made it clear that the capture theory rests on a very insecure foundation.

P. 154 in the discussion of the whorls of Plato's cosmology in the Republic, our author is obsessed with the conception of 'spheres', of which there is no hint in Plato. The whorls are rings or bands, and not hemispheres, as he would have us think. The point would hardly be worth making, were it not for the fact that writers, ancient and modern, pretend to find spheres everywhere in Greek astronomy and cosmology whereas in fact 'spheres' played a small part before the time of Aristotle.

P. 160 sq. the discussion of 'right' and 'left' in the cosmos is altogether inadequate, and Heath's conclusion, p. 163, is untenable. The whole subject requires thorough treatment, which it has never received. That there were different directions in which the diviners faced in taking auspices appears to be certain; sometimes they faced north, sometimes south. Hence 'right' and 'left' referred now to east, now to west. So much can be proved beyond a doubt. What remains in doubt is just what determined the different position in orientation. If someone will answer this question it will do more than anything else to solve the endless riddles with which the subject abounds. A prime requisite is that in the investigation data referring to Greek and Roman practices should be kept strictly apart.

P. 186 sq. Heath discusses the vexed passage, Arist. De Caelo II. 13, 293 a 27 sq. He recurs to it, p. 273 sq., but does not seem to me to advance its interpretation. To my mind the explanation is simple. The sentence *πολλοῖς δ' ἂν καὶ ἑτέροις συνδόξειε . . . ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν λόγων* is one of those spiteful parenthetical remarks of which Aristotle is extremely fond. There is no need to inquire who are meant, but it is obvious that Aristotle includes himself. With *τῷ γὰρ τιμιωτάτῳ οἴονται προσήκειν τὴν τιμιωτάτην ὑπάρχειν χώραν* κτλ. (l. 30 sq.) he resumes the main thought, reporting the doctrines of the Pythagoreans. The fact that he begins the following sentence (293 b) with *ἔτι δ' οἵ γε Πυθαγόρειοι* does not militate against this view; Aristotle suddenly recalls, as he begins a new point, that he has mentioned others besides the Pythagoreans, and makes

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haste to confine his report to the latter. Passages in which his carelessness in marking the lines of division between historical or quasi-historical statements and his own comments on them are too common in his works to occasion much surprise.

P. 189 our author says that Voss, De Heraclidis Pontici Vita et Scriptis, accepted Tannery's hypothesis regarding the relation of the alleged views of Hicetas to Heraclides. As a matter of fact, Voss published his treatise before Tannery, as the latter in a subsequent article in the Archiv für Gesch. der Philosophie acknowledged. They arrived at the same views independently.

P. 229 our author's comments on Arist. De Caelo II. 4, 287 a 11 sq. do not seem to touch Aristotle's meaning, which is clearly that, on the assumption that space is self-existent, a polygonal body revolving about its axis would with its projecting angles at one moment occupy space which would be left vacant the next, when the straight sides succeeded to them.

P. 314 there occurs a curious slip, "the Chaldaean Berosus, who flourished about 280 B. C., in the time of Alexander the Great". This is due to too much compression of data. Berosus lived, we are told, in the days of Alexander, but wrote his Babylonian History under Antiochus I Soter, to whom he dedicated it, presumably soon after his accession in 280 B. C.

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VI.—NE EXTRA OLEAS.



A FEW years ago, the Gymnasium at Zweibruecken celebrated its 350th anniversary. In connection with this celebration, the archives of the institution were searched for materials that had a bearing on the personal history of some of the distinguished alumni of the institution. Among other things, there was brought to light the report of ten year old Johann Friedrich Hahn, who later in life won distinction as a poet, and became a founder of the Goettinger Hainbund. The report, made out by Berckmann and bearing date of 1764, contains very flattering comments on Hahn under the rubrics memoria, judicium, and mores, but under the rubric diligentia is found the entry *extra oleas nonnihil latus*. The phrase *extra oleas*, which is not found in the ordinary lexica of classical Latin nor in Ducange, for a long time proved a puzzle to the Zweibruecken professors, but finally the rector of the Gymnasium, Dr. H. Stich, found the solution. He happened to be reading the Frogs of Aristophanes. When he reached verses 993–995, *μόνον ὅπως/μή σ' ὁ θυμὸς ἁρπάσας/ἐκτὸς οἴσει τῶν ἐλαῶν*, and compared the scholia on the passage, he realized that the words *ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐλαῶν* were the original of the erstwhile enigmatic *extra oleas*. He thereupon published a communication on the subject in Philologus 1912, 568 sqq., in which he gave reasons for believing that Berckmann had employed the phrase in the above-mentioned report as a conscious reminiscence of Aristophanes. The only question that troubled Stich was as to whether Berckmann had been the first and only person to translate the uncommon Greek proverbial expression into Latin.

In a note appended to Stich's communication, the editor, Crusius, calls attention to the fact that the phrase *extra oleas*

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is found in the Erasmian collection of proverbs,[1] and, in view of its presence there, he rejects the notion that the use of the phrase in Berckmann's report had been due to a personal conceit of the author. Instead, he advances the theory that the expression in question had passed from the Adagia of Erasmus into the Latin vernacular of the schools. In support of this theory, he instances the use of the German word *Sparte*[2], which, while ultimately derived from a well-known Greek proverb, has for its immediate source the Latin vernacular of the academic circles, and these, as Crusius maintains, drew upon Erasmus, Adag. Chil. II 5, 1.[3]

Without wishing to underestimate the influence of Erasmus on the language of the learned world, the writer does not be-

[1] Chil. II, Centur. II, Prov. 10 (I quote the exact text of the ed. of 1703, Lugduni Batavorum, *Petri Vander Aa*): "*Extra oleas.* ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐλαιῶν φέρεται. i. e. *Extra oleas fertur.* Ubi quis terminos praescriptos transgreditur, aut aliena, nec ad rem pertinentia facit, dicitve. Aristophanes in Ranis: Νὴ σὲ ὁ θυμὸς ἁρπάσας/ Ἐκτὸς οἴσει τῶν ἐλαιῶν. i. e. *Ira ne te concitum/ Rapiat extra olivas.* Interpres adagium hinc natum ait. Stadia, in quibus currendi certamina peragebantur, oleis per seriem positis, utrinque sepiebantur, quas praeterire non licebat: proinde qui praeteriisset oleas, extra stadium currere videbatur".

[2] Grimm, Deutsches Woerterbuch, s. v. Sparte: "Sparte, f. pfruende, antheil, amt, aufgabe, hauptsaechlich in der sprache akademisch gebildeter kreise. aus dem spaetmittellat. *sparta*, besonders in den redensarten: *spartam nancisci*, eine pfruende erhalten. KLUGE etymol. wb.[6] 369[a], und *spartam et Martham*, pfarre und quarre. studentenspr. 127[a] dem wol wieder griech. σπάρτη, erbgut, zu grunde liegt; vgl. die redensart σπάρτην ἔλαχες. zeitschr. fuer deutsche wortforschung 1, 365; doch vgl. auch ital. *spartire*, *spartare*, scheiden, absondern. KRAMER (1693) 1114[a]".

[3] Ed. 1703 (above cited), coll. 551 sqq.: "*Spartam nactus es, hanc orna.* Η'ν ἔλαχες, Σπάρταν κόσμει. i. e. *Spartam, quam nactus es, orna*, sive administra. Admonet adagium, ut quamcunque provinciam erimus forte nacti, ei nos accommodemus, proque hujus dignitate nos geramus. M. Tullius ad Atticum lib. 4. Epistola 6. Reliquum est; Σπάρταν ἔλαχες, ταύταν κόσμει. Non me hercle possum . . . Idem ad eundem lib. 1. Eam ob causam, quam mihi dicis obtigisse Σπάρταν, non modo nunquam deseram, sed etiam si ab illa deserar, in mea pristina sententia permanebo. . . . . Proverbium igitur ad varios usus licebit accommodare: vel cum admonebimus, ut suam quisque personam, quam suscepit, cum decoro tueatur. Episcopus es, ne Satrapam agas, sed Episcopum. Maritus es, cura quae mariti sunt officia." etc. etc. for more than three additional columns.

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lieve that the example chosen to illustrate it is convincing. The proverb Σπάρτην ἔλαχες, ταύτην κόσμει, with its variations, seems to have been popular with the Greeks. A glance at the lexicon of Stephanus, or a brief search in the Corpus Paroemiographorum, will suffice to show that. As for the Romans, Cicero reveals their attitude, ad Att. 4, 6 and 1, 20, and the ordinary lexica contain references to these passages. In the presence of the weighty example of Cicero, it certainly required no Erasmus, influential though he was, to set the pace, and the great possibilities of the proverb for purposes of moral instruction must have made it exceedingly popular with pedagogues and the clergy.

But what are the facts with regard to the phrase *extra oleas?* Stich, as was pointed out above, searched the lexica in vain for it. The present writer has been able to locate it in several lexica, as follows: 1. The Lexicon Philologicum of Matthias Martinius, Francofurti, 1655: "*Extra oleas* Aristoph. in Ranis: ἐκτὸς οἴσει τῶν ἐλαιῶν". Then follows the citation of the scholiast's explanation. 2. Andreae Reyheri Lexicon Latino-Germanicum, Lipsiae et Francofurti, 1696: "*Extra oleas vagari.* Prov. *Officii limites transgredi,* aus dem Geschirr schlagen, aus den Schrancken schreiten". Then follows the quotation, from the Adagia, of Erasmus' explanation, with due credit to Erasmus. 3. Basilii Fabri Thesaurus Eruditionis Scholasticae, rev. and enlarged by Cellarius, Lipsiae, 1696: "*Extra oleas vagari,* est extra fines legitimos sive terminos vagari. Vide scholiastem Aristophanis in Ranas act. 4 sc. 1 sub fin." The 1717 edition has the same, with the addition of the German translation, "die schrancken ueberschreiten, aus dem geschirr schlagen". 4. Gesner, Novus Linguae et Eruditionis Romanae Thesaurus, Lipsiae 1749: "Olea arbor ad terminos designandos adhibebatur, unde prou. *Extra oleas vagari.* Vid. Scholast. Aristoph. in Ran. act. 4 sc. 1 sub f. Victor. Var. Lect. 31, 10". 5. Ainsworth's Thesaurus Linguae Latinae Compendiarius, 4th ed., London, 1752: "Extra oleas, *Prov. to go beyond the bounds*". It is curious to note that some of the later editions of this popular work, among them one printed in 1847, make the mistake of attributing the phrase "Extra oleas, *To go beyond the bounds*", to Horace. Forcellini, who finished his lexicon

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in 1755, does not mention the phrase, and as the London edition of Stephanus (Roberti Stephani Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, Editio Nova prioribus multo auctior et emendatior, Londini, 1734–5) does not contain the expression, which is absent also from the Lyons Thesaurus of 1573 and from Thomas Cooper's Thesaurus, London, 1578, the inference is that the paragraphs just cited from Gesner and Ainsworth are due to Faber's Thesaurus. This inference is further strengthened by Ainsworth's acknowledgment of his indebtedness to Faber, and by the fact that Gesner issued an edition of Faber in 1726. The commentators on Aristoph. Ran. give no help, except that Kock cites Ruhnken's remark on Plato, Cratyl. 414 B, ἐκτὸς δρόμου φερόμενον, "quod proverbii formam habet et simile est notissimo *extra oleas vagari*". Kock does not state that this remark is taken from Ruhnken's commentary on the word δρόμοι in his edition[1] of Timaeus' Lexicon Vocum Platonicarum, but this information is furnished by Stallbaum on Cratyl. 414 B, who, speaking of ἐκτὸς δρόμου φερόμενον, remarks "quod bene Ruhnkenius ad Tim. Gloss. p. 89. composuit cum notissimo illo *extra oleas vagari*.

From the facts as thus far stated, it seems fairly clear that the expression *extra oleas* lacks literary support, and, if the phrase was really a "notissimum", as Ruhnken and Stallbaum contend, one might feel inclined with Crusius to attribute its vogue to the influence of Erasmus and the Erasmians.

But there is an important fact which has not been stated above, and which has been overlooked by both Stich and Crusius. This fact is that the phrase *ne extra oleas* occupies a conspicuous place in the annals of printing. From 1642 to 1681, during all but the first four years of the entire period of the existence of the Amsterdam house of Elzevirs, the phrase *ne extra oleas* was used by that house as a motto of one of its distinctive printer's marks. The mark in question, technically known as the "Minerva", may be described as follows. The center of the design is occupied by an olive-tree. To the right under one of the branches of the olive-tree stands Minerva with her left hand holding the top of her Gorgon shield, the lower end of which is resting on the ground near

[1] 1 ed. 1754; 2 ed. 1789. Only the second edition as incorporated in Kock's editio nova, Lipsiae 1828, has been accessible to the writer.

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her left foot. With the right hand the goddess holds up one end of a banderole, the other end of which is supported by a twig of the lower left-hand branch of the tree. The banderole is thus made to swing in front of the trunk of the olive-tree, so that the legend *ne extra oleas*, which is inscribed on the banderole, is easily read and may be taken in at a glance. On the ground to the left of the trunk of the tree sits an owl.

As to the source of the motto, which was first employed by Louis Elzevir in 1642, Willems, Les Elzevier (Bruxelles, 1880), p. xciii, had already stated that the phrase is foreign to Latin, that it is a translation of the Greek of Aristophanes, and that it was taken from the Adagia of Erasmus. He presented no documentary evidence of the truth of the last statement, and, indeed, his language[1] seems to imply that there is none. It is well, therefore, in this connection, to remember that the younger Louis Elzevir, unlike the Louis Elzevir that founded the Leyden establishment, was a highly educated man. He had been enrolled in the philosophical department of the University of Leyden, and, after the completion of his studies, had traveled extensively for the Leyden house, and had come in contact with many learned men. So it is very possible that when he had established a business of his own, and was casting about for a motto, he may have selected the proverbial expression from his own reading, or he may have enlisted the help of the distinguished scholar Daniel Heinsius, who was the ever faithful friend and constant adviser of the Elzevirs. Imitation, doubtless, figured largely in the choice of the motto, as it did in the composition of the design. When one compares the later book-mark of Robert Stephanus, as found, for example, in Ioachimi Fortii Ringelbergii Andoverpiani Rhetorica of the year 1548, and as adopted by Henry Stephanus (cf. his Thesaurus Graecae Linguae, and the facsimiles in the Didot edition), one cannot help thinking that it furnished the cue for both the Leyden "Solitaire" and the Amsterdam "Minerva". In the "Solitaire", the olive-tree is replaced by the elm surrounded by a grape-vine with clust-

[1] "Nous serions fort en peine de fournir l'explication de la devise *Ne extra oleas*, si nous n'avions vérifié qu'elle a été prise dans le recueil des *Adages* d'Erasme. Ce dicton, étranger à la latinité, est traduit d'un passage d'Aristophane", etc.

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ers of grapes, the philosopher is retained, and the motto becomes *non solus*. In the Amsterdam "Minerva", which is later than the "Solitaire", the seeker after wisdom is replaced by the goddess of wisdom, who naturally is accompanied by her attributes, as described above. The Minerva motif was plainly borrowed from the seal of the university of Leyden,[1] and, when once this motif had been selected, it was an easy step from the *noli altum sapere* (Rom. 11, 20), "Be not high-minded", of Robert Stephanus to the *ne extra oleas* (Ran. 994–5), "Stay within the bounds of wisdom", of Louis Elzevir.

The lists of Elzevir publications given by Willems, o. c., reveal the fact that nine catalogues and over 256 of the more than 600 editions of works published by Louis and Daniel Elzevir, conjointly or individually, have the "Minerva" with the motto *ne extra oleas*. This number includes such works as the beautiful 1652 edition of Meibom's Antiquae musicae auctores septem,[2] and the splendid variorum Tacitus of 1672, as also repeated editions of Aphthonius' Progymnasmata, Comenius' Janua, Descartes' works, Corvinus, Adagiorum epitome of Erasmus, Vossius' Clenardus, the Greek New Testament, Select Letters and Speeches of Cicero for schools, Hesiod, Grotius' De veritate religionis Christianae, Justinian, Duez' method of French, German, Italian and Latin, and other important works in the fields of literature, language, medicine, law and natural science.

When one considers that in addition to the number, the variety, and the importance of the works published under the imprint of the Minerva mark, the Amsterdam Elzevirs had business connections with the whole of Europe, that they were regularly represented at the great Frankfort fair, that they en-

[1] The Leyden Elzevirs were for many years the official university printers, and Daniel Heinsius was the successor of Joseph Scaliger at the University of Leyden. The mark of Robert Winter of Basle was a Minerva with Gorgon shield, spear and owl, and a couple of olive-branches forming more or less of a frame for the whole. The design is so different from that of the Amsterdam "Minerva" that near relationship between the two seems very doubtful.

[2] The vignette at the beginning of this article has been reproduced from a copy of Meibom in the possession of the Library of the Peabody Institute of Baltimore, Md.

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joyed the monopoly of supplying Germany with foreign books, and that many of their books were copyrighted in Germany, one cannot resist the conclusion that the phrase *ne extra oleas* must have been familiar to the whole scholarly world of the latter part of the seventeenth century and of the beginning of the eighteenth. To men like Gesner and Ruhnken it was indeed a "notissimum", and its employment by Berckmann, in modified form, shows that he counted on being understood. Even Stallbaum, in the nineteenth century, was probably not guilty of exaggeration when he claimed acquaintance with it, though now, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the phrase seems almost completely to have faded from memory.

Of course, it might be contended that the phrase *extra oleas* may have been current at the time of the founding of the Amsterdam house of Elzevirs, but no proof has as yet been presented, and all indications point to the contrary. The matter is well worth investigation, but the search, to be profitable, would seem to require the resources of European libraries.[1]

C. W. E. MILLER.

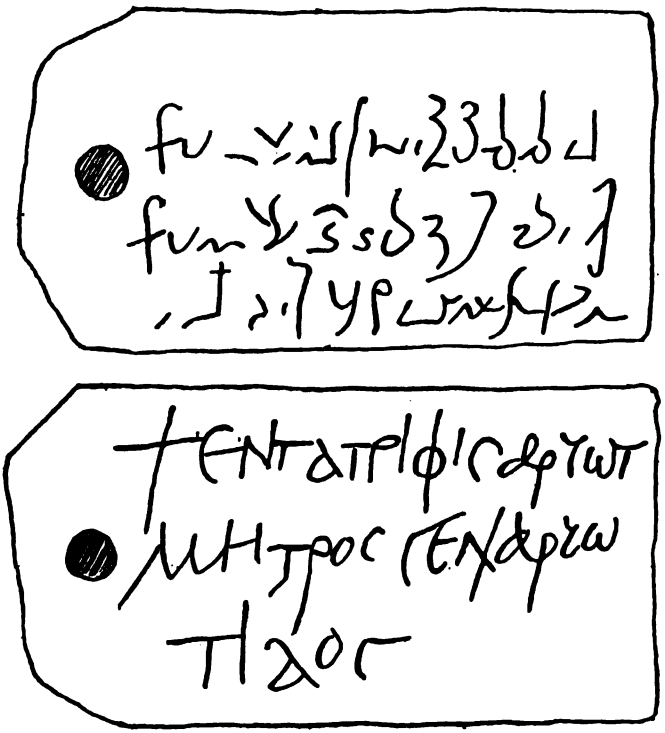
[1] After the above had reached the stage of page-proof, I came across a passage in Pieters, Annales de l'Imprimerie Elsevirienne, p. 173, from which it appears that Adry had already, though in a casual way, connected the Elzevir "Minerva" and the Stephanus "Olive". The passage reads as follows: "Adry dit que ce proverbe des grecs: *Ne extra oleas*, signifie *ne passez pas les bornes* (parce qu'à une des extrémités du stade étaient plantés des oliviers) et que les Estienne, qui avaient également adopté cet arbre, l'avaient accompagné de cette devise ci: *Noli altum sapere*".

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VII.—MUMMY-LABELS IN THE ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM.

(*Second paper.*) [1]

10. Mummy-label of sycamore; a document of identification; from the Fayûm; a rectangle 10 × 4.8 cmm., with the two corners at one end truncated; midway between the corners a hole is pierced for a cord; thickness uniformly 9 mm.; inscribed in ink, on one side in Demotic and on the other in Greek; the Greek is in an excellent cursive hand apparently of the third century A. D.; ϵ inclines to the uncial form (see Thompson, Intr. to Gr. and Lat. Palaeography, pp. 170–174).



[1] Nos. 1–9 were published in the A. J. P., XXXIV, 4, pp. 437–450.

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Professor Spiegelberg of Strassburg has kindly transliterated and translated the Demotic text:

1. P3-šy-(n)-tnt-t3-rpi(s3)Ḥr-wḏ
2. mwt=f T3-šyt-(n)-Ḥr-wd
3. p3 rmt Pr-bu-pn-ḥ^{c}

1. "Psentatriphis, son of Haryotis;
2. his mother (is) Senharyotis;
3. the man from Bompaë".

Ψεντατρίφις Ἁρυώτ(ου) | μητρὸς Σεναρυώ|τιδος.

Ψεντατρίφις: Ψεν-=son of; Ταtρίφις=Ta-t-rpi, "She who belongs to Triphis", i. e. the goddess of Triphion or Athribis of the South, near Panopolis (Reich, Demot. u. gr. Texte auf Mumientäfelchen in d. Samml. d. Pap. Erzh. Rainer (1908), p. 17; Hall, Proc. of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch., XXVII (1905), No. 38); Spiegelberg (Demot. Stud., I, Aeg. u. gr. Eigennamen aus Mumienetiketten d. Röm. Kaiserzeit (1904), pp. 62*–63*, 53) notes the name on a mummy-label; so Hall, loc. cit.

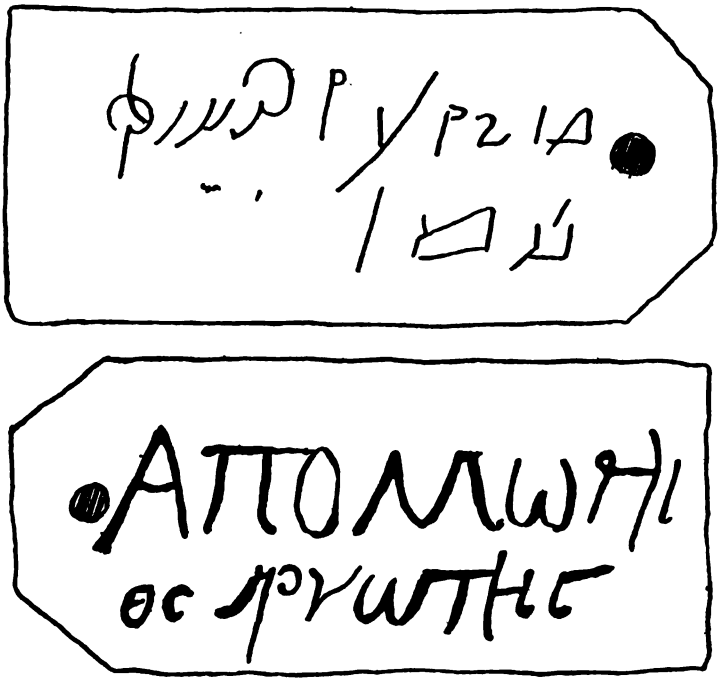
Ἁρυώτ(ου): The Dem. verifies the conjecture of the genitive. Cf. Ἁρυώτης=Ἁρυώτου on No. 11. For the abbreviation of names on mummy-labels see my former paper, A. J. P., XXXIV, 4, p. 446; also Milne, Cat. gén. du Musée du Caire, Gr. Inscr., 9388. The compressed character of these documents compels frequent abbreviation. Ἁρυώτης=H^{a}r-w^{o}d, "Horus is healthy" (Spiegelberg, op. cit., pp. 6*–7*); for the variants Ἁρεώθης, Ἁρηώτης, Ἁρυώθης, Ὁρούθης see ib., p. 45. The name occurs in Milne, op. cit., 9350; 9367.

Σεναρυώτιδος: For discussion of this name see my earlier paper, p. 446. Since it is probable that all the mummy-labels in this collection, with the exception of No. 8, came from the same cemetery (Panopolis), the name Senharyotis here and in No. 7 may refer to the same woman. The two labels certainly belong to the same period (see my paper cited above, p. 450).

11. Mummy-label of some hard, brown wood resembling mahogany; a document of identification; from the Fayûm; a rectangle similar to No. 10, 1.3×4.9 cmm.; a hole pierced as in No. 10 still retains a piece of cord c. 18 cmm. long; inscribed

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in ink, on one side in Demotic and on the other in Greek; the latter text is in mixed cursives and capitals, the work of an unskilled hand; apparently dates in the second or third century A. D.; *ν* has the peculiar form, ϺΙ.



Professor Spiegelberg thus transliterates and translates the Demotic:

ʒPuluns (sʒ) Ḥr-wḏ.
Apollonius, son of Haryotes.

'Απολλώνι|ος 'Αρυώτης.

'Απολλώνιος: One of the commonest Greek names in Egypt; see Spiegelberg, op. cit., pp. 1* ff.; 45; Reich, op. cit., dem.-gr., 12; Milne, op. cit., 9356.

'Αρυώτης: ='Αρυώτου. For the disregard of the proper case-endings in popular documents see my previous paper, No. 5, pp. 443–4. This Haryotes is probably the same as the one mentioned in No. 10. We can therefore date this label in the third century A. D.

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12. Mummy-label of the same wood as No. 11; from the Fayûm; a rectangle 4.6×7.5 cmm., with a rectangular offset at one end; the middle of the line of juncture between offset and label is pierced with a small hole; on one side only three Greek letters, written in ink, are visible; [. . . . *ἀπο*] Φιλ[*αδελφίας*]?

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES ON NOS. 1–9.

ἀπὸ Μης (No. 4, p. 442): Cf. Crum, Cat. gén. du Musée d'Alexandrie, Coptic Monuments, 8363, *ἀπὸ* Μη[ς]; the editor fails to identify the place.

Τκαλκον (No. 6, p. 444): Can this have any connection with TCЄΛXOY in Crum, op. cit., 8422; 8483? The κ is poorly executed and may have been intended for the square form (ⲥ) of the lunar sigma. The confusion of α and ε, of κ and χ are frequently paralleled in plebeian documents from Egypt.

To p. 437, n. 2, the following may be added: Scott-Moncrieff, Paganism and Christianity in Egypt, p. 127, n. 2; id., under Coptic Church in Hastings' Enc. of Rel. and Ethics, IV, pp. 114–115; Mitteis-Wilcken, Papyruskunde, I, ii, No. 498; W. Spiegelberg, Zeitschr. f. Aeg. Spr. u. Altertumskunde, LI (1914), 1–2, pp. 89–93; id., Cat. gén. des Ant. du Mus. du Caire, Die demotischen Inschriften, Nos. 9363, 9367, 9369, 9392, 9396 (pp. 82–86); B. Keil, Hermes, XLVIII, pp. 156 ff.; G. Elliott Smith, Jour. of Eg. Archaeology, I (1914), 3, p. 195. Professor H. F. Allen has called my attention to eight labels in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.

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REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES

Monumenti Vaticani di Paleografia Musicale Latina Raccolti ed Illustrati da ENRICO MARRIOTT BANNISTER. (Vol. XII of Codices e Vaticanis Selecti Phototypice Expressi . . . Opera Curatorum Bybliothecae Vaticanae).

The science of musical palaeography, even more so than that of palaeography in general, is still in its infancy. The foundations were laid in 1880 by Dom Pottier's work, Les Mélodies Grégoriennes d'après la Tradition. Most of the credit for progress since then must be awarded to that learned congregation under whose auspices Dom Pottier's book appeared, the Benedictines of Solesmes. They have published in their famous Paléographie Musicale facsimiles of entire manuscripts and selected pages from different manuscripts illustrating the history of musical notation; they have edited a number of service-books, some according to the Roman rite, some according to the rites of various monastic orders. But much remains to do. Oskar Fleischer, in his Neumenstudien, 1897, could lament the fact that the fine collection of musical manuscripts in the Vatican Library had never been adequately explored. That charge can no longer be made. In 1904, the Reverend Henry Marriott Bannister, the eminent authority on liturgics, prepared for the Gregorian Congress held in Rome a catalogue of the principal Vatican manuscripts with musical notation. This small but useful undertaking has now grown into the two portly folios under review.

In this monumental work, Mr. Bannister has registered and described every manuscript in the Vatican bearing the faintest trace of musical notes. There are 1065 entries in all, with 132 plates of admirable reproductions in collotype containing 211 facsimiles of 206 manuscripts. Only a few manuscripts later than the year 1300 are reproduced, for by that time the square notation, which lies beyond the scope of this work, was established in all the countries of Europe. An excellent introduction treats of the history of musical notation in the Middle Ages and the forms and uses of neums. The manuscripts are classed under a skilful combination of chronological and geographical principles, so that the plates and the descriptions of them carry out in the same order and in fuller detail the divisions of the subject treated in the introduction. A special feature is the

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elaborate series of plates illustrating the forms of neums, which here for the first time are given not in drawings but, by a difficult process skilfully executed, in photographs. Each one of the two thousand varieties bears a letter or a number and is designated by this in the descriptions and in the register of neums, where one can find at a glance the period and the locality in which any form was used. There is also a wealth of indices. The index of manuscripts gives immediate access to the very careful descriptions of them and thus forms an important supplement to the catalogues now in process of publication by the Vatican Library. The Geographical Index facilitates the use of the plates in the study of scripts and neums of any particular centre, as Lorsch or Monte Cassino. Another index gives the first words of every liturgical text published in the facsimiles or cited in the descriptions and another refers to the melodies published. The Indice Musicale contains matters of palaeographical as well as musical interest. There are still other indices and appendices and conscientious lists of *Addenda* and *Corrigenda*.

In a word, while exactly fulfilling the purpose set forth in the title, Mr. Bannister's work is incidentally the most important systematic and comprehensive treatment yet made of musical notation in the Middle Ages before the introduction of the square notation. For the Vatican Library, with its diverse collections, is palaeographically one of the most representative libraries in Europe. A scientific account of the different sorts of musical notation exhibited in its manuscripts is a treatment of the subject of musical notation itself. Other libraries can supply more abundant material for some separate school or country; few if any command so broad an outlook over the whole field. Further, no library but the Vatican contains the store of Italian material which is indispensable to the historian of the subject and which Mr. Bannister is the first to use. He informs us several times that his chief concern is with the palaeographical rather than the musical aspects of the subject and he discreetly avoids matters of controversy in the history of mediaeval music. But the two matters are inextricably involved and both are treated with the competence of an expert. He is also a good teacher. The neums in each important manuscript are minutely registered and the music is not infrequently reproduced in square notation; one has frequent opportunities for a lesson in neums. The work, then, is at once a thesaurus of facts, a practical manual and a noteworthy contribution to science.

After Mr. Bannister's publication, a neumless palaeographer must hang his head for shame. In fact, according to our author, neums are a surer criterion for dating than script is. Whereas an earlier script is often imitated two or three cen-

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turies later, neums, to be intelligible, would be done in the system prevalent at the time of writing. Waiving this point, which will bear discussion, one cannot fail to recognize the classes made so clearly in Mr. Bannister's plates and descriptions. The delicate grace of the French neums, the clear firmness of Italian neums and the marked corpulence of the later German neums are apparent. The system of Aquitaine and that of Metz and Como have striking characteristics. It is interesting that German neums like German script are tenaciously conservative. German notation agreeing in essential traits with a French style can be dated a generation later. Special Beneventan neums accompany the Beneventan script and help determine the geographical area of that style; its name, incidentally, with which Traube re-christened it, has evidently come to stay.[1] Outside the Beneventan region in the eleventh and twelfth centuries there prevailed other Italian scripts badly needing investigation; Mr. Bannister is the first to give a systematic account of the neums accompanying them, and doubtless his studies will inspire further research. Visigothic forms are most peculiar and yet bespeak the same origin as that of the other varieties; their curious developments enable us to set very early that primal Italian style from which all the others descended.

Of course the appeal to neums will not solve all questions of dating. It cannot apply to manuscripts before the tenth century, since ninth century manuscripts with neums are, or seem to be, exceedingly rare. Further qualifications must be made. French and English neums of the eleventh and twelfth centuries are much alike, so are the earliest South Italian and the French and so are the later neums of Metz and of Germany. Cases of uncertainty are bound to arise, but that is nothing new in palaeography. Further study will doubtless confirm with new details and distinctions what is obvious at present, that neums will be a necessary auxiliary in the rapidly growing science of regional palaeography.

Such is Mr. Bannister's skill in presentation that the neumless palaeographer can learn to use this thesaurus without much trouble. He has only to read the introduction to find what are the forms and varieties of neums in general, to identify a series of neums in the manuscript he is studying with the photographic portraits of neums in the plates and then to consult the numbers in the Register. The first neum in his text, let us say, is *virga C 2*. The register shows it is either F(rench) s. X–XII or It(alian). s. XI–XII. The next is *pes liquescens 14*, which is G(erman) s. XI–XII or F. s

[1] See the conclusive treatment of this matter in Dr. E. A. Loew's Beneventan Script. pp. 22 ff.

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XI–XII. By a process of elimination, these neums should be French. Then comes a *flexa resupina* which does not exactly correspond to any of the forms in the plate. Looking about on the page to see if the scribe has other less eccentric varieties, one discovers *c 6*, which is F. s. X–XII (five manuscripts), or It. s. XI–XII (one manuscript). This is followed by *pes flexus f. 14*, which is F. s. XI–XII, *quilisma A 15*, G. s. X (one manuscript), or F. s. XI–XII (six manuscripts), and later, *pes c 5*, F. s. XI–XII. One can at least form the tentative hypothesis that the neums are French of the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century.[1] The all-important fact that the plates contain photographs and not drawings make them a trusty guide.

As stated above, there are very few texts with neums of the ninth century. Mr. Bannister excludes various manuscripts heretofore admitted as of that period and criticizes the tendency to date books too early. But there is also a tendency to date books too late, represented monumentally by Reifferscheid, to whose opinions Mr. Bannister perhaps too frequently defers. To take a few Vatican manuscripts which I happen to have examined, Palatinus 209 is dated tenth century by Mr. Bannister, following Stevenson and Reifferscheid, and its neums are registered as German. The manuscript was evidently at Franchenthal in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, and German neums were inscribed on an added *feuille de garde*, but the book itself, I venture to believe, was written at some monastery near Tours, perhaps Fleury, before the middle of the ninth century. The neums on its first page then may be not "*tedeschi sottili*", but French. In fact, from a comparison of my photograph of this page with Mr. Bannister's description and his plates, they seem to me quite as likely French as German.[2] If Mr. Bannister is right in thinking the neums contemporaneous with the text, this specimen, though not extensive in amount is of distinct historical interest as one of the earliest instances of French neums. No. 114, Reginensis 321, may be dated from a hymn it contains in honor of Count William, Abbot of St. Julian at Brioude either before 883 or before 918 or before 926. The earliest of those dates seems to me altogether possible from the writing, which may have been done at Orleans, thinks Mr. Bannister, and at any rate

[1] This example is from one of the plates (No. 44, Regin. 592, Fleury s. XI ex.). I successfully tested several others by the method indicated.

[2] *Quil.* "5" *praepun.* (G. s. XI–XII), but quite as near, I think, to A 1 (G. s. XI–XII, F. s. X). *Vir.* "A 5" *sub diatessar.* (*G.* s. X–XII *It.* s. XI–XII, etc.), but clearly the episema is at the left, not the right, and the style is C 1 (G. s. X-XII, F. s. IX-XI), or C 2 (F. s. X-XII, It. s. XI–XII). *Virga accentuata* "A 3" (G. IX–XII, F. s. XI–XII), and so on.

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suggests a later variety of the script of the famous Bible of Theodulf. The neums, some of which are written diastematically, are not unlike those of the manuscript reproduced in the preceding plate (No. 12), Vaticanus 474, which according to a scribe's note was revised and punctuated by Lupus Servatus, Abbot of Ferrierès from 840 to 862. Had it not been for this note, this text too would have presumably been assigned to the tenth century.[1] There are other cases of doubt, some recognized by the author, where manuscripts and neums assigned to the tenth century might well be of the end of the ninth. It seems extraordinary, at first, that even allowing for these possible corrections we find so few books of the ninth century with neums. As set forth in the introduction, melodies were at first learned from the master and transmitted, in the main, orally. Still there must have been some written record, one would imagine, of the music of the entire liturgy. Indeed the famous Winchester Trope (No. 226) of the eleventh century, was probably copied[2] from an original written at Fleury or at Tours in the ninth.

Here I may trespass a moment upon alien ground, yet not all too remote. In another recent publication of great moment, Dr. E. A. Loew's Beneventan Script, the system of punctuation employed by Beneventan scribes is derived with good reason from neums. In particular, the mark of interrogation is treated in an illuminating way on the basis of new material and observations. In a "nominal" question, i. e. one introduced by a specially interrogative word, a sign like the Arabic figure 2 is placed over the accented syllable of such a word, as in

qui sunt et unde venerunt.

In a "predicate" question, which lacks the introductory interrogative, like

hoc sum terraque marique secuta

the sign is set over some word or words which receive the raised inflexion. It was intended originally as a guide in reading aloud and is nothing else than the neum *flexa resupina* of which the normal form is  and of which the final element represents a raising of the voice. Now Dr. Loew, in presenting his highly convincing argument that the Beneventan system is independent of the Spanish informs us, nevertheless, that Visigothic manuscripts show a somewhat similar usage. In them a nominal question receives a circumflex accent over the last word as

quid hoc feciŝti,

[1] P. 32: Ciò riapre la questione della data del ms., il quale a prima vista pare del secolo X.

[2] See p. 76.

[3] A 1—A 8, etc. An approach to the figure 2 is C 7.

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whereas a predicate question is followed by the sign *N*, as

sic respondes pontifici *N*

Dr. Loew might have made his case stronger still by pointing out that these two signs are very common and normal forms of neums, ∧ being *flexa* and *N flexa resupina*. Spaniard and Beneventan agree in using a punctuation based on neums but differ in their special methods. The common practice must have originated early to give time for these different developments. In a nominal question, we see, the Beneventan scribe put a rising accent on the interrogative at the beginning, and let the end of the sentence take care of itself;[1] the Spaniard put a *flexa* at the end to denote the lowering of the voice that usually[2] occurs there, while he left the inflexion of the beginning words to be understood. In a predicate question, the Beneventan wrote the *flexa resupina* over various important words, the Spaniard used it only at the end of the sentence, where the accent would rise. In the form of his neums, the Spaniard adheres more closely to the original system.

Dr. Loew remarks[3] on the relation between neums and punctuation:

"Our oldest manuscripts with neums are not older than the end of the ninth century. Our oldest interrogation-signs are a whole century older.[4] Did the neums come from these signs, or did these signs come from the neums, or—which seems more likely—did they both come from a common source, the Greek prosodic accents?[5] These are questions which further researches will have to clear up". Further research indeed is necessary as well as further material of the kind that Mr. Bannister and Dr. Loew have abundantly provided. Meanwhile the facts seem best explained by supposing that the

[1] At least in the earliest period when signs of interrogation are used at all, i. e. from the end of the ninth to the end of the tenth century. In the second period, from the end of the tenth through the first third of the eleventh century, various kinds of question-marks, including one (ω) that resembles a *pes quassus* or *quilisma* were added. This practice, says Dr. Loew (p. 245) was not invariable. May it be that such signs were used only in case of a rising accent at the end of the sentence? After a rhetorical question, like the examples cited by Loew on page 244 (e. g. *quid ego de te digne dicam*), the voice falls, but excitement, wonder or indignation would raise it. Possibly then, in this intermediate period, fine distinctions of intonation were indicated, the question-mark later becoming a merely conventional sign.

[2] But, again, not invariably.

[3] P. 251.

[4] In certain French manuscripts of the end of the eighth century.

[5] The assertion-sign (⊦), to which Loew is the first to call attention, seems rather a modified form of the *flexa* than either "the note *d*, the tonic in the Lydian scale" or the "Greek rough breathing". Similarly the sign ⊣ is not the smooth breathing, but a modified form of *pes*. Cf. Bannister, Plate II, B 10, 12.

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signs of punctuation are selections from the elaborate system of musical notation which, itself based upon prosodic accents, was in vogue before Visigothic and Beneventan parted on their diverse ways.

Mr. Bannister handles with proper caution the question whether neums can express time, but on the whole he inclines to the recent views of P. Wagner, Neumenkunde, 1912, that shorts and longs were indicated. This seems indeed well nigh certain after Wagner's discussion of the Anonymus Vaticanus of the eleventh century. The statements of the unknown writer are explicit. After defining *cantus* he remarks:

Ortus quoque suus atque compositio ex accentibus toni vel ex pedibus sillabarum ostenditur. Ex accentibus vero toni demonstratur in acuto et gravi et circumflexo, ex pedibus denique sillabarum ostenditur in brevi et longa.

Here is an avowal both of the accentual origin of neums and of their metrical value. The author proceeds to give instances of combinations of neums and of varieties of times, citing illustrative melodies. His statements are detailed and apparently coherent, only it is difficult to get their meaning. Mr. Bannister first pointed out that they are further elucidated by the neums that are written, doubtless by the original hand, in the margin and, a few of them, between the lines There are puzzles in this brief account, but it is clear at least in distinguishing three varieties of *punctum*, namely, *breve* (.), *grave* (·) and *subpositum* (-), and three varieties of *virga*, namely, *producta* (>), *acuta* (′), and *circumflexa* (^), this last being the composite neum *flexa*. The script I should have guessed English, did not Mr. Bannister emphatically pronounce it German. In either case the present text shows something of a history behind it. In the original, we should infer, a complete set of interlinear neums was given or at least the connection was made clear between the text and those in the margin. In our manuscript, owing to a defective piece of parchment—the lower left hand corner is incomplete—the neums were started considerably higher in the margin than where they belong. Moreover there is apparently a variant of one of the neums given in l. 7. Farther to the right of the last note, ρ, we see *l* ρ, that is, *climacus liquescens*[1] *vel flexa liquescens*.[2] This variant is not understood by our copyist, however, else it would have stood nearer to the note in question. It was added in some antecedent copy by a scribe who understood musical notation. Other uncertainties in the neums of our manuscript may perhaps be laid to the ignorance of its scribe. The treatise is thus earlier at least than the

[1] 5; G. s. XI-XII, F. s. XI-XII, Eng. s. XI.
[2] 13; G. s. IX-XIII, F. s. X-XIV.

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present copy. Am I too bold in suggesting that it may have been made, unintelligently, in England, from a French or German original?[1] If this highly important document is typical of the Middle Ages in general, further research should discover an elaborate system of time-notation used not only at St. Gall, as Mr. Bannister is willing to admit, but in Europe at large. Possibly, indeed, it was a feature of the original Gregorian system.

Another matter for inquiry is the history of diastematic notation, or the arrangement of notes according to pitch-intervals. This is regarded as a later development, though instances may not be lacking in the ninth century. It seems easier to suppose that the height of tones, indicated always in such forms of separate neums as *pes flexa, scandicus, climacus,* was marked just as clearly by the original system in a succession of these notes. Indeed the Italian scribe, Mr. Bannister declares, seems often to have written with an imaginary line in mind, or may have even made a temporary guide by snapping a dust-covered string on his page. The original intention could readily be confused by an ignorant copyist or abandoned even by an intelligent copyist owing to the necessity of writing between narrow lines. In view of the importance of oral instruction, this negligence of the scribes would not be deemed serious at first, though it led in certain regions to complete ignorance of diastematic notation. The latter, however, gradually prevailed again, and eventually was succeeded by the staff.

The whole subject, in fine, is brim-full of vital problems, which Mr. Bannister's splendid publication should greatly help to solve. Some classical scholar should undertake a much-needed investigation of the manuscripts of the ancient poets whose works were set to music during the Middle Ages; a preliminary list is given on page 65, and see also the *Indice Musicale s. v. Neumi.* But whether these questions are settled or not, Mr. Bannister's work can stand on its own merits as an indispensable theasurus for the study of both palaeography and the history of musical notation.

E. K. RAND.

[1] The volume contains five different manuscripts: I. Paulinus of Nola in an insular hand of the eighth century; II. Aldhelm s. XI; III, extracts from Bede, the Anonymus *de cantu*, etc., s. XI; IV, Glosses on Prudentius, s. X; V, a treatise on the computus, in a hand resembling No. III, followed by Notker's *prosa* for the festival of St. John Baptist, with German neums. There are also German neums on a page of No. III. There are no indications of provenience, save that No. II belonged to a monastery at Huysberg, Saxony, in the fifteenth century.

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The Oxford English Dictionary. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press.

The Part for January 1, 1913, edited by Sir James Murray, is Ti—Tombac (Volume X), and contains 1495 main words, 729 combinations, and 350 entries of obsolete forms, etc., amounting to 2574. The obvious combinations number 617 more, total 3191. Of the main words, 1153 (77%), are now current English, native or naturalized, 272 (18.3%), are marked † as obsolete, and 70 (4.71%) are not fully naturalized. Comparison with other recent works shows "words recorded Ti—Tombac, Johnson, 213; Cassell, 1064, Century, 1355, Funk, 1474, Here, 3191; words illustrated by quotations, Johnson, 176, Cassell, 392, Century, 894, Funk, 146, Here, 2651; number of quotations, Johnson, 537, Cassell, 621, Century, 1334, Funk, 190, Here. 13,850, Richardson, 692. The most important word treated is *To* "(perhaps the most difficult of the prepositions next to *Of*);" it has filled 18 columns, and taken up about a fourth of the whole time occupied in the preparation of this double section. *To* has been to some extent encroached upon by the *Norse till*, which, however, in Standard English, is chiefly confined to time. *Time* occupies 14 columns, with 7 columns of compounds and derivatives, one of which is *Time-table*, first appearance 1838. "Originally almost synonymous with *time* is *Tide*, in the cognate languages the exact equivalent of our 'time'. But with us, although in some senses, as *Easter-tide*, *noon-tide*, *tide* is still=*time*, in others the sense-development has taken another direction".

Other considerable articles are those on *Tobacco*, *tiger*, *tile*, *tin*, *toe*, *Token*, and *together*, where note is taken of the recently observed fact that this adverb was originally used only of *coming* together, not of *being* together, which had the distinct word *aetgaedere*, 'at-gether'.

"Important historical terms are TITHE and TOLL". Also TITIVIL, *q. v.* TOILET has been in English only since about 1611 (in Scotland it was in use in 1540). "The new European words number about 25"; *tobacco*, *toddy*, *tombac*, *tomahawk*, 17th cent., *tomato*, and *toboggan* of the 18th and 19th, are quite naturalized; others are names of foreign birds, beasts, plants, trees, etc., which remain alien. Numerous familiar words are of unknown or very uncertain etymology.

The Part for April 1, 1913, *Sniggle—Sorrow*, is edited by Dr. W. A. Craigie and contains "1688 main words, 237 special combinations, and 351 subordinate entries; in all 3084 words; of the main words 364 are marked (†) as obsolete, and 70 are

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marked (||) as "alien or not fully naturalized". Compared with other recent Dictionaries, we find them recorded as follows:

	Johnson.	Cassell.	Century.	Funk.	Here.
Words recorded.....	251	1065	1349	1327	3084
Words illustrated by quotations.	209	427	534	173	2736
Number of quotations	813	661	1380	228	17,706

Corresponding quotations in Richardson, 707. Of the older native words the most important is *snow* sb[1], filling 17 columns; *snow* sb[2] is from the Dutch, and means a sailing-vessel.

"*Snob* sb[1] and *snooze* appear first as slang terms of the 18th century, and the history of the former is of some interest". "In *So-* the native words hold a prominent place, but are rivalled in number and extent by those of Romanic origin". "*Sob* first appears in early Middle English; a peculiar use of the noun by Shakespeare proves to have been a technical term of horsemanship". To find this out I referred to Schmidt, but was not enlightened, so I had to come back to Dr. Murray to find that it means "an act, on the part of a horse, of recovering its wind after exertion", with quotation from 1590, *Com. Errors*, iv, iii, 25, and others.

Sorghum is duly recorded, and as one of its meanings, "U. S. a kind of molasses made from sorghum juice", with examples from 1883, Chambers's Journal, and 1892, Atlantic Monthly, but much earlier examples might have been found. It was the only kind of molasses that we of the South could get during the war of 1861–65, and both the name and the thing were in *daily* use. While not as good as molasses made from the sugar-cane, it was much better than none.

Sorrel, as the colour of a horse, dates back to 1469, and an example is given from the London Gazette of 1716 of "A sorrel chesnut nag", but I fail to find recorded the colour name *chesnut-sorrel*, common in U. S.; *chesnut-sorrel* is a darker colour than the common *sorrel* applied to a horse. An example of *sorrel* from the Bible, Zech. i, 8, is given under the date 1884. Examples of *Sorrow*, O. E. *sorh*, are given from Beowulf on, as *sorh is geniwod Denigea leodum*, 1322; so also from Beowulf, 149, gen. pl. *sorga*, Cynewulf's Crist, dat. pl. *sorgum*, Blickling Homilies, 971, *on sorhgum*; Lambeth Homilies, 1175, *out of sorgen*, etc.; note the modification in Middle English. We find also examples from Genesis and Exodus, 1250; Cursor Mundi, 1300, Robert of Brunne's Chronicle, 1338, York Mysteries, 1440, Caxton, North, Shakespeare, Dryden, Johnson, Francis, Pollok, down to Westcott, 1892, showing the continuous use from the Oldest English on.

The Part for July 1, 1913, includes *Several—Shaster*, Volume VIII, and is edited by Henry Bradley, Hon. M. A. Oxon, Hon.

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Ph. D., Heidelberg, Fellow of the British Academy. It includes "636 main words, 211 special combinations explained under these, and 340 subordinate entries; in all, 1187". The *obvious combinations* recorded and illustrated number 227, making a total of 1414. Of the main words 122 (19%) are marked † as obsolete, and 30 (4¾%) are marked ‖ as alien or not fully naturalized. Compared with recent Dictionaries are; Words recorded *Several* to *Shaster*:

	Johnson.	Cassell.	Century.	Funk.	Here.
Words recorded.....	110	500	725	576	1414
Words illustrated by quotations.	83	180	245	64	1131
Number of quotations.....	461	342	753	96	8736

Number in Richardson, 341. This section consists of two parts, markedly different in etymological character. The first 14 pages contain hardly any words that are not of Latin or Romanic origin, the only important survival from Old English being the verb *sew*. The words beginning with SH, which occupy four-fifths of the space, are in overwhelming proportion Teutonic. The longest article is on *shall*. A dozen other words named are of interesting sense-history. "The interpretation here given to Shakespeare's *shard-born(e)*, [q. v.], (Macbeth III, 2, 42), is not *new*, but has received little countenance from the Commentators". Schmidt defines it "borne through the air by scaly wings, or rather wing-cases". Here it is defined: "a. Of a beetle: born in dung; b. used with the meaning (due to misinterpretation of Shaks.), Borne on shards"; i. e. *sherds*. The *shard-born* beetle equals modern "tumble-bug" (see Funk and other *modern* dictionaries). An equivalent term is *sharn-bud, sharn-bug*, both marked *Obs*. An interesting article is the one on *sharp* that fills ten columns. Under the noun we find "*dial.* ?corruption of *shaft* sb.²=a shaft of a cart, usually *pl.*", and an example, dating back to 1733, "Part of the Limbers, which are also called shafts, sharps, and Thills". Some derivatives and compounds follow. The last word of this Part is *shaster*, or *shastra*="Any one of the sacred writings of the Hindoos", with an example of these dating from 1872. "The Brahman possesses the holy canon, Vedas, shástras, and Puránas"; also another: "The position of the Brahman as taught by the Sāstras".

The Part for October 1, 1913, is Tombal—Trahysh (Volume X), completing the words in To- and entering upon those in Tra-. It contains 1601 main words, 511 combinations, explained under these, and 517 subordinate entries of obsolete forms, etc., amounting to 2629; *obvious combinations* number 666 more, raising the total to 3295. Of the 1601 main words, 1226 (76.58%) are current English, native or naturalized, 261 (16.30%) are marked † as obsolete, and 114 (7.12%) are

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marked || as alien or not fully naturalized. Compared as above we have, supplement included:

	Johnson.	Cassell.	Century.	Funk's Standard.	Here.
Words recorded.....	213	1211	1737	1468	3295

	Johnson.	Cassell.	Century.	Funk.	Here.
Words illustrated by quotations	186	448	558	155	2547
No. of illustrative quotations..	640	728	1351	215	12,210

In corresponding portion Richardson gives 625. This Section contains a good representation of the chief constituents of the English vocabulary. Some of those from earliest English are noted, others later are *to-morrow, to-name, to-night, tone* and *tother*. Of native formation are *topple*, TOPSY-TURVY (from *top*), *tout* from *toot*, and *tracery* from *traceub*. Low German and Frisian give *tow* sb.[2] TOY, and TRADE, cognate with *tread*.

From Scandinavian we have *toom*, sb. and adj. *torfer, torsk*, and perhaps *toss, totter*, and *tow* sb.[3]. Of Celtic origin are *tor, torgoch*, TORY, *towan*. The French element is strong, including TON (4 words) *tontine, toque, torch, torsion*, TORT, *tortis, torve, total*, TOUR, *tour*, TOURNAMENT, *tournay*, TOWER, TRACE, and (in part) TORTOISE, most of them ultimately from Latin; with *toupee* (toupet), TOWEL, and *track*, ulteriorly from Frankish or other German dialect, and TOUCH and TRAFFIC, of Common Romance standing, but uncertain origin. More directly from Latin (though sometimes through French) are *tomentose, tonsil, toph,-us, torment*, TORPEDO, *torpid, torpor, torrent, torture, torus, tradition*, TRACT (with its numerous family, including TRACTARIAN), *traction*, and *tractrix*. Italian, Spanish, or other Romanic tongues have given among others, *tomola, tondino, tondo, torso*, and influenced the form of *tornado*. Greek, directly or through Latin (and sometimes also through French), gives *tome*, TONE, *tonic*, TOPIC, *toxic, trachea, tragedy, tragic*, and the numerous groups in *topo-, tox-, toxi-, toxo-, tracheo-, trachelo-, trachy*; TOPAZ is of oriental origin through Greek and Latin. The East Indian words include *tom-tom, tonga, toon*, TOPASS, *tope, topī* (*topee*), and the ultimately Sinhalese *tourmaline*. The New World has given the North American Indian TOTEM, "beloved of anthropologists;" South America *tonka* (bean), *totinambo*, and TOUCAN, "The West Indian *tous-les-mois* is probably a South American word masquerading as French. There are a few words from Hebrew, such as *Tophet*, and the alien *torah* and *tosaphoth*. There are individual words from Arabic, Turkish, Maori, and other far-off tongues.

The most interesting words historically are TORY, TOWN, *township*, TRADE (with *trade-wind*), to which may be added TON and *tonnage* (see *ton mascull*), *tourn, tower-pound*, and,

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in its recent application, TORPEDO; TOP, sb.[1], sense 9, and its derivatives, *top-castle, top-gallant, topmast, topsail*, are of interest in naval history. Change of form is notable in TORTOISE and TORNADO, in the latter accompanying a gradual change of sense. "The most important and longest verb is TOUCH which, though a French immigrant in the 13th century, superseding O. E, *hrínan*, has become the proper and indispensable word for the action, which it is hardly possible to express by any other word or phrase. With its verbal substantive of the same form, and their family, it here occupies 22 columns. The group of compounds in which it denotes the fact of taking fire, at a touch, well-known in *Toch-wood*, appears first in TOUCH-POWDER, where its origin is suggested". "Difficult or disputed etymologies are treated under *toot* and *tout, top*, sb.[2], *topsy-turvy, tor, tornado, tortoise, toss, toucan, touch, tow, towage, township, toy, toze* vb.[2], *track* vb.[2], *trade, traffic*; see also *Tragalism* (the correct etymological treatment of which is due to Dr. Bradley)". See note on this word, with reference to Smart, 1849, where the etymology given by Smart is characterized as an "absurd guess". See, too, *Tom-cat*. In 1760 was published an anonymous work, "The Life and Adventures of a Cat", to which I may add, "The Life of Tammie Chattie", by Tuckahoe, London, Ward, Lock, and Tyler, 1872, pp. 117, which, from the *nom de plume* of the author, must have been written by a Virginian, but this writer is ignorant of his real name. The article on TRACT will be useful in recalling, and explaining, under the title Tracts for the Times, known also as the Oxford Tracts, a forgotten controversy, "started by J. H. Newman" (the later well-known Cardinal Newman), which tracts were published at Oxford, 1833–41, "on the doctrines of which the Tractarian movement was based".

The Part for January 1, 1914, includes the words SORROW—SPEECH (Volume IX), and is edited by W. A. Craigie, M. A., LL. D. It contains 1249 main words, 258 special combinations, 741 *obvious combinations*, and 394 subordinate entries; in all 2642 words. Of the main words, 314 are marked † as obsolete, and 52 marked ‖ as alien or not fully naturalized. Comparison as above gives:

	Johnson.	Cassell.	Century.	Funk.	Here.
Words recorded.....	203	824	998	992	2642
Words illustrated by quotations.	174	310	357	119	2251
Number of quotations	657	510	977	157	15,285

In the corresponding portion Richardson gives 586. This portion of S contains the remainder of the words beginning with So, and the first instalment of Sp. In the former group the prominent words are mainly of native origin; *souter* is from Latin. Other Teutonic words are few and unimportant,

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except *sound*, partly of Scandinavian origin. A few common words are adoptions from older French, and some are of later introduction from French. Italian has contributed musical terms, *sotto voce* and *sovran*, introduced by Milton. Greek is slightly represented, and there are a few Oriental words. Of words beginning with SP, the native element is large and important; a considerable number come from Dutch or Low German, and a few from Scandinavian as *spae*, *span-new*, and *sparth*. The Romanic element in SPA- is for the most part directly from French. In SPE many are based on the Latin root *spec-*, occupying in all about 50 columns. An interesting set is ultimately from Greek, *spathē*, together with *spade* sb.[2] and *spadille*; others from Greek are *spadix*, *Spartan*, *spasm*, *spasmodic*, and *spastic*. Words presenting various points of interest are *Spa*, *spagyric*, *Spanish*, *spank*, *spanking*, *sparrowgrass* [corruption of *sparagus*, due doubtless to vulgar pronunciation of *asparagus*], *sparse*, a., *spatch-cock*, *spate*, *spatter-dash*, *spayard*, *speaker*, *spec*. I miss *spatter-board* (U. S.), called also *splash-board* and *dash-board*, the last most frequent in U. S.; *speak*, O. E. *specan*, which became common for O. E. *sprecan* in the 11th century—the forms with *r* apparently not surviving in actual use beyond the middle of the 12th century—fills 12 columns, and with derivatives 17 columns. *Specie*, in the sense of coin, coined money is not traced back beyond 1671. *Species* fills four columns, *specimen*, not two, and *spectacle*, four. As "a device for assisting defective eyesight", this word was originally singular, as in the example from Hoccleve, 1415. *Spectrum*, in the sense of the solar spectrum, dates back to Sir Isaac Newton, 1671. Under *speculation* we have a note to the effect that "The English, as in later Latin and the Romance languages, the literal senses have been less usual than the transferred, and the earliest examples occur in the latter group", with the familiar example from Macbeth III, iv, 95. "In the sense of buying or selling stocks, etc., the earliest example given is from H. Walpole, 1774, but the practice must be *older* than that. *Speculum*, in the sense of a mirror, dates back to Sir Thomas Browne, 1646, and as part of a telescope, we have an example from Sir Isaac Newton, 1704. The word *speech* closes this Part, and "as in the verb, the forms with *spr-* did not survive beyond the 12th century". It would be interesting,—if it were possible,—to trace *the cause* of dropping the *r*, but I suppose we have to fall back on the usual resource of philologists, ease of utterance, it being somewhat easier to say *speech* than *spreech*, though the *r* is retained in German.

The last Part received, that for July 1, 1914, contains the words *Traik—Trinity*, still a part of Volume X. It is a

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double section and contains 2350 main words, 524 combinations explained under these, and 354 subordinate entries of obsolete forms, etc., amounting to 3228. The *obvious combinations* number 708 more, raising the total to 3936. Of the 2350 main words, 1815 (77.24%) are current English, native or naturalized, 439 (18.68%) are marked † as obsolete, and 96 (4.08%) are marked || as alien or not fully naturalized. Comparison with Dr. Johnson's, and some more recent Dictionaries shows the following figures:

	Johnson.	Cassell.	Century.	Funk.	Here.
Words recorded.....	302	1710	2010	1765	3936
Words illustrated by quotations.	270	631	713	185	3240
No. of illustrative quotations ..	831	989	1687	240	14,405

Number of quotations in corresponding portion of Richardson, 989. The chief feature is the small number of words originally English. *Tr-* is not a favorite initial in Teutonic. The Anglo-Saxon Dictionaries show between *Trai-* and *Trin-* only 15 or 16 simple native words. "Greek derivatives appear in groups of technical words. There are a few musical terms from Italian, including *trill* sb.[2] But nine-tenths of the words here treated are from Old French or later French, most of these ulteriorly from Latin. *Trinity* is a simple borrowing of *trinité*. The Latin prefix *Trans-* appears in words from French, and also in many directly from Latin, occupying one-fifth of this section. The preliminary article contains six columns of technical words of less common use. Many words in this section are of uncertain etymology; several of these known to be from Old French have not yet been certainly traced further. Many of the etymological difficulties of English are really difficulties of French etymology which French scholars have not yet solved". Several articles of historical interest are specified. I would note specially the one on *Trebuchet*, where it is defined "a trap or pen to catch small birds or beasts", and is marked "*Obs. rare* (so in Fr. from 14th c.)", with examples from 1362, Langland, and from 1440, *Promp. Parv.* The kind boys used about 1850 was a double cage, the lower one containing a live bird, and the upper one being baited for the wild bird; it was used to catch mocking-birds, so it was not *obsolete* as late as 1850 to *my certain knowledge.*

JAMES M. GARNETT.

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REPORTS.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM FÜR PHILOLOGIE, Vol. LXIX (1914), pts. 1, 2.

The first 'heft' (266 pp.) of this volume is a 'festschrift' for Professor J. M. Stahl's eightieth birthday.

Pp. 1–39. Die Reichspräfektur des vierten Jahrhunderts. Otto Seeck. An attempt to complete Mommsen's work, by tracing the development of this office from the days of Diocletian.

Pp. 40–55. Zur Peutingerschen Tafel. F. Philippi. The map was made about 150 A. D. It was probably based, in part, on a wall map in some public building at Rome.

Pp. 56–79. Der Verlauf der Kampfszenen in M and O. P. Cauer. A bit of inconclusive speculation as to the comparative ages of two books of the Iliad.

Pp. 80–86. De Menandri Heroe. P. E. Sonnenburg. Conjectures as to the plot of the play.

Pp. 87–94. Prodikos bei Aristophanes? L. Radermacher. Τάλαντον, with the meaning of 'balance', is said to be an Ionic word. If so, the words *ταλάντῳ μουσικὴ σταθμήσεται*, Ran. 797, betray the influence of some Ionian. And this Ionian could hardly be any other than Prodikos! The words *ὀρθότης τῶν ἐπῶν*, Ran. 1181, remind the writer of the importance which Prodikos attached to *ὀρθότης ὀνομάτων*.

Pp. 95–108. Randbemerkungen. W. Kroll. Criticism of sundry sections in W. A. Baehrens' Beiträge zur lateinischen Syntax (Leipzig, 1912). On the repetition (or omission) of the preposition with a second noun—the *ἀπὸ κοινοῦ* construction in Latin poetry is probably due to the influence of Greek poetry. On *tum*, in the sense of *praeterea*. On irregular positions of *quoque*. On the aoristic perfect—sometimes required in the 'clausula', sometimes due to the example of poetry. On the use of a singular verb after a neuter plural. On the indicative and subjunctive in relative sentences.

Pp. 109–122. Zur italienischen Ueberlieferung des Lucrez. Carl Hosius. *L* is the oldest and most faithful copy of Poggio's codex. It is more important than Munro thought. *F* and perhaps *U* and *V* are next in value.

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Pp. 123–138. Anmerkungen zur lateinischen Syntax. R. Wünsch. (1) On the formula *ita me di ament.* (2) On phrases with *macte.* (3) On such genitives as *lacus Averni* (originally a possessive). Such phrases as *Troiae urbem, regionem Epiri,* are due to analogy. (4) On the construction of *invideo.* (5) In the introduction to Cato's De Agri Cultura, p. 11, 16 (*quod promisi institutum principium*), *institutum* is a supine, and belongs to *promisi.*

Pp. 139–159. Zur Geschichte des syrischen Heliopolis. H. Winnefeld. The evidence of inscriptions and coins.

Pp. 160–169. Das Gemälde der Schlacht bei Oinoë in der Stoa Poikile zu Athen. F. Koepp. Perhaps placed there at the suggestion of Pericles.

Pp. 170–190. Zu Sophokles Ichneutai. K. Münscher.

Pp. 191–204. Strittige Interpunktionen in den Gedichten des Horaz. E. Schweikert. Discussion of several passages which are, or should be, printed as questions: Ep. II 1, 53–54; C. I 9, 1–4; C. I 14, 1; C. III 23, 17–20; Ep. II 2, 19. Other doubtful passages, of a different kind, are Sat. I 6, 42–44; Ep. I 16, 5–8.

Pp. 205–232. Der Hexameter des Ennius. K. Witte. In Homer and in Ennius the principal caesura may come in the fourth foot (hephthemimeral).

Pp. 233–243. De Ovidio et Menandro. W. Schwering. (1) De Poenuli Plautinae versibus 337, 338 (Greek parallels to Plautus' *spectare—spectari*). (2) De Artis Ovidianae versu I 99 (*spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipsae*). (3) De Poenuli scaena I 2 Menandri Carchedonio tribuenda. (4) De imitationibus quibusdam Ovidianis.

Pp. 244–252. Das dorische ᾱ im Trimeter der attischen Tragödie. O. Hoffmann.

Pp. 253–254. Zu Andokides Myst. 68. A. Elter.

Pp. 255–266. Zu Dionysios Brief an Pompeius und Demetrios περὶ ἑρμηνείας. A. Brinkmann.

Pp. 267–283. Die Lebenszeit Catulls und die Herausgabe seiner Gedichte. B. Schmidt. The writer defends the dates he has set for the life of Catullus (82–52). He holds that the dedicatory poem to Cornelius Nepos refers, not to all the poems of Catullus which have survived, but only to a part of them—that there were once several books of his poems.

Pp. 284–298. Die Interpolationen in Prokops Anekdota. F. Rühl. These are Christian, or monkish, in tone.

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Pp. 299–341. Kritische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Heldensage. P. Friedländer. (1) An attempt to reconstruct the Milesian 'stratum' of the story of the Argonauts. Similar studies of (2) Der Krieg um Theben and (3) Οἰχαλίας ἅλωσις.

Pp. 342–392. Ἄγνωστοι θεοί und die Areopagrede des Apostels Paulus. Th. Birt. A long criticism of Norden's recent book.

Pp. 393–413 and 427–463. Drei Gedichte des Properz. F. Jacoby. The three poems are I 9, II 24 A, III 8. The first is compared with Catullus, VI. *Copia*, line 15, is *copia canendi*.

Miszellen.—P. 414. W. Aly. Zu Aischylos Prometheus v. 480. Suggests παστόν instead of πιστόν. Cp. Theocr. XI 2, ἐπίπαστον.—Pp. 414–415. H. Mutschmann. Sext. Emp. adv. log. I 339 (p. 263, 19 Bekk.)—Pp. 415–416. G. Mercati. Un codice non riconosciuto dello Ps.-Filopono sull' Isagoge di Porfirio. This is in Cod. Vat. Gr. 309.—Pp. 416–417. A. Klotz. Cic. Phil. II 64. For 'qui rei publicae sit *hostis*' (V), or '*infelix*' (D), read *infensus*.—Pp. 417–419. E. Bickel. Zum christlichen Fischsymbol. For *accipiens aerem*, Hieron., Adv. Jovin. I 40, read *accipienserem* (a late form of *acipenserem*).—Pp. 419–420. Zu Manilius I 285. For *ei* write *eri*, i. e. *aerei*—Pp. 420–421. frīcticulae, -arum f. The word means something baked or roasted.—Pp. 421–424. V. Gardthausen. ὀξύρυγχος und ὀξυγράφος.—Pp. 424–426. A. Brinkmann. Note on the burning mountain in Lycia (Olympus).

W. P. MUSTARD.

HERMES XLV.

Fascicle 3.

Auf Spuren alter Φυσικοί (321–336). W. Capelle, continuing his source studies of ancient physicists (cf. A. J. P. XXVIII 99), cites passages from Arrian, whose assignment to the II century A. D. by Wilamowitz he accepts (cf. A. J. P. XXVIII, p. 470), from pseudo-Arist. περὶ κόσμου, Plut. Quaest. Conv.; Aul. Gell. XIX 5, etc., which treat of the effect of πνεῦμα in snow, foam, etc., producing ὄγκος, whiteness, etc. These views are traced through Posidonius and the pseudo-Arist. problemata to Aristotle, who created the literary γένος of the problemata, on which C. adds a valuable note (cf. Arist. de gen. an. II 2). But Plato Tim. 83 cd points farther back, and so, after rejecting Anaxagoras, Diog. of Apol., and Democritus, C. decides on Empedocles, the first to attack the

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problem of color, as the one who transmitted the question of color, if not of πνεῦμα, to the physician Philistion, from whom Plato received it (cf. Fredrich Hippocr. Unters., p. 47; Wellmann Fr. d. gr. Aerzte I 68 f.). Aristotle, however, depended on Diocles of Carystus, a pupil of Philistion (cf. Wellmann, l. c., p. 10, 21. 67. 74 ff.).

Die Uebergabe des Schwertes an Pompeius im December 50 v. Chr. (337–346). C. Bardt cites Cic. ad Att. VII, 4, 2, and VII, 8, 4 to show that Pompey was in the vicinity of Naples Dec. 10, and at Formiae Dec. 25, 50 B. C.; these data, with other considerations, show that Pompey must have been in the vicinity of Rome between Dec. 2 and 6, when Marcellus the consul took it upon himself to make him commander of the legions at Capua. Pompey, however, still hoped for the prearranged conference with Hirtius, who arrived in Rome on the evening of Dec. 6; but disappointed Pompey by leaving before daybreak the following morning. As Cicero does not mention this illegal act of Marcellus no importance could have been attached to it. The dramatic presentation of a sword on that occasion is probably a literary fiction of Appian (cf. B. C. II 31), as no one else mentions it (cf. Suet. Vit. 8). Groebe has wisely added a summary of Nissen's chronology of this period to Drumann III, p. 357, n. 3.

Der Name des Apostels Paulus (347–368). H. Dessau discusses the various interpretations of Acts 13, 9: Σαῦλος δὲ ὁ καὶ Παῦλος, offered by Jerome, Rufinus, St. Augustine and moderns, and concludes that Paul, having arrived in the chief city of Cyprus, with the prospect of missionary activity in Pamphylia and Cilicia, felt the need of a gentile name. The proconsul's name, pronounced Παῦλος, was unlike Σαούλ; but Paul chose it, probably from a desire to mark his first success with a representative of the great outside world. Such a change of cognomen (Paul's gentilicium is unknown) was not unusual for a Roman citizen; but, whereas to adopt the name of a governor elsewhere might have been regarded as presumptuous, in Cyprus inscriptions show that this had been done under C. Ummidius Quadratus, one of the predecessors of Sergius Paulus. Interesting examples of similar changes of names are given.

Die Composition der Vita Constantini des Eusebius (369–386). G. Pasquali shows that the edict of Constantine (Euseb. vita Const. II 24–42), giving the Christian church its legal status after his victory over Licinius, is genuine, as its main features are summarized in ch. 20 and 21, and the introduction in ch. 22 and 23 is in Eusebius' style. The awkward way, however, in which the text of the edict follows the

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summary, points to a later insertion, and, as other insertions appear, it is probable that Eusebius revised an original draft of his *βασιλικὸς λόγος*, when he learned of the recall of Athanasius, etc., so that it came to be more of a political pamphlet. His death, probably, May 30, 338 A. D. interrupted the revision.

Lesefrüchte (387–417). U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff continues his miscellaneous contributions (cf. A. J. P. XXXIV, p. 482): CXLV. Emendations to Aeschylus' Prometheus: v. 566, *αλεναδα*, a corruption of *ἀλεῦμαι*, to which *φοβοῦμαι* was a gloss; v. 692, for *κέντρῳ ψύχειν ψυχὰν ἐμάν*, read *τύψειν ψ.* [late, cf. Veitch], Dindorf's *ψήξειν* means 'to curry'; v. 924/5, read *θαλασσίαν τε γῆς τινάκτειραν νόσων | αἰχμήν, τρίαιναν ἣ Ποσειδῶνος σκεδᾶι.*—CXLVI. In Eur. Orestes 982 f., two distinct versions by Euripides got mixed, a) *μόλοιμι τὰν οὐρανοῦ | μέσον χθονός τε τεταμέναν | αἰωρήμασιν πέτραν | ἁλύσεσι χρυσέαισιν ἐξ Ὀλύμπου* (= *ἡ πέτρα δι' αἰωρημάτων, αἰωρουμένη ἐξ Ὀ. τέταται ἁλύσεσιν*); b) *μόλοιμι τὰν ο. μ. χθονός τε φερομέναν | δίναισιν βῶλον ἐξ Ὀ.*—CXLVIII. Thuc. I, ch. 4–8 is analysed, and the inorganic inclusion of marginal notes in ch. 6 and 7 is shown, due, probably, to the editor.—CXLIX. Plato, Laws 753 d 6 to 754 d 3, recommending two hundred supervisors of elections, was an original draft, to which were added subsequently provisions for a mixed body of thirty-seven *νομοφύλακες*, which illustrates, together with the second treatment of the hipparchs (756 a, 3f.), the unfinished state of composition. Such discrepancies and others in the Laws cannot all be charged to Philip of Opus, who probably did most of his work under the eyes of Plato, just as Riemer prepared Wilhelm Meisters Lehr- u. Wanderjahre for the aged Goethe. But it is unjust to Plato to ascribe the Epinomion to him. Plato seems to have utilized for his Laws a collection of *νόμοι* and *νόμιμα* which he had prepared for his Critias.—CL. A contribution to Philodemus' Index Academicorum (cf. A. J. P. XXV 468). The verses of Apollodorus, in pap. 1021, Col. XXVII and XXVIII, are harmonized with Diogenes 4, 61 by reading *λέγουσιν <ὡς>* (for *ὧν*), so that the discrepancy of ten years in the period of Lacydes' headship of the Academy appears to be due to his inactivity during the last ten years of his life owing to ill health. Other textual problems touching the period between Lacydes (241/0–206 B. C.) and Carneades (mission to Rome 155 B. C.) await solution. The date of the archon Theaitetus is not certain, but lies between 149/8 and 143/2 B. C.

Ueber den Mailänder Ambrosianus M des Aristophanes (418–447). Victor Coulon shows, from a collation, the importance of M.

Augustus Soter (448–460). Walter Otto brings together

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a great deal of inscriptional evidence to show that the Hellenistic Soter-cult of Ptolemy in Egypt was succeeded after the Roman conquest (30 B. C.) by the cult of Augustus-Soter, beginning in Ptolemais. This cult, independent of the goddess Roma, became general in the provinces. The association of Roma with Augustus (cf. Suet. Aug. 52) was probably a later development (cf. Cassius Dio LI 20, and the provincial oath: *ὀμνύω Δία, Γῆν . . . . καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Σεβαστόν κ. τ. λ.*).

Miscellen: A. M. Harmon (461–463) points out the word play in Plaut. Mil. Gl. 787, where consucidam connotes both sucosam and sordidam. Sucidus in popular speech meant 'dirty' from its application to unscoured wool (cf. Italian derivatives sucido, sudicio, sozzo, Koerting, Lat.-Rom. Wörterb., p. 834).—Theophanes Kakridis (463–465) thinks the terrifying dreams of Dido (Aen. IV 9) were visions of a marriage with Aeneas, modeled after Apoll. Rh. Γ 616 ff. Anna's words v. 34: id cinerem ff. show there had been no warning from Sychaeus as J. Henry thought (Aeneidea II 557 ff.).—G. Pasquali (465–467) discusses fragments from Tryphon dealing with accent.—G. Busolt (468) accepts with Niese the MS reading **Εὐπάγιον** in Diod. XIV 17 for Wesseling's conjecture **Ἐπιτάλιον** (cf. Genethliacon für C. Robert, p. 12, n. 3), which, however, does not affect Busolt's main contention (cf. Hermes 45, p. 232 and A. J. P. XXXV 224).—M. Wellmann (469) identifies Oxyrh. pap. II 234 as a fragment of Apollonius Mys' *περὶ εὐπορίστων φαρμάκων* (cf. Gal. XII 646).—Fr. Vollmer (469–474) ably defends: Lydia, dic per omnis hoc deos vere (Hor. carm. I, 8, 1) against Vahlen (cf. A. J. P. XXXV 225). The shorter phrase, without oro, rogo, etc., occurs in Terence (Phorm. 764), although he uses the longer expression five times; Cicero used it frequently, Ovid four times; hence Horace may have used it once, even though he used the longer form six times. The aptness of hoc-vere is shown by Petron. Sat. 128, 3: dic, Chrysis, sed verum. The metricians all testify to hoc deos vere, probably after Caesius Bassus.—Bruno Keil (474–478) derives *ακοαι* in IG IV 955 (=aquae, Wilamowitz) from *ἄκος, ἀκέομαι*. Hence the **Ἀκόαι** were divinities of healing like Akeso, etc.—S. Sudhaus (478–479) tries to illustrate how in the archetype of the Menander papyrus of Cairo, the omitted words with their catch-words (cf. Brinkmann, A. J. P. XXIV 350/1), had been introduced into the text. He adds, however, that the new readings of Jensen modify his illustrations.—Karl Meiser (480) quotes Eunapius' praise of Libanius (Förster I, p. 7), who like Horace's good poet revived archaic words (Ep. II 2, 115), and proposes for *καθαίρων*, <*καθιερῶν*>, for which see Suidas *καθιεροῖ* and Herod. I 92 and 164. Förster reads <*αἴρων*>.

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Fascicle 4.

Die christlichen Martyrien (481–505). Joh. Geffcken, in opposition to Harnack, shows that already before Diocletian, literature played a part in stories of Christian martyrs. The word μάρτυς is purely of philosophical origin (cf. Epictetus I 29, 47), the first great example being Socrates, who is often quoted. The influence of this Hellenistic literature appears also among the Jews (cf. Maccab. IV). G. admits now the genuineness of the Acts of Scili (180 A. D.) on account of their simplicity; but those of the contemporary Apollonius reveal their artificiality through their literary form, and the improbable execution of the informer. This is no denial of his martyrdom, just as the reality of the trial of Apoll. of Tyana can be recognized beneath the extravagant story of Philostratus. Even some of the marvellous acts, such as the victim's biting off of his tongue (cf. Hieronymus vita Pauli), have their prototypes (cf. Diog. Laert. IX 59), [cf. Gibbon, Roman Emp. II 191].

Ein alexandrinisches Gedicht vom Raube der Kore (506–553). Ludolf Malten reconstructs an outline of the Demeter-Kore myth from an analysis of Ovid Fasti IV 393–620 and Met. V 341–661, and, shows how the story, itself devoid of transformation characters, served merely as a frame-work in Met. V. For the Sicilian legend Timaeus was the source (cf. Diod. V, 2, 1f.); for the Eleusinian episode the Hom. Demeter-hymn with Attic-Orphic modifications was used. The combination of this matter, including the Epic Typho legend, was the work of an Alexandrian poet, as shown especially by the love motif (cf. Apol. Rhod. III 127, 142, 275). Bethe's suggestion of Nicander's Ἑτεροιούμενα as Ovid's source, takes no account of the Fasti, and is otherwise unsatisfactory. Nor is a mythological handbook to be considered; Zinzow's and Alm's views are refuted. Numerous indications point to the Αἴτια of Callimachus (cf. Rohde, Gr. Rom.², p. 93, 2; Peter Fasti Einl., p. 15), whose sixth hymn seems to take a longer account of the myth for granted; of which fragm. 469 (Schneider) may be a specimen.

Beitrag zur Geschichte der attischen Königsliste (554–563). M. Wellmann attributes the oldest list of Attic kings: Cecrops, Erechtheus, Pandion, Aigeus, Theseus, to Pherecydes of Lerus, and after a discussion of Amelesagoras as a V century writer of Attic antiquities (Wilamowitz considers him an impostor of the IV century B. C. in Antig. v. Karyst. 24, n. 17), concludes that Amelesagoras introduced Erichthonius as the successor of Cecrops, he being the first to treat the Erichthonius legend. This list Hellanicus developed, as

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follows: 1. Cecrops; 2. Erichthonius; 3. Pandion I; 4. Erechtheus; 5. Pandion II; 6. Aigeus Nisus; 7. Theseus; 8. Menestheus; 9. Demophon; the characteristic feature here, is the duplicating of Pandion. Toward the end of the IV century B. C. the neo-Attic list, with Cranaus, Amphictyon and Cecrops II took its place.

Menanders Epitrepontes und Apollodors Hekyra. (564–582) K. Stavenhagen, after a discussion of some of the scenes of Men. Epit., on the basis of Leo's reconstruction (cf. Hermes XLIII, p. 133 f. and A. J. P. XXXII 464), attempts to show how Apollodorus developed his plot of the Hecyra (=Ter. Hec.) from Men. Epitrepontes. Apollodorus' character Pamphilus, however, does not show the appreciation of man's equal moral responsibility with woman, as we find in Menander's Charisius, a motif that Menander probably derived from Euripides' Auge (cf. Epitr. 585. Körte and Nauck frag. 266).

Zu Seneca und Martial (583–594). G. Friedrich shows by numerous examples how much Seneca, with his pointed style, influenced Martial. At times questions of text can be thus determined, as in Mart. ? II 82, 4 acceptas pilas, by acceperat, in Sen. de ben. II 32, 1; or the meaning shown, as for example, of cena ambulans in Mart. VII, 48 by Sen. ep. 78, 23. Friedrich shows also the influence of the older Seneca and Lucan on Martial.

Römisches und griechisches Recht in Plautus Persa (595–614). J. Partsch attempts to reveal the legal procedure of the Greek original, and determine the Roman juridical elements added by Plautus. Such an examination is desirable for all Roman comedy.

Miscellen: H. Dessau (615–617) supplements his remarks on the small number of Roman officials from Greece (cf. Hermes 45, p. 14 ff., 22. 23) with a discussion of Plutarch's attitude, revealed in his *περὶ εὐθυμίας* 10.—F. Bechtel (617–618) finding an inscription *ϝῖρις* (='Ιρις, cf. above, p. 223) derives this and the form Εἶρις from a common form 'Ερῖρις (cf. *ϝίκατι* and Hom. *ἐϝίκοσι*, Solmsen Unters., p. 253) and proposes as the Homeric phrase *ποδήνεμος ὠκὺς* 'Ερῖρις.—Adolf Deissmann (619) shows by Oxyrh. pap. 933 that *παρὰ* 'Αφρικανοῦ, following the address, was permissible in a letter (cf. Herm. 45, p. 415).—F. Skutsch (619–623) finds antistrophic responsion between Plaut. Epid. 166–168 and 169–170 a, according to the metrical scheme: —∪— —∪— —∪— —∪— || —∪— —∪(∪)— | —∪ —∪—, followed by a Reizianum (cf. Lindsay Captivi 100).—A. Körte (623–627) discusses the Athene-Nike inscription in *'Εφημ. ἀρχ.* 1897, 176 Tab. XI.—M. Bang (627–

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630) shows that Cingius—not Cincius—Severus is correct (cf. Pauly-Wis. III 2558).—C. Robert (630–632) emends Aeschyl. Choeph. v. 159–163 (cf. Dindorf text) ἰώ, τίς . . . <εἰσ'> ἀνὴρ . . . ⌈ Σκύθην τ' . . . . παλίντον<ον ἱέντ'> | . . . Ἄρη . . .— W. Otto (632–636) rejects Plaumann's thesis that in Ptolemais, alongside of the eponymous cult of Πτολεμαῖος Σωτήρ there existed a city-cult of the first Ptolemy, as Θεὸς Σωτήρ. However, the former may have started as a local cult in Ptolemais, to be developed later under Philopator.

HERMAN LOUIS EBELING.

GOUCHER COLLEGE.

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BRIEF MENTION.

The judgment of the philological world as to VERRALL, the scholar, will not be changed by the publication of the two volumes, *Literary Essays Classical and Modern* and *Studies in Greek and Latin Scholarship* (Cambridge, University Press, edited by M. A. BAYFIELD and J. D. DUFF), though the Memoir prefixed by Mr. BAYFIELD to the first-mentioned collection will bring VERRALL, the man, nearer to those who were not under the spell of his personal charm, which surpassed, as we are told, the fascination of his literary work (lxxxvii). All know the brilliant genius, the graceful writer, the subtle analyst, the 'boggler', to use his favorite word, at accepted opinions, the merciless logician of paradox. Such he remained to the end (A. J. P. XXVIII 484). English he was to the core, and the revivification of scholarship claimed for him by his eulogists can be true only in an insular sense. Continental scholars and scholars trained in Continental schools have always been cold towards VERRALL. Of his power as a teacher, as a lecturer, no one who has not been within the magic circle can judge. The ideal of the true teacher is not the infructuous wantonness of wit, crudely but effectively designated by Fraccaroli (A. J. P. XV 516) as 'masturbazione intellettuale', but the τόκος ἐν τῷ καλῷ of Sokrates. But there is no countervailing the concurrent testimony of VERRALL's pupils as to the effectiveness of his work in the class-room; and readers of the Journal may recall the eloquent words of Mr. Cornford, quoted some years ago (A. J. P. XXVIII 483). Yet, sooth to say, so far as his influence made for the cult of supersubtlety, the pursuit of paradox, it has had in its sphere what seems to a Philistine of an older generation funest consequences. VERRALL'S mantle is not the mantle of an Elijah, but the cloak of a Mephistopheles, which has enabled lesser Fausts 'to sound their <fantastic> yawps over the roofs of the world', as Whitman has it. Who wants a brood of aerial flyers and ineffectual bombs? Supersubtlety, 'inevitable supersubtlety', leads inevitably to supersilliness—supersilliness usually of a far different order from that 'adorable silliness' in which, as Mr. Cornford tells us, 'an intellect incapable of foolishness can bubble over'. It is recorded of Rivarol that he addressed one of his adorers in these words: Asseyez-vous là et je vous dirai des bêtises. Ça éveillera vos idées. What the party of the other part thought of the allocution does not appear.

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Possibly he was one of the Hamburgers, who made clubs of four in order to understand one joke of Rivarol's, but Americans are not Hamburgers, and resent the attitude.

The conversational jests recorded of VERRALL are not level to the best of combination-room talk, and the claim that he was spiritually akin to the compatriots of Anatole France will seem to the admirers of Gallic wit quite extravagant. It is easy enough to charge with stupidity those who did not agree with his serious suggestions, if anything of VERRALL's was serious. 'The teachable old and young', we are told, 'were only grateful to him' for the conjectures of this 'splendid emendax' in his Medea of 1881. 'If anyone cannot see this', we are admonished, 'there is no more to be said. In the name of all that is dull, let him hug his ἑστάλης and be happy'. But what VERRALL gave us to hug was often a ψυχρὸν παραγκάλισμα, 'a silly[1] hugging-piece', as an old commentator rendered it (A. J. P. XXX 232), in which the author himself did not really believe. What man imbued with the sense of the responsibility of the teacher's office would care for such a testimony as this? 'I don't think we believed very much what he said: he always said he was as likely to be wrong as right. But he made all classics so gloriously new and living'. To make classics new and living is not so hard after all, if the wide field of paradox is open to the lecturer, especially if he is endowed with what Henry Jackson has recently called 'the unhappy gift of epigrammatic speech'. Sum up Ovid as 'piffle', and your characteristic will be sure to linger in the mind of the hearer; and when we are told that in Sophokles there was no man to be discovered behind the artist, or at any rate no man whom VERRALL would greatly care to know, we are reminded of Queen Victoria's remark that in the world to come she would not care to meet David. A distinct offset this against Jebb's attitude towards Euripides (A. J. P. XXVIII 485), and these diverse attitudes are highly characteristic of the two men.

But no mention of VERRALL is just that does not do homage to the example of his heroic fortitude. He had to contend with poor health all his life. When I saw him first in 1880, the liveliness of his manner disguised his bodily infirmities.

[1] 'Silly' is not a bad translation of ψιχρόν, at least to one who remembers Mommsen's phrase: 'So verwünscht gescheidt dass es beinahe herzlich albern wäre'—a good definition of ψιχρότης.

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But in 1905, when I saw him last, he was a martyr to arthritis, and had to be carried from place to place. I sat next to him at dinner. The occasion was one in which he was absorbed in the reports of examinations, and there was little opportunity of verifying the accounts of his brilliancy. But no one could have told by his manner that he was a sufferer. His handsome, eager face had no quiver of pain in it. Worse was to come after 1905, and accounts reached me from time to time of his heroic struggle against physical disability, of the animated corpse that continued the work that was given him to do.

'Years of suffering', says his biographer, 'failed to crush him, and what might remain to be endured, he faced without dismay. A condition which would have dulled the intellect and withered the heart of most men, would have soured them and made them peevish or morose, left that rare nature serene, interested, lovable to the last. It was wonderful and beautiful, but oh! the pity of it, the pity of it'.

As I read these words, my thoughts went back to my adored teacher, Ritschl, who suffered in like manner and in like manner surrendered only when death was upon him (A. J. P. V 355). To these heroes of our vocation all honour for all time.

The popularity of Dr. A. T. ROBERTSON'S *Short Grammar of the Greek New Testament* is something quite exceptional. It ran through three editions in a comparatively short time, and was translated with flattering expedition into French, German, Italian, and Dutch. True, the translation of an American book into a foreign language is not the supreme test of merit that it was once supposed to be (A. J. P. XXIX 246), but the superstition still lingers, and advantage is sometimes taken of it to engineer the translation from this side for the sake of the repercussion (A. J. P. XIX 112); and an atrabilarious French critic of some note—the same man, by the way, who banished me from the republic of scientific grammarians (Revue des études grecques, 1912, p. 470)—expressed his surprise at what he called the 'international propaganda' that prompted the rendering of Dr. ROBERTSON'S book into French, whereas better books were neglected (Revue des études grecques, l. c., p. 180). It is a pity that M. Vendryes did not designate the better books of the same compass on the same theme, and if he swims unharmed out of the present deluge of blood, I shall be curious to know his judgment as to the value of the vast collection of material on which Dr. ROBERTSON'S earlier compendium was based. I venture to think that he will have to say with me that Dr. ROBERTSON

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has at all events achieved in his *Grammar of New Testament Greek in the Light of Historical Research* (New York: George A. Doran Co.) an inevitable book. Begun in what some scholars would regard the crepuscular age of the study, it has been finished under the illumination of Deissmann's Light from the East, and the progress of doctrine is not the least interesting thing about the monumental work. The Greek of the New Testament, for New Testament Greek and Biblical Greek are really misnomers, the Greek of the New Testament is no longer a queer jargon, but a precious manifestation of living Greek, far more valuable to him who is interested in the genetic processes of the language than the artificial Greek of the Renascence (A. J. P. XXIII 258). To be sure, I have had something to say in behalf of the Greek Renascence. The authors of that period had to learn Greek as we have to learn Greek, though under better conditions; and in their practice they had saved alive rules that were formulated by Greek teachers. Schmid's Atticismus is an indispensable book (A. J. P. IX 98; XVII 518). But the Greek of the New Testament wells up from a real life, and that life has revivified the study of Greek throughout the long track of its history, from the earliest times to the present day (A. J. P. XXX 229).

The monuments of classical literature fail to do for us what the New Testament does for us. Plato with his proud motto, 'nothing imperfect is the measure of anything', gives us not 'the cubit of a man', but the 'measuring reed' of Academe. The orators, it is true, give us spoken Greek, if not conversational Greek, a Greek that must have been understanded of the people; but the bema was high and lifted up, and Athenian advocates were more or less conventional in language as in attire (A. J. P. XXXIV 367). So in old South Carolina the lawyers of my childhood were constrained to dress in black when they appeared in court, whereas in other communities of the country the bench itself has been known to dispense justice in shirt-sleeves; and I have heard arguments of state conducted by citizens with one suspender. If, however, we attempt to check the language of the orators by the language of the comic poets, we encounter many difficulties. It is not so easy after all to distinguish parody or paratragedy from the language of every-day life. High life and low life meet at many points, and Aristophanes himself tells us that he picks his words and does not use the lingo of the marketplace. Indeed, from the time of his first editor, Musurus, down, Aristophanes has been regarded as the Attic honey of Greek speech. But there is no tang of Attic thyme in the

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Greek of the New Testament. It is the Greek of the people, and it is this πατροπαράδοτος feature that makes the Greek of the New Testament so precious. It is this feature that has of late drawn so many devotees of classical Greek into the domain of New Testament studies, and as one of the *seri studiorum* I am glad to have the results of the leaders in this line made so readily accessible as they are in Dr. ROBERTSON's book. No one has welcomed Moulton's Prolegomena (A. J. P. XXX 106) more cordially than I have done, and I have shown my appreciation of Dr. Abbott's Johannine Grammar by a special study (A. J. P. XXVII 325), though Dr. Abbott, albeit respectfully treated by the new lights, seems to be classed by them among the early gods.

In the same spirit I welcome Dr. ROBERTSON with his 1360 pages, and welcome him cordially, but my welcome would be still more cordial if it were not for his diffuseness, his repetitiousness, and, shall I say it? his rather tropical diction. It may seem strange that I should object to his book on this last account, as I myself have often been taken to task for my excessive use of figurative language. It is true that in the arid investigations in which I have been engaged I have often drunk of the brook by the way; but in my text-books I cultivate a severe style, and do not yield to the temptation of a frolic grace (A. J. P. XXX 107). And then I miss some kind of stratification in the citation of authorities. The bibliography means more than most bibliographies mean, and many of the works there recorded reappear in the text, but without reference to date, without reference to school. The treatment is bewilderingly eclectic. True, I ought to be the last man to complain, for thanks to Dr. ROBERTSON the views and teachings of the AMERICAN JOURNAL of PHILOLOGY and its editor will reach circles in which they have hitherto been unknown. Indeed, next to Dr. Broadus, of whom more presently, I am one of Dr. ROBERTSON's favorites among American Hellenists; but he is capricious in his use of my work, and his neglect at certain points is as surprising to me as his approval at others; and some of his quotations, apart from the context, are positively misleading. No wonder that a chill comes over me lest perchance the same fate may have befallen some of his other authorities, so that verification will be even more imperatively necessary than usual.

A detailed statement under this head would be out of place, and one flagrant example must suffice. If any one of my little formulae has attracted the attention of grammarians and

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commentators, it is the 'minatory and monitory' use of εἰ with fut. ind.—'monitory and minatory', by the way, being a combination used by Lord Bacon, or rather Lord Verulam, as I found out after I had published my paper in 1876. Moulton says that my 'discovery' of the minatory and monitory character of εἰ with fut. ind. does not apply to the New Testament Greek (Prolegomena, p. 187), and as ROBERTSON follows Moulton closely, I am not disposed to quarrel with him for disregarding it, though traces of the tradition are to be found in ranges of Greek free from suspicions of finesse. Still, even if my formula is negligible, it ought to be correctly stated; and I venture to say that the many classical scholars who have made use of it will be astonished to find me credited with the statement that εἰ with fut. ind. is minatory, and ἐάν with subj. is monitory.

As for the formula itself, it works so well within the range I have claimed for it, that the only surprise to me is that the phenomenon had not been—I will not say noticed—but brought under the rubric of a rule long before my time. Think of the Canon Dawesianus—that exploded canon with its hit or miss irregularities. Compare the wavering lines of Dawes's ὅπως and the unvarying goose-step of φθάνω (A. J. P. XII 76). The Aristophanic usage, for instance, in the matter of εἰ with fut. ind. is positively insulting in its distinctness. 'Discovery' indeed! 'Discovery' reminds me of Strindberg. In his 'Inferno' Strindberg tells us how he and his friend made progress in the art of vision, how among other things he discovered a Napoleon and his marshals in the cupola of the dome of the Hôtel des Invalides built by Mansard in 1706; and then he goes on to inform us that until one eventful day, in spite of prolonged and profound botanical studies, he had never before seen the likeness between the pansy and the human face. Is it possible that Strindberg and his friend were ignorant of German, in which *Stiefmütterchen* tells the story?

In another place (p. 380) Dr. ROBERTSON makes me confess that I am one that am 'blown about with every wind of doctrine' in the matter of Greek Syntax. The fact is that I stand 'foursquare to every wind that blows' about syntactical matters in which I have reached conviction; and a detailed review of Dr. ROBERTSON's book would show that at points of divergence I am not easily moved, as Professor Peppler has pointed out in the last South Atlantic Quarterly. But what is the use of reasserting one's own convictions or convincing

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anyone else of sin? Stahl has doubtless pooh-poohed every one of my criticisms, and the editor of the late Walter Headlam's Agamemnon has tranquilly reproduced the grammatical slips of that Philomela among scholars (A. J. P. XXXI 493). Perhaps I ought to have said Prokne, but the Philomela of Gorgias was too much for me. It fits in so well with my function as a sacristan (A. J. P. XXX 108).

I promised to say something about Dr. Broadus, to whose memory Dr. ROBERTSON'S volume is dedicated and I proceed to fulfil my promise. John A. Broadus was Dr. ROBERTSON'S predecessor in the chair of the Interpretation of the New Testament, and the task was inherited from him; for twenty-six years ago the work was undertaken by Professor Broadus and his young assistant, ROBERTSON, jointly, as a revision of Winer. After a time Broadus withdrew by reason of his age —he was four years my senior—and Dr. ROBERTSON was left to carry on the work alone. How much of the book is Broadus's it is impossible to divine. A new era of New Testament scholarship has set in since Broadus's death in 1895, and the eminent 'scholar, teacher, preacher' is credited only with a couple of vague generalities, such as the statement that the Greek is an aorist-loving language.[1] To the students of New Testament Greek in this country, the name of Broadus, the scholar, has been familiar for many years, and it is now a good while since it became of international importance because of his defence of the last twelve verses of St. Mark's Gospel, which was very naturally acclaimed by Dean Burgon, a vigorous controversialist who published a treatise on the same subject in 1871. It is sad to think that Broadus's faith in his own thesis failed towards the end. Broadus was a pupil of Gessner Harrison, the American pioneer in the application of the methods of comparative grammar to the classical languages. Of this study Dr. Harrison has left a monument in his Latin Grammar, the title of which is somewhat misleading, as it is not the least like an ordinary text-book. If he had presented his results in regulation form, as Curtius did, the book might have had a wider popularity. It is a scientific treatise based on the doctrines of Bopp, the great authority of that day. His book on the Greek Prepositions attracted the attention of scholars, and is, I believe, the only American book cited, and cited with respect, by Boeckh in his Encyklopaedie u. Methodologie. An enthusiastic disciple of Harrison's, his assistant and his son-in-law, Broadus, a man of rare and varied gifts, made a profound impression on his students as a teacher and on the community as a preacher—

[1] A. J. P. XXX 106.

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he would have disdained the title of pulpit orator. In 1856, when the chair of ancient languages at the University of Virginia was divided and my own candidacy for the professorship of Greek was discussed, it was an open secret that if Broadus had consented to accept the position, no one else would have had a chance.[1] But he preferred the preaching of the word, in which he afterwards became so eminent. He went his way, a bright and shining path, and I mine. There was one grammarian more. It was my last throw for educational work, for which I did not feel, perhaps have never fully felt, that I had a real vocation, and, for weal or woe, I should have kept on in the journalistic line to which I was born. But after all Broadus became a professor, and I an editor. *Brief Mention* must serve as a specimen of arrested development.

As in the composite photograph the resultant image is dominated by one personality in the group, so in the mixed case one element fills the mental vision. The possessive genitive makes itself felt in all the uses of the genitive. The personal dative makes itself felt in all the uses of the dative case more or less distinctly. More than a generation ago I called the dative a sensitized locative. In more than one passage of my Pindar I have contrasted it with the genitive as a case of feeling, of sympathy (O. 1, 57, 65; 6, 5; 8, 75; 9, 16; P. 3, 46; *ἀνθρώποισιν*, more sympathetic than *ἀνθρώπων*; 9, 89), and to the Dativus Sympatheticus there has been accorded a place of honour by Havers, whose book has been received with so much acclaim. Mindful of Curtius's failure in his explanation of the *-αι* of the middle, I am not going to advocate a like process for the *-αι* of the dative case; but, after all, as Goethe says, sentimentality resides in the diphthong. There is sentimentality in the dative—the case of *περιποίησις*. The sensitiveness of the infinitive is due to the dative form, and I have called the optative with its *-αι* the finite form of the infinitive (S. C. G. 401)—a formula which did not seem absurd to Weil in his review of my Syntax. The optative is a mood of *περιποίησις* as the dative is the case of *περιποίησις*. That the personal dative, which has a quicker life, the nearer we get to the heart of things—as in poetry, as in popular speech—appears in the form of the locative, *-ι*, need not trouble the semantist. In English we have stolen the dative form for the accusative, but the dative still lives. Bring it into contact with a real accusative, and the dative revives. In 'give it him', *it* brings

[1] See Life of John A. Broadus by A. T. Robertson, p. 139.

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up the dative. The local dative we know; *ἐν* is its gnomon. What of the instrumental? In the first place it is badly named, as everybody admits. Let us call it comitative. The gnomon there is *σύν*, which has no local signification. If it could only be proved that *ὅπλον* and *ἕπομαι* are akin, the nexus would be there. In Old Latin *cum* is used as an instrumental. It is a *nisus* that was checked by reflection, just as in English *with* is getting itself crowded back by the more clearly instrumental *by*. The dative of the agent is partly personal, partly comitative. It is clearly personal with the tenses of completeness, chiefly perfect and aorist used as a perfect. The agency is a matter of inference—a *cui bono* inference. If the situation excludes the agency, the inference is just the opposite, as in Ar. Ach. 512: *κἀμοὶ γάρ ἐστιν ἀμπέλια κεκομμένα.* With the so-called durative, the so-called cursive tenses, the tenses that keep on running, the dative may be locative or instrumental—a real blend. All this will be an old story to the readers of the Journal, at least to some of them. Now in what may fairly be called the voluntary bankruptcy of scientific method in handling the syntax of the cases, feeling, fancy and formula may be allowed to disport themselves within limits. But I will not allow myself to anticipate in *Brief Mention* a more elaborate study of the general subject which I have in hand, and content myself with signalizing the appearance of a new contribution to the theme of the *Dative of Agency: A Chapter of Indo-European Case-Syntax*, by Dr. ALEXANDER GREEN (Columbia University Press), in which the author, while admitting 'the interpretation of all the Greek dative agents as original datives in force', still insists 'on the partially instrumental force of the dative-agent' because of Sanskrit, Avestan and Slavic, and acclaims the 'instrumental of personal agency as the last and highest-typed expression of the instrumental of concomitation'. To the ethnic grammarian the dative of the agent shifts its ground, as I have just said, according to the tenses with which it is combined. In the last analysis the comitative is a dative also. *σύν*, which I have just called the gnomon of the comitative and which was originally personal (A. J. P. VIII 220), is much older than *διά* c. gen., which at a later period joins *διά* c. acc. in breaking up the dative, as every reader of Plato knows. But aesthetic syntax is a *γραῶν ὕθλος* to scientific minds, especially when it anticipates scientific results and I only add that as editor of the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY I was disheartened to find that an American scholar under the head of *-τέος* cites the ancient and almost unprocurable programmes of Moiszisstzig, 4 parts (1844–68), to the neglect of the exhaustive and accessible study by which Professor Bishop has made all Greek scholars his debtors (A. J. P. XX 1 fol.; 121 fol.; 241 fol.).

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W. P. M.: Students of comparative literature may be interested in an Italian monograph, by ANNA BENEDETTI, *L'Orlando Furioso nella Vita intellettuale del Popolo inglese* (Firenze, Bemporad, 1914. 317 pp. Lire 4.50). The influence of Ariosto upon Spenser's Faerie Queene is set forth in detail, and there are shorter sections dealing with Milton, and Marlowe, and Greene, and Shakespeare, and Sir Walter Scott. The author sides with those scholars who have compared the Tempest with certain cantos of the Orlando, and identified Prospero's 'uninhabited island' with Lampedusa. But this is controversial ground, and may be left to the specialists in Shakespeare. And so may the suggestion that Shakespeare did not regard Milan as a seaport—that Prospero was carried from Milan to the Po, and began his voyage to Lampedusa, as Rinaldo did, by passing down that river. On p. 131 there is an interesting note on a poem which was very recently discussed in this Journal (XXXV 192 ff.). That is, a passage in Lodowick Brysket's Mourning Muse of Thestylis, 134–7:

> The blinded archer-boy, like larke in showre of raine
> Sat bathing of his wings, and glad the time did spend
> Vnder those cristall drops, which fell from her faire eies.

is derived from the Orlando, XI 65:

> E come il rosignuol dolci carole
> Mena ne i rami allor del verde stelo;
> Così alle belle lagrime le piume
> Si bagna Amore, e gode al chiaro lume.

On p. 177, the Latin quotation in Greene's Orlando Furioso, "Foemineum servile genus, crudele, superbum", might have been referred to Baptista Mantuanus, Ecl. IV 110. On p. 187, Thomas Lodge's Rosalynde is called 'poema pastorale'—a slip of the pen, or of the memory, which reminds one of some similar misstatements about Sannazaro's Arcadia. Even the Fritzsche-Hiller edition of Theocritus (1881) could speak of "das Gedicht Arcadia".

R. V. D. M.: In his *Roman Imperialism* (Macmillan, N. Y., 1914. Pp. xiii, 365) Professor TENNEY FRANK of Bryn Mawr College has more than blazed a trail, he has laid a Via Lata, through a somewhat unexplored region of Roman history. It is true that Ferrero in his breezy fashion had already preempted a small bit of territory here and there; it is true that Senator Lewis of Illinois has but just now focussed his wise political eye on part of the same field; it is true that Professor Ferguson in his "Greek Imperialism" set a rather rapid pace to follow; but it is not wide of the mark to say

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that Professor Frank has kept the pace, and has fairly located and opened up a preserve. This book, as its title implies, is a political history of Rome. The argument, supported by clouds of witnessing references, sweeps the reader along the course of Roman political successes in a very compelling way. Professor Frank dates the beginning of Roman "expansion" with the agrarian allotment after the capture of Veii, and follows very keenly the expansion of the *limes*, but it is not until 242 B. C., with the acquisition of the first subject province, that he admits that the idea of expansion has become really imperialistic. However, nearly two centuries go by after that before the author recognizes in Pompey the "first prominent figure in Roman imperialism". —— The unconvincing part of the author's argument is his attempt to prove the second century B. C. anti-imperialistic. Nor is it undebatable that the strength of the Italic confederation against Hannibal was due to Rome's previous political genius. Rome got many a setback, and there were not lacking influential conservatives who deprecated imperialistic tendencies, but it ought readily to be admitted that Rome had a natural acquisitive instinct. The author has been criticized for his views on "Commercialism and Expansion", which he argues were not very interdependent until the days of Pompey. Perhaps this criticism is more obvious because he takes issue with Mommsen and other authorities on this subject. The array of evidence seems, however, to justify the claims of the author.——Professor FRANK has not written the last word on Roman imperialism, nor has his style as much dash as his arguments. But he has written a clear and earnest book on a timely subject, and his conclusions, even if a few of them court reconsideration, are in the main convincing and always refreshing.

In the *Brief Mention* of the last number there is a sad dislocation of the sections. On p. 363 the sentence ending "we speak familiarly of 'epistemology'" should have been followed immediately by the section (p. 367) "Unfortunately we cannot speak of 'aretalogy'". No one expects an orderly sequence in the meditations of *Brief Mention*, but the paragraph on p. 367 produces a jolt comparable to the appearance of the aviator in Bernard Shaw's Misalliance.

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Digitized by Google

INDEX TO VOLUME XXXV.

Accent in Latin, 101
Aeolic double consonants in Homer, 222
Aeschylus, Choeph. 159, 632 (em.), 490
P. V. 480, 484
566 (various emendations), 486
Agnostoi Theoi, 484
Agrippina, mother of Nero, 349
Alexander Numenii, 218
Alkimenes of Sybaris, 347
Anthol. Pal. v 191, 96
Antiochus and Stratonice. Various versions of the story, 96
Apokalypse Text in dem Kommentar-Codex Messina, 178–191
Apollodorus, Chronicle (em.), 94
Apollonius Mys, 487
Apollonius Rhod. and Vergil, 487
Archetype of our Iliad, The, and the Papyri, 125–148
Aretalogy, 362
Argonauts, the Story of, 484
Aristarchus, A pupil of, of Samos, 218
446–455
Aristophanes, Thesm. 2, 277, 604, 809, 96
Milan Codex (M), Importance of, 486
Prodicus in, 482
Artemis cult at Cumae, 217
Athens, Creation of the Tribe Ptolemais at, 79–80
and its Monuments, Weller's (rev.), 202–207
Attic Kings, List of, 488

Bannister's Monumenti Vaticani (rev.), 467–481
Beeson's Isidor-Studien (mentioned) 116
Benedetti's Orlando Furioso (noticed), 500
Beneventan Script (rev.) 340–343
Bennett's Syntax of Latin, Noun (rev.), 268–293
BLONDHEIM, D. S. Notice of Schuchardt's Bezeichnungswandel, 114
BOLLING, GEORGE MELVILLE. The Archetype of our Iliad and the Papyri, 125–148
Books Received, 122–124; 241–244; 376–378; 504–506
BOURGEOIS, H. Review of Dodgson's Guipuscoan Verb, 211–213
Brief Mention, 105–117; 227–235; 360–369; 491–501
Brysket, Lodowick and Bernardo Tasso, 192–199

Caesar's Command in Gaul, 93
Caesar and Ferrero, 379–399
Callimachus, Hymn to Zeus, 95
Cassiodorus, Notes on, 217
Cato, de Agri Cultura, 483
Catullus, Chronology of, 483
lxviii A and B, 67–73
Chaucer, Courtly Love in, 87–90
Cicero, an Appreciation, 1–11
ad Att. I. IIII 8 (em.), 216
Cat. III 25, 96
de Div. Text of, 351
Heroic Clausula in, 348
Phil. II 64, 484
Ciris 48 (em.), 96
413, 97
CLARK, C. U. Review of Loew's Beneventan Script, 340–343
Clausula, Heroic in Cicero, 348
Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower, 87–90
Cretic Zeus-Cult, 219
Criticism, International, 234
Culex 127, 96
Cumae, Artemis Cult at, 217
Curtius, Clausula in, 96
Cyrillian Glosses, 216

Digitized by Google

Delphi, Extra Apolline Cults of, 214
Delphic Is. Interpreted, 350
Diktys and his tablets, 220
Diodorus XIV 17, 487
of Tarsus, Commentary on the Hymns of, 347
Diodorus Siculus, his sources for the oldest tribune, 216
Dodd's Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower (rev.), 87–90
Dodgson's Guipuscoan Verb (rev.), 211–213
Dolphin, Story of, 106
D'Ooge, Martin L. Review of Weller's Athens and its Monuments, 202–207
Dorotheus of Sidon, 225

Ebeling, Herman L. Report of Hermes. 220–226; 484–490
Edgerton, Franklin. Report of Glotta, 98–104
Studies in the Veda, 435–445
English Dictionary, Oxford (rev.), 475–481
Ennius, inventor of Roman numerals, 97
Annales, source of Livy, 217
Hexameter of, 483
Epictetus IV 7, 6 (em.), 224
Etruscan Formations, 99–100
Eubius in Ov. Trist. II 415 f., 219
Eunapius' Encomium of Libanius, 487
Euripides, Bacchae, 95
Heraclidae 223 (em.), 200–201
I. T. 96–103, 353
Orestes 982 (em.), 486
Troades 536, 97
Eusebius, Vita Constantini, 485

Fay, Edwin W. Varroniana, 149–162; 245–267
Ferrero, Cicero, Caesar and, 379–399
Four Hundred, Coup d'état of the, 94
Foster, B. O. The Duration of the Trojan War, 294–308
Fox, W. Sherwood. Mummy-Labels in the Royal Ontario Museum, 463–466
Frank, Tenney. A Rejected Poem and a Substitute. Catullus LXVIII A and B, 67–73
Frank's Roman Imperialism (noticed), 500
Freud's Imago (mentioned), 108

Garnett, James M. Review of Oxford English Dictionary, 475–481
Gildersleeve, Basil L. Note on Norden's Agnostos Theos, 85–87
Review of Goodell's χρή and δεῖ, 230–233
See also *Brief Mention*.
Glotta, Report of, 98–104
Goodell's χρή and δεῖ (rev.), 230–233
Gower, Courtly Love in, 87–90
Grandgent's Paradiso (noticed), 117
Provençal Phonology and Morphology (mentioned), 116
Greek: Dative of possession, 365
Imperative, Pres. and Aor., 365
Inscription on an Apulian Vase, 101
MSS new, 354
Syntax, 110, 111
Neglect of, 363
Theory of Cases in, 498
Greek:
ᾱ Doric in Trimeter of Attic Tragedy, 483; ἀπὸ φωνῆς, exact meaning of, 348; ἀρετή, 368; ἀσαυτόν, 101; ἐπιούσιος, 102; Ἀχιλλεύς, 104; βάρβαρος, 103; Ἑλλήσποντος, 95; ἦμιν and ὔμιν in Homer, 94; θέμις, 98; Ἶρις et. 223; καλαίς, 99; Κέκροψ, 104; κίφος et. 103; μετέωρος—μετωρολογία, 218; Νέστωρ, 104; νίκος = νίκη, 99; πεδάρσιος—μετάρσιος, 218; πηνήκη not πηνίκη, 101; ὅτι and ὡς in Plato, 97; ὑσσός et. 103; -υφιον, 102; Φθορεία or Φθορεία, 217; χίλια ζεύγη, meaning of, 351; χρή and δεῖ, 230–233.
Guipuscoan Verb, Dodgson's (rev.), 211–213

Hamilton, G. L. Notice of Beeson's Isidor-Studien, 116
Grandgent's Provençal Phonology and Morphology, 116
Paradiso, 117
Review of Dodd's Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower, 87–90

Digitized by Google

Harmonics, Antique, in Middle Ages and Renaissance, 215
HARRY, J. E. Euripides, Heraclidae 223 (em.), 200–201
Heath's Aristarchus of Samos (rev.), 446–455
Hauler's Phormio (rev.), 12 foll.
Hector as a Theban Hero, 317
HEIDEL, W. A. Review of Jaeger's Nemesios von Emesa, 343–345
Review of Heath's Aristarchus of Samos. 446–455
Hellespont, 97
Hermes, Report of, 220–226; 484–490
Herodotos and his tax-list III 89, 219
Hesiod, not the author of the Theogony, 93
Hexameter of Ennius, 483
Origin of, 98
Hieronymus, Adv. Jovin. I 40, 484
Hippokrates, a member of the methodic school, 222
Historia Augusta, 95
Homer, Aeolic double consonants in. 222
Hector in, 309–317
Nestor in, 113
Pandarus in, 317–325
Vowel contraction in, 101
Horace, Leconte de Lisle's Imitations of, 217
Od. I. 8, 1, old reading attacked and upheld, 225; 486
Od. I. 32, 94

IG IV 955, 487
Iliad, Our, Archetype of and the Papyri, 125–148
M and O, Battle Scenes in, 482
Imperative, Greek, Pres. and Aor., 365
Imperial praefectures of IV. C., 482
Inscriptions:
J. H. U., 421–434
Spanish, 400–420
Iss. Thessalian, 349

Jaeger's Nemesios von Emesa (rev.), 343–345
JOHNSON, ALLAN CHESTER. Creation of the Tribe Ptolemais at Athens, 79–80
Date of Menander's Andria, 326–329
Julian's Letters, 218
Justinian, Army of. 215
Juvenal, Text of, 221

KEIDEL, GEORGE C. Report of Romania, 354–360
KELLOGG, GEORGE DWIGHT. Report of Philologus, 214–220
KNAPP, CHARLES. Notes on Plautus and Terence, 12–31
Studies in the Syntax of Early Latin, 268–293
Kosmas and Damian (em.), 94

Lactora, Historical enigma of, 349
Latin:
Accent, 101
aliquis in negative, *quisquam* in pos. sentences, 103
Aoristic perfect in, 482
Genitive, 483
Inf. of exclamation in, 346
Nom. abs., 102
Order of words in, 351
Present Participle in, 348
Repetition of preposition in, 482
Studies in the Syntax of, 268–293
Latin Inscriptions at the Johns Hopkins University, 421–434
Latin words:
an, 99; asser (et.), 103; Cingius, not Cincius, 490; classis (et), 103; floccus (et.), 103; fricticulae, 484; fullō (et.). 103; invideo, construction of, 483; ita me di ament, 483; oppidum, 103; paedor (et.) 103; primores, 99; quoque, irregular position of, 482; tum = praeterea, 482.
Leconte de Lisle and his imitations of Horace, 217
Livy, The Participle in, 163–178
Loew's Beneventan Script (rev.), 340–343
Lucan 7, 28, 43, 353
Lucilius 3, 109. 117. 131. 140, 346
5, 338, 225
Lucretius 6, 1132, 353
MSS of, 482
Lycophron's Alexandra, 95
Lysias and Dionysodoros, Letters of, 364
351

Magnus's Ovid, Metamorphoses (rev.), 207–211
MAGOFFIN, R. V. D. Latin Iss. at J. H. U., 421–434
Notice of Frank's Roman Imperialism, 500
Manatt's Aegean Days (mentioned), 105–107
Manilius I 285, 484

Digitized by Google

Manumission in the Roman Empire, 96
Martial iv 8; vi 3; vii 87. 95
Seneca and, 489
MARTIN, H. Spanish Inscriptions, 400–420
Martyrs, Christian, 488
Masqueray's Bibliographie Pratique (mentioned), 109–110
McDANIEL, W. B. Some Greek, Roman and English Tityretus, 52–66
Menander's Andria, Date of, 326–329
Cairo, Papyrus of, 487
Epitrepontes, 489
Samia 327, 96
Metaphor and Simile, 227–230
MILLER, C. W. E. Report of Revue de Philologie, 346–354
Ne Extra Oleas, 456–462
Mooney's Apollonius of Rhodes (mentioned), 226
Mummy-Labels in Royal Ontario Museum, 483–486
MUSTARD, W. P. Lodowick Brysket and Bernardo Tasso, 192–199
Notice of Benedetti's Orlando Furioso, 500
Report of Rheinisches Museum, 92–98; 482–484

Ne Extra Oleas, 456–462
Nemesios von Emesa, Jaeger's (rev.), 343–345
Nestor in Homer, 113
New Testament Greek, 493–498
Norden's Agnostos Theos (rev.), 81–87
Notes on Plautus and Terence, 12–31
Notice of Frank's Roman Imperialism, 500
Nouns and Verbs, What ground for precedence, 366
Numerals, Roman, Ennius, inventor of, 97

Order of words in Latin, 351
Orpheus sings on, 226
Ovid and the Renascence in Spain, 330–335
Trist. II 415, 219

Palatalization of consonants in Romance languages, 355
Pandarus in Homer, 317–325
Papyri, The Archetype of our Iliad and the, 125–148
Participle, Adversative, 233–234
in Livy, 163–178
Paul, Apocalypse of, 350
Name of the Apostle, 485
Pecz's Tropology (rev.), 227–229
Persius, Text of, 221
PETERSON, W. More about Tacitus, Dialogus, 74–78
Peutingeriana, Tabula, 482
Philodemus' Index Academicorum, 486
Philologus, Report of, 214–220
Phormio, Hanler's (rev.), 12 foll.
Physici, Studies in Ancient, 484
Pindar's Fourth Pythian, 368
Fr. 221 (Schroed.), 97
Paean for Abdera, 216
P. iv 250, 102
Plancus, his letters to Cicero, 225
Plato, Menexenus, discussed, 362
Laws, Composition of, 486
Phaedr. 236 A. defended, 225
Plautus, Epid. 166–168 and 169–170a, 489
Infinitive of exclamation in, 346
Notes on, 12
Mil. Glor. 787, 487
Persa (595–614), Roman and Greek law in, 489
Pliny, N. H. iii 95 (em.), 217
The Younger, Tacitus and, 96
Plutarch, Life of Sulla, 217
Pompey, Presentation of Sword to, 485
Procopius' Anecdota, 483
Prodicus of Ceos, 112 foll.
in Aristophanes, 482
Prometheus myth, 97
Proserpine, Rape of, Alexandrian poem on, 488
Ps.-Pythagorean letters, 351
Ptolemais: Creation of the Tribe at Athens, 79–80
Ptolemaios, Mediaeval trans. of Syntaxis of, 222
Ptolemy the First, No city cults of, at Athens, 490
Pythagorean Union, Dissolution of, 218

RAND, E. K. Review of Bannister's Monumenti Vaticani, 467–481
Recent Publications, 118–121; 236–240; 369–375; 502–503
Rehdigeranus Codex, 90–92
Reports:
Glotta, 98–104
Hermes, 220–225; 484–490
Philologus, 214–220
Revue de Philologie, 346–354

Digitized by Google

Rheinisches Museum, 93–98; 482–484
Romania, 354–360
Reviews:
Bannister's Monumenti Vaticani di Paleografia Musicale Latina, 467–481
Benedetti's Orlando Furioso, 500
Beeson's Isidor-Studien, 116
Dodd's Courtly Love in Chaucer and Gower, 87–90
Dodgson's Guipiscoan Verb, 211–213
Earle's Classical Papers, 335–340
Grandgent's Paradiso, 117
Provençal Phronology and Morphology, 116
Hauler's Phormio, 112 foll.
Jaeger's Nemesios von Emesa, 343–345
Loew's Beneventan Script, 340–343
Magnus, Ovid's Metamorphoses, 207–211
Manatt's Aegean Days (rev.), 105–107
Masqueray's Bibliographie Pratique, 109
Mayer's Prodikos of Keos, 112
Meltzer's Jahresbericht on Greek Syntax, 110–111
Norden's Agnostos Theos, 81–87
Oxford English Dictionary, 475–481
Pecz's Greek Tropology. 227–229
Ridgeway, Essays and Studies in Honour of, 367
Robertson's Grammar of New Testament Greek, 493–498
Schevill's Ovid and the Renascence in Spain, 330–335
Schuchardt's Bezeichnungswandel, 116
Verrall's Literary Essays and Studies, 491
Vogels, Codex Rehdigeranus, 90–92
Weller's Athens and its Monuments, 202–207
Rheinisches Museum, Report of, 93–98; 482–484
Ridgeway, William, Essays and Studies in Honor of, 361
Robertson's Grammar of New Testament Greek (rev.), 493–498
Roman Empire of first two centuries, officers and officials, 220
Roman Imperialism, Frank's (rev.), 500
Romance languages, Palatalization of Consonants in, 355
Romania, Report of, 354–360
Rome, A. U. in Ennius, 217

Sāṁkhya Teachings in the Māitrī Upaniṣad, 32–51
SANDERS, HENRY A. Review of Vogels, Codex Rehdigeranus, 90–92
Schevill's Ovid and the Renascence in Spain (rev.), 330–335
SCOTT, JOHN A. Two Homeric Personages, 309–325
Seneca's Apocolocyntosis and Hercules Furens, 218
and Martial, 489
Letters to Lucilius, 347
N. Q. (em.), 221
Servius, Time of, 219
Sestina doppia, Dante's, 359
Sex in syntax, 108
SIHLER, E. G. Cicero, an appreciation, 1–11
Cicero, Caesar and Ferrero, 378–399
Simile, Metaphor and, 227–230
SMITH, CHARLES FORSTER. Review of Classical Papers of Mortimer Lamson Earle, 335–340
SMITH, KIRBY FLOWER. Review of Magnus, Ovid's Metamorphoses, 207–211
SODEN, HANS VON. Note to Der Apokalypse Text, 191
SODEN, HERMANN VON. Der Apokalypse Text in dem Kommentar-Codex Messina 99 179–191
Sophocles, Ἰχνευταί 44, 265, 322–3, 324–6, 95
Spanish Inscriptions, 400–420
Statorius Victor, Fables of, 352
STEELE, R. B. The Participle in Livy, 163–178
Stobaeus, Fragments of, 353
Supernomen and Signum, 99
Synonyms, Study of, 112
Taccone's Fourth Pythian of Pindar (mentioned), 368
Tacitus, Agricola 27, 5 (em.), 217
Dialogus Lacuna in, 95
More about, 74–78
and the Younger Pliny, 96

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Tasso, Bernardo, Lodowick Brysket and, 192–199
Telesilla, 214
Terence, Infinitive of exclamation in, 346
Phormio, Hauler's, 12–31
Theopompus, discredited, 224
Thessalian Iss., 349, 352
Tityretus, Some Greek, Roman and English, 52–66
Tragedy, Enharmonic composition in, 223
Attic, Doric ᾱ, in the trimeter of, 483
Tristan, Story of, on a quilt, 359
Trojan War, Duration of, 294–308
TUKEY, RALPH HERMON. Review of Norden's Agnostos Theos, 81–85

Upaniṣad, Sāṁkhya Teachings in the Māitrī, 32–51

Varroniana, 149–162; 245–267
Vatican, Tomb-relief of married pair in, 93
Veda, Studies in the, 435–445
Verb, Noun and, their quarrel for precedence, 366
Vergil and Quintus Smyrnaeus, 93
Aen. IV 9 and Apollonius Rhod., 487
Verrall's Literary Essays and Studies (noticed), 491
Vogels, Codex Rehdigeranus (rev.), 90–92
Vowel contraction in Homer, 101

WELDEN, ELLWOOD AUSTIN. Sāṁkhya Teachings in Māitrī Upaniṣad, 32–51
WILSON, HARRY LANGFORD. Latin Inscriptions at the Johns Hopkins University, 421–434
Weller's Athens and its Monuments (rev.), 202–207
Wittenberg, Latin Bible Studies in, 217

Zeus-cult in Crete, 219

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